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KINSHIP IN ANCIENT ATHENS

An Anthropological Analysis



S. C. HUMPHREYS

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KINSHIP IN ANCIENT ATHENS

*Kinship in
Ancient Athens*

An Anthropological Analysis

Volume I

S. C. HUMPHREYS

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UNIVERSITY PRESS

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In Memoriam:
Michael H. Jameson
David M. Lewis
Anna Morpurgo Davies
Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood

PREFACE

This book has been a long time in the making and has incurred numerous debts, some to friends no longer here to be thanked.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(Abbreviations of journal titles follow *L'Année philologique*. Anthropologists' abbreviations for kin terms are acrophonic except that Z = sister.)

AAG	G. M. A. Richter 1944, <i>Archaic Attic Gravestones</i> . Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
AEE	S. A. Koumanoudes (ed.) 1871, <i>Attikês epigraphai epitymvioi</i> . Athens: Antoniadès (repr. 1993, Archaiologikê Etaireia).
AEE ²	S. N. Koumanoudes and A. P. Matthaiou (eds) 1993, <i>Attikês epigraphai epitymvioi: prosthekai</i> . Athens: Archaiologikê Etaireia.
AG I	W. Peek 1954, <i>Attische Grabschriften I</i> . ADAW 1953. 2.
AG II	W. Peek 1957, <i>Attische Grabschriften II</i> . ADAW 1956. 3.
AGC	M. Petropoulakou, and E. Pentazos 1973, <i>Archaies Ellênikes Poleis 21. Attikê</i> . Athens: Center of Ekistics.
Agora III	R. E. Wycherley (ed.) 1957, <i>The Athenian Agora III: Literary and epigraphic testimonia</i> . Princeton: ASCS.
Agora XI	E. B. Harrison 1965, <i>The Athenian Agora XI: Archaic and archais-tic sculpture</i> . Princeton: ASCS.
Agora XIV	H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley (eds) 1972, <i>The Agora of Athens</i> . Princeton: ASCS.
Agora XV	Meritt, B. D., and J. S. Traill (eds) 1974, <i>The Athenian Agora XV. Inscriptions: the Athenian Councillors</i> . Princeton: ASCS.
Agora XVI	A. M. Woodward (ed.) 1997, <i>The Athenian Agora XVI. Inscriptions: the decrees</i> . Princeton: ASCS.
Agora XVII	Bradeen, D. W. 1974, <i>The Athenian Agora XVII. Inscriptions: the funerary monuments</i> . Princeton: ASCS.
Agora XVIII	Geagan, D. J. † 2011, <i>The Athenian Agora XVIII. Inscriptions: the dedicatory monuments</i> . Princeton: ASCS.
Agora XIX	G. V. Lalonde, M. K. Langdon, and M. B. Walbank (eds) 1991, <i>The Athenian Agora XIX. Inscriptions: Horoi, Poletai Records, Leases of public lands</i> . Princeton: ASCS.
Agora XXI	Lang, M. 1976, <i>The Athenian Agora XXI: Graffiti and Dipinti</i> . Princeton: ASCS.
Agora XXV	Lang, M. 1990, <i>The Athenian Agora XXV: Ostraka</i> . Princeton: ASCS.
Agora XXVIII	A. L. Boegehold (ed.) 1995, <i>The Athenian Agora XXVII: the Lawcourts at Athens</i> . Princeton: ASCS.
Agora XXXI	M. M. Miles (ed.) 1998, <i>The Athenian Agora XXXI: the City Eleusinion</i> . Princeton: ASCS.
Agora XXXV	J. B. Grossman 2013, <i>The Athenian Agora XXXV: funerary sculpture</i> . Princeton: ASCS.

AO	R. Develin 1989, <i>Athenian Officials 684–321 BC</i> . Cambridge: CUP.
A.P.	[Aristotle], <i>Athenaion Politeia</i> .
APF	J. K. Davies 1971, <i>Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 BC</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press.
ARMA II	G. E. Malouchou-Daïliana (ed.) 1993, <i>Archeion tôn mnêmeiôn tôn Athénôn kai tés Attikés</i> II. Athens: Archaïologikê Etaireia no. 136.
ARMA IV	O. Vizenou (ed.) 2007, <i>Archeion tôn mnêmeiôn tôn Athénôn kai tés Attikés</i> IV. Athens: Archaïologikê Etaireia no. 247.
A to Z	S. Kapranides and N. Photes 1997, <i>Athena-Peiraias Proasteia: Chartes-odegos</i> . 23rd ed. Ambelokepoi: Kapranidis and Fotis
BAR	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i> . Oxford: Archaeopress.
BARch	The Beazley Archive (www.beazley.ox.ac.uk).
BE	Bulletin épigraphique, published in REG.
BGU	<i>Berliner griechische Urkunden</i> . Berlin: Reimer.
CAT	Clairmont, C. 1993, <i>Classical Attic Tombstones</i> . Kilchberg: Akanthus (Supplementary Volume, 1995).
CAVI	H. R. Immerwahr 1998–2009, <i>A Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions</i> , see http://www.lib.unc.edu/dc/attic with http://avi.unibas.ch/home.html .
CEG	P. A. Hanson 1983, 1989, <i>Carmina epigraphica Graeca</i> , Berlin: de Gruyter.
CID I	Rougemont, G. 1977, <i>Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes. I. Lois sacrées et règlements religieux</i> . Paris: de Boccard.
CIERGA	Centre International d'Étude de la Religion Grecque Antique.
Corinth XX	C. K. Williams and N. Bookidis 2003, <i>Corinth: the centenary: 1896–1996</i> . Princeton: ASCS.
CSSH	<i>Comparative Studies in Society and History</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
DAA	A. Raubitschek 1949, <i>Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis</i> . Cambridge, MA: Archaeological Institute of America.
DGE	E. Schwyzler 1923, <i>Dialectorum graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora</i> . Leipzig: Teubner (repr. Hildesheim; Olms 1960).
dr.	<i>drachma/ai</i>
EAA	<i>Enciclopedia dell'arte antica</i> (1958–).
FD	<i>Fouilles de Delphes III</i> 1929– . Paris: de Boccard.
FGE	D. L. Page 1981, <i>Further Greek Epigrams</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
GG	W. Peek 1960, <i>Griechische Grabgedichte</i> . Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
GVI	W. Peek 1955, <i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften I. Grab-Epigramme</i> . Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
IC	M. Guarducci (ed.) 1935–50, <i>Inscriptiones creticae</i> I–IV. Rome: Libreria dello Stato.
ID I	A. Plassart (ed.) [1950], <i>Inscriptions de Délos (1–88). Périodes de l'amphictyonie ionienne et de l'amphictyonie attico-délienne</i> . Paris: Champion.
IElens	K. Clinton (ed.) 2008, <i>Eleusis: The Inscriptions on Stone</i> I–II. Athens: Archaïologikê Etaireia.

<i>IEph Ia</i>	H. Wankel, R. Merkelbach a. o. 1979–81, <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> (IGSK 11–17). Bonn: Habelt.
<i>IEph IV</i>	H. Engelmann, D. Knibbe, and R. Merkelbach (eds) 1980, <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos IV</i> . Bonn: Habelt.
<i>IErythrae</i>	H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach (eds) 1972, <i>Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai I</i> . Bonn: Habelt.
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptions Graecae</i> 1903–. Berlin: Academy.
<i>IGSK</i>	<i>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> , 1972–. Bonn: Habelt.
<i>IGT</i>	Koerner, R. † 1993, <i>Inchriftliche Gesetzetze der frühen griechischen Polis</i> . Cologne: Böhlau.
<i>Ilasos</i>	W. Blümel (ed.) 1985, <i>Die Inschriften von Iasos I–II</i> . Bonn: Habelt.
<i>IJurid</i>	R. Dareste, B. Haussoullier, and Th. Reinach (eds) 1894–1904, <i>Recueil d'inscriptions juridiques grecques</i> . Paris: Leroux.
<i>IKnidos</i>	W. Blümel, <i>Die Inschriften von Knidos</i> (IGSK 4), 1992. Bonn: Habelt.
<i>IOrop</i>	V. Petrakos 1997, <i>Oi epigraphes tou Órópou</i> . Athens: Archaiologikê Etaireia.
<i>IPriene</i>	F. Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, <i>Inschriften von Priene</i> . Berlin: Academy.
<i>IPArk</i>	G. Thür and H. Täuber (eds) 1994, <i>Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis I. Arkadien</i> (IPArk). Vienna: SAWW(Ph) 607.
<i>ISE</i>	L. Moretti (ed.) 1967, 1976, <i>Inscrizioni storiche ellenistiche I–II</i> . Florence: Nuova Italia.
<i>IvO</i>	W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold (eds) 1896, <i>Inschriften von Olympia</i> . Berlin: Reimer.
<i>Kerameikos III</i>	W. Peek 1941, <i>Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen III. Inschriften, Ostraka, Fluchtafeln</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter.
<i>Kerameikos V</i>	K. Kübler 1954, <i>Die Nekropole des 10. bis 8. Jahrhunderts</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter.
<i>Kerameikos VI. 1</i>	K. Kübler 1959, <i>Die Nekropole des späten 8. bis frühen 6. Jahrhunderts</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter.
<i>Kerameikos XII</i>	<i>Kerameikos. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen XII</i> . 1980. <i>Rundbauten im Kerameikos</i> . Berlin: De Gruyter.
<i>Kerameikos XIV</i>	W. K. Kavasovics 1990, <i>Kerameikos XIV. Die Eckterrassen an der Gräberstrasse des Kerameikos</i> . Berlin: De Gruyter.
<i>KvA</i>	E. Curtius, J. A. Kaupert 1881–94, <i>Karten von Attika</i> . Berlin: Reimer (repr. c.1995, Deme of Glyphada; reduced scale, Korres 2009).
<i>LGPN</i>	<i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> 1987–. Oxford: Clarendon Press (without vol. number = M. J. Osborne and S. G. Byrne, vol. II 1994, <i>Attica</i>).
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> 1981–. Zurich: Artemis.
<i>LS</i>	F. Sokolowski (ed.) 1969, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> . Paris: de Boccard.

LSAG	L. H. Jeffery 1961, <i>The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press.
LSAM	F. Sokolowski (ed.) 1955, <i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure</i> . Paris: de Boccard.
LSJ	Liddell and Scott, <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9th ed., revised by H. Stuart Jones, 1925–40.
LSS	F. Sokolowski (ed.) 1962, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément</i> . Paris: de Boccard.
MAMA	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i> 1928–. Manchester/London: Manchester University Press/Society for Roman Studies.
Mes.–Arg.	V. Vasilopoulou and S. Katsarou-Tseveleké (eds) 2009, <i>Apo ta Mesogeia ston Argosaroniko</i> . Markopoulo: Demos.
Milet I 3	G. Kawerau and A. Rehm 1914, <i>Milet I. 3. Das Delphinion in Milet</i> . Berlin: Reimer.
M/L	R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis (eds) 1969, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the end of the fifth century BC</i> (revised ed. 1988). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
M–W	R. Merkelbach and M. L. West (eds) 1967, <i>Fragmenta Hesiodica</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Nomima	H. Van Effenterre and F. Ruzé (eds) 1994–5, <i>Nomima: recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grec I–II</i> . Rome: École Française.
OCD ⁴	S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, and E. Eidinow (eds) 2012, <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> . 4th ed. Oxford: OUP.
PAA	J. S. Traill, 1994–2012, <i>Persons of Ancient Athens</i> . Toronto: Athenians.
PCG	R. Kassel and C. Austin (eds) 1983–, <i>Poetae comici graecae</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter.
PGrVindob	<i>Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien I</i> , 1932, Vienna: Österreichische Staatsdruckerei.
PHibeh	B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (eds) 1906, <i>The Hibeh Papyri I</i> . London: Egypt Exploration Society.
PKöln	<i>Kölner Papyri</i> , 1976–2007. Opladen/Paderborn: Westdeutscher Verlag/Schöningh.
PLond	<i>Greek Papyri in the British Museum</i> , 1893–1974. London: British Museum.
PMich	<i>Michigan Papyri</i> , 1931–1999. Various publishers.
PMünch	<i>Die Papyri der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München</i> , 1986. Stuttgart: Teubner.
POxy	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press.
PRyl	C. H. Roberts (ed.) 1938, <i>Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester III</i> . Manchester: University Press.
Prakt. NA Attiké	<i>Praktika tes - - - epistémonikēs syntátesēs NA Attikēs</i> 1984–. Attika: various demarchies.
PSI	<i>Papiri greci e latini</i> , 1912–. Florence: University of Florence.

R/O	P. J. Rhodes and R. Osborne (eds) 2003, <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404–323 BC</i> (revised 2007). Oxford: OUP.
<i>Sammelbuch</i>	<i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten</i> , 1915–. Berlin: Reimer.
Schwenk	C. J. Schwenk 1985, <i>Athens in the Age of Alexander: the dated laws, and decrees of ‘the Lycourgan era’</i> . Chicago: Ares.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> 1923–. Amsterdam: Gieben.
SEMA	V. N. Bardanê and G. K. Papadopoulou 2006, <i>Symplêrôma epitym-viôn mnêmeiôn tês Attikes</i> . Athens: Archaïologikê Etaireia.
<i>Staatsverträge I</i>	H. Bengtson and H. H. Schmitt (eds) 1962, <i>Die Staatsverträge des Altertums I</i> . Munich: Beck.
<i>Staatsverträge II</i>	H. Bengtson and H. H. Schmitt (eds) 1969, <i>Die Staatsverträge des Altertums II</i> . Munich: Beck.
SVF	H. von Arnim, <i>Stoicorum veterum fragmenta</i> 1903–.
<i>Syll</i> ³	W. Dittenberger (ed.) 1915–24, <i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i> , 3rd ed. Leipzig: Teubner.
TGF ²	Nauck, A. (ed.) 1926, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , 2nd ed. Leipzig: Teubner.
TGF III	Radt, S. 1985, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta III. Aeschylus</i> . Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
TGF IV	Radt, S. 1977, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta IV. Sophocles</i> . Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
<i>ThesCRA</i>	<i>Thesaurus cultus et rituum antiquorum I–V + index</i> 2004–6. Basel: Fondation pour le lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae; Los Angeles: Getty Publications.
<i>Thorikos III</i>	Thorikos 1965, III. <i>Rapport préliminaire sur la troisième campagne de fouilles; Voorlopig Verslag over de Derde Opgravingscampagne</i> . H. F. Mussche, a.o. Brussels: Comité des fouilles belges en Grèce, 1967.

KEY TO READING TABLES

A line of dots and dashes = adoption.

A line of small dashes indicates an uncertain or indefinite number of generations.

Where a name appears in a text only as patronymic, the reference is bracketed.

Δ = male, O = female, □ = unknown gender.

Introduction

It is difficult to write an introduction to a book that has been cooking (growing, unpruned? working to windward?) for about thirty-five years. Disciplines (history, anthropology, archaeology) have changed; imagined readerships have changed and, more sadly, ideal (and actual) readers have died; parts of the analysis published earlier have entered into dialogue with the work of others.¹

One of the book's beginnings was a sail in a ship's lifeboat, in the 1950s, with Penny Hughes and other friends, from Malta to Greece and round the Aegean.² This encouraged me to apply for research grants on the basis that our *Crab* had 'all the disadvantages of an ancient merchant ship' (she was also smaller). Research on ancient merchant ships³ raised questions about trade in premodern economies; I discovered that economic anthropologists were asking similar questions,⁴ and Mary Douglas encouraged me to attend anthropology seminars at UCL. Here I rapidly found (we are in the 1960s) that the core of social anthropology was kinship studies. Kinship had been common ground between anthropology and ancient history earlier (Maine, Fustel, Morgan);⁵ but anthropology had changed, leaving ancient historians still in the nineteenth century. I formed the idea of writing 'a new *Cité antique*', and gave three lectures on ancient Greek kinship at the University of Chicago in the 1970s. Edward Shils advised me to turn them into something longer; and so I have.

My aim was to see how far a historian working with ancient sources, using prosopography as a substitute for fieldwork, could go in reconstructing the patterns of behaviour observed by anthropologists in the field—starting with the discovery of W. H. R. Rivers, collecting genealogies in the Torres Straits islands in the 1890s in order to see whether colour blindness was hereditary (1901), that his data allowed him to understand village life: gifts of food from household to household, marriage, and much more. For this purpose it obviously made sense to concentrate on Athens, from the seventh century to the end of the fourth; the

¹ Humphreys 1980, 1983*b*, 1985*b*, 1986*a*. ² Hughes 1984, Minney 2016.

³ This brought me into the beginning of underwater archaeology in the Aegean (as an observer), through Virginia Grace and Peter Throckmorton.

⁴ Moses Finley's work was already familiar, and led to Karl Polanyi (Humphreys 1978, ch. 2, originally 1969).

⁵ 1860, 1864, 1877; Bachofen (1861) attracted attention mainly later, through feminists.

sources for Athens are much richer and more varied in genre than those for any other Greek city (in the Hellenistic period this changes). I hope that among other functions this analysis may serve as a pilot study which can suggest questions to historians working on other periods.

Structurally, it moves after an initial chapter on the Athens of Drakon and Solon to interactions shaped by legal and economic constraints, and thence to the conflicts between kin that arose in those fields (chs. 2–7). Part Two deals with more optional relationships in the field of ritual (naming ceremonies and names, rites de passage, sectarian groupings and dedications); Parts Three to Four move first to the fringes of the public sphere and then to relationships in formal public contexts. Volume II deals with corporate groups recruited by patrification: tribes and trittyes, phratries, *genê*, demes.

Since I started serious work on this book (in the 1980s) other ancient historians have been stimulated to work on kinship, partly by the development of women's studies (see especially works by V. Hunter).⁶ F. Bourriot and D. Roussel in 1976 made a determined attack on the nineteenth-century 'genos' model (cf. T. Schneider 1991); Keith Hopkins' use of model life tables encouraged work on demography, especially for Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.⁷ The general shift in historians' attention away from politico-military 'histoire événementielle' to the social and economic 'longue durée' promoted by the *Annales* school (with a Marxist background) became prominent in ancient history through the work of de Ste. Croix (and, for the Roman period, A. H. M. Jones), Finley, and J.-P. Vernant. This has encouraged (i.a.) a swing of interest from political to forensic speeches, closer collaboration between historians and archaeologists; it has given epigraphy a much more central position in the field,⁸ and has led epigraphists to work in new areas (e.g. Chaniotis 2012*b* on emotions). More use of epigraphic and archaeological data has also generated more work on cities other than Athens and Sparta (led by M. H. Hansen), and on the Hellenistic period.

There has, however, been rather little serious engagement with social theory or use of comparative material. Ancient historians read recent work in social anthropology and sociology, if at all, very selectively; there are some comparisons between the Roman Empire and ancient China,⁹ but almost no attempt to think about the Hellenistic world in terms of comparison with modern colonial societies, despite the wealth of historical studies of these. Use of comparative material from historical studies of kinship in the modern period is still largely restricted

⁶ Hunter 1994.

⁷ Hopkins 1983. See e.g. Bagnall and Frier 1994; Clarysse and Thompson 2006; Holleran and Pudsey 2011.

⁸ Revised volumes of *IG* ii³ appeared only while the book was in its later stages; I hope I have managed to update all inscription numbers.

⁹ Scheidel 2015.

(like use of ethnography) to work on modern Greece—without much critical argument to justify that choice.

The place of kinship in social anthropology and the questions asked about it have changed radically since the 1960s; students are no longer taught to draw diagrams showing how a native Australian woman can marry her MMB. Recent work has been more concerned with postmodern features such as sperm donation and surrogate motherhood, same-sex partnerships and marriage, or the search by adopted/fostered children for genetic parents and siblings.¹⁰ Such work casts light on the role of male homosexual affairs in building personal networks in ancient Greece and on the dialogic relationships between legislation and the social imagination; it is also linked to a general rise of interest in conceptions of childhood.¹¹ On the whole, however, whereas in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there seemed to be an obvious connection between social anthropology and ancient history, the linkage of ancient history to colonial and postcolonial studies is now much stronger.

Two of OUP's readers felt that my analysis was strongly imprinted by the environment of the 1980s in which the book was conceived, and that this made it seem 'outdated'. This is certainly true of the structure of the argument in chs. 2–17—moving from 'harder' to 'softer' sets of social relationships in chs. 2–12, and from 'private' to 'public' interactions in chs. 13–17. It is also true that (as noted above) I was adapting to historical data a concept of anthropological field-work that has since been rightly criticized for ignoring the modern and (mostly) colonial frameworks within which its practitioners worked. But I am not clear that these changes in anthropological focus seriously affect the utility of my analysis. Athens' empire and (in the fourth century) lingering imperial ambitions were certainly a major element in the history of classical Greece; but we do not have enough evidence to assess the impact on kinship of this wider framework, apart from the increased opportunities for financial independence for young men provided by the transformed economy. Historians of premodern societies continue to base their analyses of kinship on structural-functional models.¹²

The publication of Paulin Ismard's *Cité des réseaux* in 2010 might have raised the question of the relevance of network analysis for ancient historians, but in fact the book does not analyse social networks; it deals with the social groupings within and between which networks would have functioned. Its questions about the changing environments for social interaction in Athens from the Classical to the Hellenistic period are important and interesting, but it does not provide the prosopographical detail that a network analysis would have required. Still less does

¹⁰ Carsten 2000, 2004; Franklin and McKinnon 2001; M. Strathern 1995.

¹¹ Steedman 1990, 1995; e.g. Beaumont 2012.

¹² See e.g. Thonemann 2017, where perhaps some engagement with Latour could have been productive.

it draw on Bruno Latour's actor-network theory, in which the concept of 'network' includes aspects of the material environments of interaction. Latour's work could certainly be of interest to ancient historians, especially perhaps his work on 'making things public',¹³ but so far no one has made use of it for ancient societies.

Even more promising, perhaps—and equally unnoticed by ancient historians¹⁴—is Niklas Luhmann's conception of society as composed of communication systems, obviously valuable to historians who have to rely mostly on written sources (or interviews); it should prompt us to rethink the relationships between 'fact' and fiction and between law, 'rhetoric', and behaviour. Luhmann's work also provides a model for thinking about the overlaps and disjunctions between communicative subsystems (elite and commoners; demes, phratries, residential groupings, age-sets, cult groups; public and private contexts), and how these change over time.

Luhmann himself admits (1986, 1) that 'the wealth of historical facts which historians are able to dig up from their sources never fails to dash all attempts at theoretical treatment . . .'; and while ancient historians have relatively fewer facts, we are more often hampered by problems in interpretation (and addiction to puzzle-solving).

If I were embarking on an analysis of Athenian kinship today, I would make a serious attempt to use the ideas of Latour and Luhmann. The structure of the resulting book might well have been different. It would still, however, have needed the spadework on data that I have provided here.

At this stage I can only launch the book and wish it bon voyage. It will no doubt meet some squalls of disagreement, and no historian today can feel as optimistic as Thucydides about long-term validity. I hope at least that some readers will feel that their unexamined assumptions have run into fresh breezes and rough water.

¹³ Latour 2005; cf. Manoukian 2012, 64.

¹⁴ Luhmann 1984, 1986: not much read by non-sociologists, even social historians working on Germany.

PART ONE

Legal and Economic Interaction

Drakon and Solon

GREECE AND ATTIKA

Elsewhere I shall explore, on a panhellenic scale, our evidence for the prehistory of Greek kinship, with the aim both of questioning assumptions derived from earlier anthropological theory and of asking whether we can still speak meaningfully of kinship patterns inherited by the societies of archaic Greece from previous ages. Here, since the evidence for Athens and its territory is richer for the archaic and classical periods than that from other parts of Greece, I shall concentrate on the Athenians, beginning with the legislation of Drakon (*c.*620) and ending (*c.*300) with the plays of Menander.¹ While there have recently been justifiable complaints that historians concentrate too exclusively on the ‘atypical’ cases of Athens and Sparta, Athens remains the ideal case study for an analysis focusing on practice and process, due to its wide variety of types of source material.

One may, in my view, legitimately speak of a common Greek kinship system, with minor local variations. Kinship is traced through both men and women but with preference for the male line, especially in questions of group affiliation. Inheritance is divided equally among sons; whether a daughter’s share is conceptualized solely as dowry, or as a share in inheritance that can be transferred on marriage, varies from one city to another (and dowries are not necessarily equalized). Arrangements for the transmission through daughters of the estate of a man with no sons, and for adoption by the childless, are fairly uniform. The same is true, by and large, of the terms used in address and reference to kin and affines, and the use of patronymics. The scope of the incest taboo is narrow, and the choice of marriage partners is otherwise free, with the exception of rules governing unions between free persons and slaves, and (in some cases) between citizens and non-citizens, and regulating the marriage of inheriting daughters who are not already married or betrothed when their father dies.

The ‘shared’ Greek culture of the archaic period, however, must have owed more to interaction than to cultural continuity. The end of the Mycenaean palaces represented—though with considerable local variation in degree—major changes

¹ The end of effective democracy in Athens after 322, the legislation of Demetrius of Phaleron restricting tomb monuments, the modification of the ephebic system of military training for young men, and the decline of activity in most demes after the end of the fourth century all combine to make this a watershed in terms of evidence for kinship.

in settlement patterns and ecology, and in the range and forms of interaction between communities, as well as in political institutions and the organization of production and taxation. The crystallization during the 'Dark Age' of the dialects subsequently spoken and written in the various Greek regions indicates that this was a period of reduced and less institutionalized communication, and hence of cultural differentiation; material culture was simple, and styles of pottery locally specific. The number and size of settlements appears to have been greatly reduced. Economic and social differentiation perhaps mainly took the form of the provision by community leaders of sacrificial victims for local festivals; the importance of animal sacrifice as a mode of communication with the gods appears to have increased considerably in this period.

The stagnation and closure of 'Dark Age' Greek communities should not be exaggerated. We can see that people moved. But we need to ask how structured and predictable their movements were, how degrees of institutionalization (in trading ventures, seasonal or life-stage migration, organized emigration by groups, etc.) affected the amount and kinds of information gained or lost in circulation, and how movement affected the communities from which it started.

Moreover, the darkness and duration of the Dark Age varied from one area to another. In Attika the gap was brief between the decline and abandonment *c.*1100 of the LH III C settlement at Perati on the east coast, which in its florescence in the early twelfth century was still in contact with the near east, and the beginning *c.*1050 of a new pottery style, Protogeometric, through the influence of which we can trace contacts with other parts of the Aegean. Lefkandi on Euboia, a short distance north of Attika, also had a brief Dark Age.

The period of recovery that followed was characterized, from the institutional point of view, by two somewhat conflicting trends. On the one hand migrations and risk-taking continued, opportunities increased, and this meant fluid institutions. Though Hesiod's ideal world is one in which seasons cycle predictably, proverbs remain true, children resemble their parents, and hard work brings rewards, he is the son of an immigrant, warns his hearers about the dangers of sea trade, and does his own adventuring in poetry. On the other hand there was also, partly due to these movements and partly through the periodic encounters of members of the elite at regional and interregional sanctuaries, a drift towards the standardization of a cultural *koinê*. It was a period alert for new information about the etiquette for dealing with gods and men, whether it came from within Greece or abroad. No one had a monopoly of authority: myths and modes of sacrifice circulated as widely as women, gifts, poems, innovations in armour and fighting tactics, political institutions, or fashions in dress, ornament, and dining.²

² Cf. ch. 18 nn. 9, 26 on tribal names; C. Morgan 1993, 1996, Polignac 1996 on regional sanctuaries. Behind Homer and Hesiod lies a culture of historical and theological speculation—about ruins in the

EARLY LAW

For knowledge of kinship in the Early Iron Age we have to move from poetry to written law, which by modern standards might seem a radical change; but in archaic Greece the two were not so far apart. It was not an accident that Solon was both a poet and a lawgiver. Both poetry and laws concern themselves with social ideals and with acts of transgression; both poets and lawgivers perform creative acts of setting-in-order, in contexts hard for us to reconstruct. Laws as well as poems could be recited or sung in public; poems as well as laws could be used to sanction improper behaviour. Both are ‘theoretical’; they provide an overview of behaviour that reaches beyond choices made in specific contexts (and this theoretical bias may be a pitfall for the historian). But both also affected practice.³

Just as it is now clear that classifying societies as either ‘oral’ or ‘literate’ obscures most of the interesting questions about the relations between ephemeral communication, live performance, formulaic speech, and texts preserved in writing or in memory,⁴ so we need to be wary of the lingering influence of models of evolution from myth to reason, custom to law, poetry to politics. Such models have encouraged historians to modernize early written law, looking for systematic ‘codes’,⁵ and to underrate the prevalence in societies without written law of conflicting norms, disputes, and the public sanctioning of offenders.

In the tradition of anthropological analysis of early Greek society inaugurated by Fustel de Coulanges’ *La cité antique* (1864), and elaborated in Glotz’ *La solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel grec* (1904), the rise of the city-state was portrayed as a gradual liberation of the individual from the bonds of the corporate descent group (*genos*) which had previously dominated its members’ actions. In the extreme version of this model (Bonfante 1888, 1915), the *genos* was a miniature state and relations between *genê* could only be seen as interstate relations (including warfare). Eduard Meyer pointed out the absurdity of this

landscape, characters in stories, powers of sky, sea, and underworld, variations in the nature and behaviour of immortal beings and the customs of mortals, and much else.

³ See Redfield 1975 on setting-in-order; Hölkenskap 1999, 108–9 on ‘sung laws’; Bourdieu 1972 on the difference between theory and practice. On the influence of epic poetry on practice see Kistler 1998; on social censure in poetry, Dover 1963.

⁴ See R. Thomas 1992, 2005; Johnson and Parker (eds.) 2009; Tambiah 1986 for the significance of oral transmission of memorized texts; Humphreys 2013 for comparative material.

⁵ Codification was retrospectively credited to early lawgivers already by the fourth century. The idea that historically existing sets of laws can be judged by their approximation to a hypothetical ideal of completeness is a persistent form of mystification of law and of legislation, which is in this view presented as a process of adjustment to this ideal and not as a response to historical circumstances. See below, n. 127, on ‘follow-on’ legislation for more modest forms of supplementary lawmaking; Laks 2000, 261 on Plato’s recognition of the difference between utopian codification and legislation in specific historical situations.

view in 1907, but its influence lingered in conceptions of ‘self-help’ in early law as unregulated, and in the misleading antithesis between kin-group and individual, which obscures the role of the *dêmos* or *laos* as public in the early stages of consolidation and conceptualization of the state.

In the eighth to sixth centuries communities were stratified: there were *basileis* and commoners in the poems of Homer and Hesiod. Commoners turn to *basileis* for solutions to intractable disputes; they may also call on *basileis* to deal with transgressive behaviour, if less formal sanctions have no effect. On the other hand, there is a lack of effective mechanisms for resolving disputes between *basileis*, or for preventing *basileis* from oppressing commoners. The ambitions and problems of commoners differ from those of *basileis*, and this produces some variation in norms as well as behaviour. Norms cited in public dispute settlement may be those of commoners more often than those of the elite.

By the late seventh century Athens had annually elected magistrates, with judicial responsibilities. This raised new questions. Did their decisions have a different authority from those of an experienced local notable? Was each new office-holder obliged to uphold his predecessors’ judgments? How consistent and how equitable were office-holders’ decisions? Through what channels could public opinion be brought to bear on them?⁶

It is in this context—not of tension between kin groups and individuals, but (among the elite) of the contradictions between norms of office and ambition for power, and more generally between the interests evoked by a specific situation and the social control exerted by gossip—that law came to be recorded in writing. Writing symbolized fixity and helped to crystallize ideas of a *res publica* (Solon uses the term *dêmosion*), in relation to which the individual might have, or lack, rights. Lawmaking, along with office-holding, became a field for experiments in the use of power to produce social order.⁷

⁶ Kaser 1984 points out that the consultation by Roman magistrates of a council of legal experts contributed to confidence in the continuity and consistency of praetorian rulings. In the trial scene on Achilles’ shield (*Iliad* 18. 497–508) both elders and public are present, and early magistrates may have judged in similar circumstances; but in Greece the elders became *mnêmones* (Carawan 2008) or *paredroi*, associates chosen by the office-holder (at least in Athens; ch. 15). See Humphreys 1983b on the absence of images of the wise judge in Greek culture. As we shall see (n. 129) the role of the public is formalized in Athens in the institution of *epheisis*. Note that Darius gave orders in 519, shortly after he had established control over Egypt, for a written collection of laws (in Demotic and Aramaic) to be produced in the province (Briant 1996, 490; cf. 567–70 on the accession inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes).

⁷ Plato was still preoccupied with this question some 2½ centuries later. Although *kosmeô* (from which the Cretan term for magistrates is derived) is often used of marshalling armies as well as of civic and ritual order (and the adornment of women), and the hoplite phalanx provided an image of the citizen body, Greek views of the nexus between power, office, and order seem less military than those implied by the Roman term *imperium*. Moreover, in Greece there was a significant association between the (re)imposition of social order and arbitration (cf. Hölkeskamp 1999).

Before we turn to Drakon and Solon, something should be said about the oral sources on which they could draw. Rules will frequently have been cited in situations of conflict or transgression (Bourdieu 1972). When disputants appeared before basileis or elected officials, each would support his case with reference to norms, and these norms would be re-echoed in the buzz of comment from the listening public. The role of the judge—*dikazein*—was not to decide between norms but to propose an illuminating and equitable solution to the dispute. Norms might be cited by the judge, but fact finding and testing the strength of each litigant's determination and the balance of community support were also part of the process.⁸ Norms would also frequently be cited in gossip. Severe disapproval by a local community could make its target *atimos*, completely lacking in honour. Already by Solon's time magistrates had begun to appropriate this sanction and pronounce *atimia* as a sentence; this meant that the offender was publicly labelled as devoid of honour and thus as a man (or woman) who could be insulted with impunity, particularly if he or she ventured to appear in public places. This was a severe sanction and made life intolerable for the victim, who might well decide to emigrate and start afresh elsewhere; hence *atimia* became associated with exile (in Sparta the honourless *tresas*, the man who had shown cowardice in battle, in exemplary stories committed suicide).⁹

One of the mechanisms linking the informal and formal uses of *atimia* as a sanction was presumably the denunciation to magistrates of obdurate offenders. Attic law had a number of terms for such denunciations, associated especially with the summary arrest and punishment of 'criminal types' (*kakourgoi*): *ephēgēsis* when a magistrate was fetched to the scene of the offence, *apagōgē* when the offender was taken to him, *phasis* when transgressive behaviour (e.g., perhaps, using false weights in the market) was pointed out to him, *eisangelia* when information was laid about less visible offences (mistreatment of orphans). Attic tradition credited Solon with the introduction of written complaints, *graphai*; this exerted control over both

⁸ Cf. especially Thür 1970, 1989, 1990 (using the term *Beweisurteil*); Humphreys 1983*b* on the judgment of Solomon.

⁹ See the argument in Humphreys 1991, 33–35, 40 against the interpretation of the *atimos* as outlaw (based on medieval models). The man who can be killed with impunity (who is a political threat, and not without honour) is in Andok. 1. 96–8 and *Syll.*³ 194 (Amphipolis) called *polemios* (foe), not *atimos*; here it is the concept of a justifiable homicide developed initially for some forms of flagrant offence that is extended into the public sphere (the evidence is collected, not without inaccuracies, in Velissaropoulos-Karakostas 1991). See also Maffi 1983, Van t'Wout 2011; below, n. 138, on *moicheia* and dishonour. The offender who was cursed was also excluded from normal life, in a different way; it would be unlucky to associate with him. Here, magistrates (cf. n. 60) were again taking over a pre-existing sanction, associated in myth with relations between parents and children (cf. L. Watson 1991). These forms of exclusion from the public sphere in turn contributed to conceptions of the rights of the included, the *epitimos* (Manville 1990).

informers and magistrates, and led to a proliferation of the offences subject to denunciation, but the principle of action by ‘whoever wishes’ was not new.¹⁰

DRAKON: THE KINDRED IN HOMICIDE CASES

Written law and written treaties between states appeared during the same period and in similar form; the arrangements made in the process of founding colonies share features of both.¹¹ Drakon’s law on homicide could be seen as a form of peace treaty. I have argued in detail elsewhere that his legislation was confined to cases of justifiable and hence pardonable homicide, and that it was provoked by serious conflict within the Athenian elite. Some fifteen years earlier Kylon had attempted to seize power as tyrant; he was defeated, and some of his supporters had been massacred after (allegedly) having been promised a fair trial. There will have been arguments about the responsibility for the killings (magistrates, perpetrators, or both?) and probably about other deaths that had occurred in the fighting (paying off old scores under cover of civil war? accidental killing of men on one’s own side?).¹²

¹⁰ See the important treatment of these procedures in Ruschenbusch 1968; M. H. Hansen 1975, 1976; Humphreys 1985*a* on the use of *eisangelia* by Lykourgos; Humphreys 1988, 469; Todd 1993, s.v. MacDowell 1991, though he cites Ruschenbusch, does not consider the history of *phasis* and is therefore puzzled by its use in prosecution for not leasing an orphan’s estate (Dem. 38. 23; see now Thür 2008) and for fraudulent initiation. *Pha[i]nên* also occurs in *IG* i³ 4 b 24, on which see Humphreys 1988 n. 13, and in religious contexts in Kos; the distribution of these early summary procedures outside Athens should be studied. It is not clear whether Greek law had procedures similar to the Roman *flagitatio*, designed to bring the pressure of public opinion to bear on recalcitrant debtors (Usener 1900).

¹¹ If the inscribed oath of the founders of Cyrene (M/L 5; *Nomima* 41) is a genuine copy it represents a text more or less contemporary with Drakon’s laws. See also M/L 13 (*IGT* 47–8, *Nomima* 44); M/L 20 (*IGT* 49, *Nomima* 43); *IGT* 37 on the Eleian decree for Patrias (*Nomima* 23) as a form of treaty; Scharff 2016. What we call *leges sacrae* (Carbon and Pirenne-Delforge 2012) are in a sense agreements made with the gods. On the use of writing to embody public commitment (often in combination with rituals of oath taking) see R. Thomas 1996, 2005; Hölkeskamp 1992, 1999; on Gortyn, P. Perlman 2000*a*. The material representation of commitment may be what law-writing in Greece mainly has in common with earlier law-writing in Mesopotamia, where the crisis that provides motivation may be the transition from one king to the next, and ‘codes’ may therefore be orientated more towards the comprehensive representation of order, and less to historically specific problems and grievances, than in Greece or at Rome (the interpretation of Solon’s legislation put forward in this chapter is more historically orientated than that in Humphreys 1988 n. 9). However, as we shall see (n. 45), the question of succession in elected office is very relevant to the development of formal legislation (written or oral: cf. the ‘Teian curses’ M/L 30, with R. Thomas 1996) in city-states.

¹² Humphreys 1991 (pp. 20–1) on the association of *bouleusis* with office-holding. It is assumed that kin will not accept compensation in cases of deliberate non-justifiable homicide (if they did it would be kept very quiet). The regulations on accusation cover all homicides, as (by implication) does the protection for killers who leave Attika and stay away from the border markets, games, and regional festivals (*IG* i³ 104. 26–9; it may be a mistake in translating a 7th-c. text to write ‘amphiktyonic’ with a capital), though the protection was presumably afforded especially to killers in process of negotiating compensation. Gagarin

Kylon himself is said to have escaped, and some of his supporters may have fled with him; others who had been involved in the affair, on one side or the other, may have judged it prudent to leave Attika. When tempers began to cool, mediators would begin to open negotiations for compensation and/or return; but the situation was exceptional, and therefore delicate.

Sources call Drakon a *thesmothetês*, but we probably should not conclude that he held the office of that title. I am tempted to think that he legislated as *archon basileus*.¹³ The basileus' original sphere of office seems to centre round disputes between members of the elite (whereas the *epônymos* dealt especially with the Athenians as *dêmos*, and the polemarch with the army). He presided over the four *phylobasileis* (ch. 18 n. 91) and dealt with disputes over homicide and succession to priesthoods. Homicide of course was not confined to the elite, but it was their disputes that might lead to civil war (cf. *Odyssey* 24)—or, in the case of priesthoods, the disfavour of the gods. It is anachronistic to think of the responsibilities of the seventh-century basileus as primarily 'religious'; all office-holders had cultic duties, and concern with pollution is notably absent from Drakon's regulations on homicide. The basileus may have begun to acquire additional ritual responsibilities only under the Peisistratids.¹⁴

Drakon's law is partly preserved in a copy made in 409/8 (supplemented by quotations in the orators),¹⁵ and the initial section, covering the rights and duties of the victim's kin, can be translated as follows:

Even if someone kills a man non-intentionally ('not by plan') he is to leave. The basileis are to proclaim responsibility for death [whether the accused killed with his own hands or] by giving orders (*bouleusis*), and the ephetai are to judge controversial cases. Compensation may be accepted by father or brothers or sons, unanimously; any member of this group can exercise a veto. If there are no kin in these categories, kin up to cousinhood and cousin may accept

(2005, 2007) rejects and misunderstands my argument. Even if the dates were certain, it might take 15 years to build up pressure from a substantial number of controversial cases. Cf also Riess 2008. The association of a recently excavated mass grave of shackled skeletons with this affair (Killgrove 2016) is as yet unproven.

¹³ In which case his influence on Solon would extend beyond the use of writing: see below at nn. 43–50.

¹⁴ Thus the position of archon basileus would be a continuation of that of the Homeric 'king' not—as later imagined—in terms of hereditary succession, but as *primus inter pares*, an elected *princeps senatus* (if he presided regularly over the Areiopagos, and not only when it was dealing with homicide, this would fit the conception of the role proposed here, as would the sacred marriage of the *basilinna* with Dionysos, which will have contributed to the later theory of specialization in religion). On the basileus in the Peisistratid period see J. K. Davies 1988. Ideas about the supernatural dangers related to unavenged death of course existed already (see the account of the Kylonian affair in Seaford 1994, 92–9, about which I have some reservations; below, nn. 65–6, on pollution and burial rites), but it belonged to the discourse of refusal of compensation, not to that of pragmatic regulation of agreement to pay and accept payment.

¹⁵ IG i³ 104; see Stroud 1968, M/L 86, IGT 11, *Nomima* 2.

compensation if unanimous, but any one of them can veto. If there are no such kin, and the killing was non-volitional, and the Fifty-one, the ephetai, have so ruled, ten phratores can agree to the killer's return; the Fifty-one are to select these by rank. Also those who killed in the past are covered by this law. Kin up to (the) cousinhood and cousin should formally accuse the killer in the agora; cousins and cousins' children and gambroi and pentheroi and phratores should support them...

The emphatic position of the ruling that all those who have killed, either physically or by giving orders, are to leave Attika should be taken seriously. Flight (*pheugein*) was not a penalty but a precaution. Previously, whether a killer who felt he had a legitimate defence would flee may very well have been a question of the relative power of the persons involved and their supporters, and the swing of public opinion. Drakon may be taking a stand against the continued presence in Attika of powerful men who were considered by some to have killed by *bouleusis*. Henceforth, agreements about compensation and pardon can only be negotiated on behalf of killers who have left Attika.¹⁶

'The basileis' are probably the archon basileus and the four phylobasileis, and *dikazein* here (distinguished from the role of the ephetai, *diagnónai*, to decide between conflicting claims) presumably refers to public proclamation of the names of killers, once the basileis had satisfied themselves that the accuser had a substantive case.¹⁷

Drakon drew on a model of the kindred, no doubt already familiar in broad outlines, as a set of concentric circles, with (in the case of homicide) the victim at the centre.¹⁸ The inmost circle contained only the victim's father, brothers,

¹⁶ The reference to killing with one's own hands is restored, but the sense is not in doubt. Athenian territory would be places where people sounded Attic and not Boiotian or Megarian; some of these people were less closely integrated into city institutions than others (see below, n. 70, on *agroikoi*; ch. 20 n. 43). To see 'exile' as a precaution and not a penalty removes the basis for Tsantsanoglou's emendation (1972) [*phonô pheug*]*ē*[*n*] (followed by Phillips 2008) in l. 11. I cannot here go into the question of Epimenides' purification measures. See Scharff 2016, Appendix II, for parallels (*SEG* 57. 576).

¹⁷ The alternative view that the plural *basileis* refers to successive holders of the archonship is unsatisfactory, and the importance of the phylobasileis at this period should not be underestimated (ch. 18 nn. 91–2). Thür 1990 interprets *dikazein* as the formulation of oaths to be sworn by the parties, but in my view it may well refer to the last of the three proclamations known in the classical period as *prodikasiai*, in which the accused was solemnly told to stay away from the mysteries and other public places (A. R. W. Harrison 1971, 9; unnamed killers were warned in the same form. Cf. Gagarin 2000). In the classical period the basileus and phylobasileis made a final determination—after the three proclamations at monthly intervals, allowing time for further information to emerge—in the case of unknown killers and death caused by non-human entities. See also Thür 2006, 48–55.

¹⁸ Cf. Pembroke 1971 for later use of a similar model. My attention was drawn to the differences between Drakon's and Solon's models of the kindred by Bianchetti 1982, although my interpretation differs considerably from hers.

and sons; the next, all descendants of his grandfathers.¹⁹ The outer circle consisted of descendants of the victim's great-grandfathers (i.e. those who stood in the relation of *anepsiôn paides*, second cousins to him), his affines (*pentheroi* and *gambroi*, wife-givers and wife-takers), and members of his phratry.²⁰ The intention in defining this outer circle of kin and connections seems to be to include as wide a range of the victim's associates as possible, rather than to impose limits; the term *anepsiôn paides* does not yet mark the boundary of the kindred as defined and limited for jural purposes, but is merely the term used by Athenians for the most distant genealogical link commonly recognized. More distant agnates would be regarded simply as fellow-*phrateres*; non-local cognatic kin, if not members of the same phratry—for example, in the case of the aristocracy, whose alliances and kin networks might be far-flung—would fall into the category of hereditary guest-friends, *xenoi*, if the relationship were kept up.

Drakon used these distinctions between closer and more distant kin to limit the range of kin who could take on a leading role in bringing homicide charges or agreeing to accept compensation, while at the same time prescribing that kin and allies in the wider circle had a duty to support homicide charges. This implied that the principal accuser had to consult them, and enabled them to exercise a restraining influence on accusations that had no solid basis. Only kin within the circle of *anepsiioi*, descendants of the victim's grandfathers, could make a formal accusation of homicide.²¹ If the accused claimed that the killing was excusable (accident, self-defence, mistaken identity in war, acting under orders, etc.) kin could agree to make peace with him (*aidesis*) in return for a compensation

¹⁹ *Mechri anephsiotétos kai anephsiou*; I take *anephsiotés* as expressing the range of kinship covered by common descent from a parent's parent or the group of kin comprised within this range, and thus including the victim's uncles (FB and MB) in the circle. It is not clear whether the term should be taken as abstract, denoting a relationship, or collective (Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 68 has *neotés* as collective). Abstract nouns of this form (which is early: Chantraine 1933) seem to be based on adjectives and denote states—youth, gaucherie, courage—rather than relationships; however, *anepsios* is adjectival in form. The term occurs later only in legal contexts ([Dem.] 43. 63, Plat. *Laws* 871b), where it is understood as abstract. I assume that matrilineal as well as patrilineal cousins are included (contra: Hedrick 1984, 210), since there is no evidence that *anepsios* in Greek had ever been restricted to patrikin. (Rice 1986, 213–16 shows that in Hellenistic Rhodes *anepsios* could be used to denote the son of a cousin.) Cf. Heitsch 1984a.

²⁰ On *anepsiôn paides* see W. Thompson 1970a and below, n. 62. *Pentheroi* and *gambroi* may be used here in a classificatory sense to include affines of the victim's kin (e.g. ZH, BWB, SWF) as well as his own WF, WB, and DH.

²¹ *Prociépēn tōi ktēnanti en agorái*; *agora* here presumably denotes the public open space where basilis and others gathered, rather than a formal assembly meeting (Humphreys 1991). The accuser could probably be chosen either as the victim's closest kinsman or for his seniority and prestige; a son or younger brother of the victim might ask an uncle to act with or for him. A single individual has to take the leading role here; this is why Drakon specifies that all *anepsiioi* are obliged to support an accusation (*syndiôkein*), together with the outer circle of kin and allies.

(*poinê*).²² Such an agreement could be made by the kin of the inner circle (fathers, brothers, and sons), provided they were unanimous; if there were no kin in the inner circle, those in the second circle (*anepsioi*) could take their place and agree to *aidesis*, again with the provision that the decision must be unanimous. The stress on unanimity is clearly a protection for the killer, whose safety had to be guaranteed if he was to return to Attika. If there were no kin in the second circle and the court of the fifty-one *ephetai* decided that the killing was non-intentional, the *ephetai* could select ten members of the victim's phratry, by rank and reputation,²³ to agree to the killer's return.

Aidesis payments may have been shared out among the circle of those who took part in the rite of reconciliation.²⁴ This division would have provided some motivation for Athenians to accept a somewhat stricter limitation of the right to take part in decisions on *aidesis*. Defining kin entitled to a place in the outer circle, mobilizing them to take a decision, and arriving at a unanimous verdict would be problematic. It is, however, noteworthy that affines play a very marginal role in homicide affairs in Drakon's law. In the classical period, as we shall see (ch. 7), they were often closely involved in legal disputes. Various explanations of this discrepancy between Drakon's law and later practice might be suggested. Drakon will have been mainly concerned with cases involving aristocratic families, whose affines might live too far away to provide support on such occasions; Athenians who married locally may have tended to marry within their phratry, if not also within the kindred; there may have been a feeling that the judgment of affines was too apt to be biased by the influence of the women through whom

²² The law does not expressly prohibit kin from agreeing to *aidesis* in cases where the killer could produce no defence, but public opinion would be against it (cf. Heitsch 1984a; Maffi 1988, 114–15). That compensation is normally paid is implied by the classification of certain types of justifiable homicide as *nêpoinê*, scot-free (*IG* i³ 104. 38). The distinction between cases of homicide in which the killer could produce a defence and those in which no *poinê* was due was further elaborated in later law (Humphreys 1991).

²³ *Aristindên*; no doubt the *ephetai* would look first to the leading aristocratic members of the phratry, but the term is not a synonym for *ex Eupatridôn*, and it was important above all to choose 'good men and true' whose judgment would be respected. It is unclear whether these provisions for re-admitting the killers of victims who had no kin in Attika correspond to a real need or were included merely for the sake of completeness. The victims might be immigrants with powerful patrons or affines, or men whose kin had all fled after the Kylonian affair. On the *ephetai* see Humphreys 1991, n. 43; Gagliardi 2012.

²⁴ The term for the phratores is *esesthôn*, 'allow in', rather than *aidesasthai*, which may imply that compensation was not paid in such cases, although I see no reason in principle why a phratry should not accept a *poinê*, which could be used in celebrating a phratry festival. *Il.* 18. 498–500 suggests that acceptance of the *poinê* was an essential component of *aidesis*, without which the killer could not safely rejoin the community. Division of such payments among those concerned in avenging homicide seems to be a very widespread phenomenon: cf. e.g. Chelod 1980; D. H. Green 1998; Charles-Edwards 1993, pp. 181–200. However, it should be noted that reliable ethnographic analyses of vengeance and compensation are hard to find, due to changes imposed by modern states and the tendency of both western and non-western sources to construct simplistic stereotypes of the violence of earlier times.

they were linked to the victim's family; or perhaps the responsibility for such weighty decisions had to be grounded in a biological tie.

The association of a wide circle of kin and other allies in the pursuit of the killer, expressed by the term *syndiôkein* (where the prefix has its full force), corresponded to Homeric practice, in which a killer could be hounded by the *kasignêtoi* and *etai* of his victim (Humphreys in preparation *a*). But by explicitly specifying their role Drakon gave a warning to accusers that if they brought a charge without securing the backing of their kin their claims would not be taken seriously. The strength of a case was to be assessed, at least in part, by the support it could muster—not only on the day when the accusation was first made, but on the two subsequent occasions, at monthly intervals, when the preliminary hearings (*prodikasiai*) were held in the *agora*. Reconciliation after a killing could not be imposed by fiat; public opinion had to swing solidly behind it, and the more distant kin and allies of the victim, who might also have ties to his killer, and whose emotions were less deeply involved, had an important role to play. Solon's law prohibiting neutrality and detachment in situations of civil strife (*stasis*) may stem from the same way of thinking (Humphreys 1991).²⁵

In Drakon's law, for the first time, rights and obligations were formally attached in writing to degrees of relationship, instead of being distributed among more fluid coalitions as they crystallized out in each situation.²⁶

The formulation of law in writing inevitably involves a simplification and rationalization of current practice; even if the rules laid down have all been voiced many times in disputes and hearings, to take them out of context transforms their status. From being part of practice and speech they move to a transcendent level as *langue*, as standards by which practice is to be measured.²⁷ We thus have

²⁵ The procedure involving three *prodikasiai* may be a post-Draconian innovation, but it conforms to the spirit of his law in that the concern is still to allow tempers to cool and public opinion to crystallize (cf. mediation by kin in *Il.* 9. 447–73). On Solon's neutrality law see Van r'Wout 2010; Humphreys 1991, n. 26; Ulf 1990, 143–4 on cultural censure of men who avoid battle. Ampolo 1996, 317–18 refers to the Kylon affair. Gabba (1994) suggested that the law was invented by extremists (cf. Thuc. 3. 82. 4–5) in the period 404–399; but Lys. 31. 27 seems to be unaware of it, and the Thirty relied on terrorizing the citizenry into quietism. The reference to arms may fit with Solon's explicit recognition of the hoplites (*zeugitai*) as a census class (below, n. 68), and the penalty of *atimia* with the implication of that status that hoplites were *epitimoi* and should value their rights.

²⁶ Both the fact that phratries were not exogamous and the absence of any trace of lineages in Homer warn us against assuming that rights and obligations were clearly tied to a genealogical structure before the beginning of written law. Recording homicide law in writing also formalized the insistence that all killers must leave and that *aidesis* decisions must (within the specified limits) be unanimous, and fixed the list of forms of non-culpable homicide (cf. Heitsch 1984*a* on Drakon's innovations; Faraguna 2006).

²⁷ See Bourdieu 1972. The contrast between oral and written law must not be over-stressed, since selective citation of written laws continues as part of practice and some orally cited norms achieve quasi-legal status, but nevertheless there is a difference. The legislator may also attempt, in the interests of consistency and completeness, to provide for situations that rarely arise in practice (cf. R. Thomas 1989, ch. 3, especially 184–5, on the effects of writing on genealogies). This however is comparatively rare in

to ask not only what conceptions of the structure and functions of the kindred were incorporated into Drakon's and Solon's laws, but also how their formalized models of kin networks influenced subsequent behaviour, and through what mechanisms the influence worked.

The model of the kindred represented in Drakon's law was simple and corresponded fairly closely to common experience, as we find it represented both in epic and, later, in the Attic orators. The individual was surrounded by circles of kin and quasi-kin of varying degrees of closeness which corresponded to the confidence he could feel in calling on them for support. By and large, *anepsiotai* were more distant than brothers, and *anepsiôn paides* were more distant still. But these distinctions were still rough and ready. The next step, a much more precise ranking of degrees of kinship, was to be taken by Solon.

SOLON: RESOURCES, PROBLEMS, POWERS

Drakon's legislation will have restructured the field of expectations within which the idea of law-making was situated. The historical coincidence that Athens' first written law dealt with homicide heightened the aura of solemnity surrounding written law, and the connotations of Drakon's name must soon have been exploited for the same purpose.²⁸ Passing laws and writing them will have been more clearly available as a means of dealing with social crisis, even if alternatives were not yet excluded.²⁹ An original form, the revolving wooden beam (*axôn*) had been found for storing substantial legal texts in a public space.³⁰ The link between mediation

Greece; the effects of such theoretical problem solving on early Roman law are much more significant (cf. Crook 1967).

²⁸ See Humphreys 1991 on reflection about homicide in sixth-century Athenian myths, which also added to the distance between law and the situations in which it was applied. Some have concluded from Drakon's name that he was himself mythical, but the name and other names formed from it exist also outside Attika (*LPgNI*, IIIA). There was no doubt a good deal of follow-up legislation (see below, at nn. 127–8; Humphreys 1991; Carawan 1998) on homicide after Drakon's initial regulations, some of it perhaps added to his axones (there were at least two), some probably post-Solonian. Stroud 1968, 54–6 shows that the law cited in Dem. 23. 28 cannot be fitted into the text on Drakon's first axon. Its terminology is peculiar: *eispherein* where we would expect (at least after Ephialtes) *eisagein* (Wolff 1961, 76 n. 198 rejects Schelling's emendation), and the odd formula *tous archontas, hōn hekastoi dikastai eisi*, which occurs also in the law of [Dem.] 43. 71 on uprooting olive trees. If these problems are not due to editorial interference at the end of the 5th c. the combination of trial by the Heliiaia (cf. Humphreys 1983b, 245–6) and the archaic term *dikastai* for the archon's function (cf. n. 8 above) with an apparently rather fluid division of labour between archons might suggest a date in the 470s–450s.

²⁹ For example, appeal to ritual experts (Epimenides).

³⁰ *IG* i³ 233, 243 have been cited as examples of texts on stone from the early fifth century that may be influenced in form by Drakon's and Solon's axones. Hölkeskamp 1999 collects evidence for the positioning of laws in other Greek cities, but we do not seem to have a comprehensive study of the material aspects of early Greek monumental/public writing (as for Egypt in Assmann 1991). The late 5th c. copy

(arbitration) and law-making had been reconfigured: the mediator not only cited rules of law to support his recommendations, thus classifying a specific conflict in terms of general legal categories, but he gave permanent form in writing to these general rules. Reasoning that might have remained at the level of analogy ('disputes over killings in civil war should be dealt with by the procedures established for non-intentional—and, where appropriate, intentional—homicide in times of peace') led to a resystematization of the procedural norms on which the analogy drew. Drakon's law also provided a model for the association of law-making with clarification of the status of Athenians who had left Attika, and for the precise specification of the rights and obligations of various categories of kin, affines, and associates. If he legislated as archon basileus, his laws also provided a model for the use of elective office as a base for a regulation of current problems within the office-holder's remit that was designed to last after his term ended. The question whether quietism in situations of political conflict was to be encouraged or penalized may also have been in the air.³¹

Like Drakon's law on homicide, Solon's legislation was a response to a situation of crisis, as his poems clearly show. Drakon, however, had been motivated by conflict within the elite; Solon had to deal with trouble from below, and regulate relations between classes.³² Peasants seem to have been affected by obligations in two ways: some had to make sharecropping payments of one-sixth³³ of their crops, while others had been sold into slavery. Solon's measures combined 'freeing' the land by removing property markers (*horoi*) and freeing the enslaved, some of whom had been sold outside Attika.³⁴ He did not make a general redistribution of 'fat' land in equal shares to all (F 34). His action was known as the *Seisachtheia*, 'removal of burdens', and this term (which seems to have referred to 'burdens' attached to land as well as to persons) was interpreted in later Athenian tradition as denoting a cancellation of debts, 'both private and public' (*A.P.* 6. 1). Scholars have for the most part concluded that the *horoi* were erected on land farmed by the *hektēmoroi*, and that removal left the land in their ownership.

of Drakon's laws, *IG* i³ 104, preserves the headings 'first axon' and 'second axon'; the text of the first contained 45 lines of 50 letters each. See further below, n. 48; G. Davis 2011.

³¹ Cf. Hdt. 5. 28–9 (Hölkeskamp 1999, 214–17) where Parian arbitrators rewarded quietists; Raaflaub 1996 on Hesiod as a quietist; n. 25 above.

³² Cf. R. G. Osborne 1996a, Raaflaub 1997 on early written law as mainly concerned with relations among the elite. Contra, Hölkeskamp 1999 (267 n. 20), rightly stressing the situationality of early law (262–9 on Solon); cf. id. 2005.

³³ It has been argued that a *hektē-moros* should keep rather than pay one-sixth (cf. Gallant 1982, Van Wees 1999). See however P. J. Rhodes 1981a, 91; Sancisi-Weerdenberg 1993. Survey in Faraguna 2012c; see also Zurbach 2013.

³⁴ F 36 West. Those sold into slavery may have been defaulting hektemoroi (see n. 42 below); the reference to 'slavery' in Attika in lines 13–15 may be metaphorical and denote the hektemoroi.

There has also been a tendency to assume that those sold into slavery were sharecroppers unable to meet their obligations.

Recently some of the weak points in this interpretation³⁵ have been addressed by the suggestion that the *hektémoroi* were bringing new land under cultivation.³⁶ In this case they would be young men whose fathers did not have enough land to support them (*akléroi*); they might need hired labour to help them in clearing the land of trees and rocks, and in terracing, or they may themselves have been hired by richer men to do such work; they would need vine and olive stocks to plant.³⁷ Wealthier men could have helped them with these initial expenses, in anticipation of later repayment, and there may well have been some ambiguity as to whether the subsequent sharecropping obligation was to be regarded as loan repayment or rent, and what rights the horoi marking the land represented.³⁸ It is doubtful if there was any clear concept of rent in Greece at this period,³⁹ and the type of loan envisaged here will also have been unprecedented; clarity

³⁵ A sharecropping rent of 1/6 should not have been impossibly onerous.

³⁶ The suggestion is not entirely new (see Link 1991). I follow Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1993, with minor modifications (Link 1991 takes a similar view except that he follows Gallant 1982 in thinking that the hektémoroi paid 5/6 of the crop and had other land of their own; the view of Welwei 2005, 39 n. 29, is not entirely clear). However, I am less persuaded of the association suggested by Sancisi-Weerdenburg between the *hekté*-payments and the *dekaté* collected by Peisistratos (perhaps a misunderstanding of the parasite system: see ch. 20 n. 56; another view in Spahn 1998; on early taxation, *IEph* 1a, no. 1, 6th c. Ephesos; Descat 1990; Van Wees 2013a). Rihl 1991 assumes that the payments of 1/6 were made to the state, partly because she feels a need to explain Solon's cancellation of public as well as private debts. But if the inclusion of public debts was not mainly formulaic it probably referred to fines imposed by magistrates (cf. below at nn. 44–6 on the archon's proclamation).

³⁷ The land would be hillside. Solon F 13. 47–8 West appears to be a reference to hired labour; cf. perhaps *Od.* 11. 489–91, where the lowest status in life is that of a hired man (*thés*) working for a landless (*akléros*) farmer; Link 1991; Bravo 1993, 1996b. Bravo is right to insist that hektémoroi are not day labourers, but the status of hektémoroi should not be explained by the association of the term with *pelatai*, which may be a gloss of the classical period. Early uses of the latter term are (lyric) Doric, and it may have originated in colonial contexts; in classical Athens it may have referred to dispossessed residents of kleruchized areas who continued to farm as tenants for Athenian owners. (In Plat. *Euthyphro* 4c Euthyphro calls his father's employee 'my' *pelatés* because he is justifying a prosecution for homicide and has to state his relationship to the victim.)

³⁸ At this period the transition from horoi marking ownership, via *prasis epi lusei* (mortgage conceived as temporary sale) to horoi marking encumbrances can hardly have begun (the attempt of Bravo 1990 to find the latter in Theognis 825–30 is unpersuasive). De Ste. Croix 2004, 110–11, argues that, in farming, rent and debt were not yet clearly distinguished. My suspicion is that rich landowners were marking out holdings on hitherto unclaimed land in advance of any clearing work: see below n. 41 on the *nomos argias*, and the suggestion of Link 1991 that the public property (*démosion*) stolen by the rich (Solon F 4. 12–13) was such land. On the meaning of *démosion* see Rousset 2013, 121.

³⁹ If phratries and temples owned land at this date it would presumably have been farmed (or stocked) by wealthy men who undertook to provide sacrificial victims in return; such arrangements will not yet have been formalized. On early uses of *misthos* see Scheid-Tissinier 1994, 263–7; Bravo 1993; Van Wees 2013a, 23–8. The notion of interest on loans was probably also not yet formulated (the term *tokos* suggests an origin in herding arrangements).

was not in the interest of the creditors, who wanted both to claim that the obligation was perpetual and the land was theirs, and to penalize ‘tenants’ who failed to establish viable farms by selling them into slavery.

On this interpretation, the crisis would have been caused by a combination of population growth with interest on the part of the elite in intensified production for trade, especially of oil and wine. Marginal land, which had hitherto become the property of the man who cleared it, would have become subject to new arrangements, about which only vague traditions survived later, partly because their institutionalization had been aborted by Solon’s reforms, but also because they had been deliberately left ill-defined.⁴⁰

Such a view might explain the tradition that Solon had restricted the size of land holdings (Aristotle *Politics* 1266b 14–18), on the assumption that the restriction only applied to newly cleared land; however, this tradition may be based only on philosophical speculation. A more interesting possibility is reinterpretation of Solon’s ‘law against idleness’, the *nomos argias*. It was already suggested by Wilamowitz (1893 I, 255) that *argia* here should be given its primary meaning, ‘uncultivated land’; this suggestion was argued in more detail by Dreizehnter 1978. However, Wilamowitz associated the law with the procedure for *paranoia*, by which an insane head of household could be deprived of control of his estate (the *argia* procedure would be used against a farmer who failed to support his family), while Dreizehnter (following Theophrastos) attributed the law to Peisistratos and saw it as part of the characteristic tyrant policy of discouraging migration to the city. I suggest that the aim of the law was to penalize men who appropriated tracts of uncultivated land, marking them with horoi, and then failed to cultivate.⁴¹

Solon, then, on this interpretation, gained public support for acting in a situation in which wealthy men were extending their holdings, marking newly or controversially appropriated land with horoi, helping or employing landless men

⁴⁰ On trade in wine and oil see Pratt 2015. The extent of cultivation and the size of the population in Attika at this period are disputed. Foxhall 1997 argues that there could have been no shortage of land; but ‘shortage’ is always a question of perceptions; the survey data for Attika are problematic (cf. ch. 10 at nn. 36–50), and the dearth of ‘luxury’ finds from the countryside in the 7th c. may be due to a greater concentration of display in the city (Ampolo 1996). Even an exploitation of eschatiai by the rich that left very modest archaeological traces might have produced intense resentment. The 7th c. was the period of most intense use of Attic peak sanctuaries (Langdon 1976; cf. Ismard 2010, 63–6); this may be mainly related to upper-class patterns of hunting, but these may have been affected by an expansion of agriculture. The theory of L’Homme-Wéry 1996 (following Van Effenterre), that the horoi marked land in the Eleusinian plain recently recovered from Megara, is not well supported by evidence (cf. Clinton 2001).

⁴¹ Note also the association of well-farmed land with responsible citizenship in Hdt. 5. 28–9. Todd 1993, s.v., suggests that the law targeted men who did not work their land (cf. Schmitz 2004, 190–202; Gallo’s attempt to link *argia* to clientship, 1994, is implausible). The MS text of Bekker’s rhetorical lexicon (1814. I, 310. 1–5) gives *epidikasia* as the procedure for *paranoia*, *argia*, and claims for epikleroi; if correct, this information might confirm that land was in question.

to bring it into cultivation in return for sharecropping payments, and (perhaps) getting rid of those who failed to establish viable farms by selling them as slaves. These activities, if their scale was increased, might well be classified as ‘greed’ and as ‘enslaving’ the land and the employees, the terms we find in Solon’s poems. We need not assume that sale into slavery was widespread; Solon admits that he mobilized (*xynégagon*) the *dêmos*, presumably by using his poems, and we should accept that he was capable of exaggeration.⁴²

Solon was probably elected for the year 594/3⁴³ to the most powerful position in Athens, the eponymous archonship, on the reputation of his poems. He had called on his fellow-Athenians to fight for control of the island of Salamis (F 1–3 West), and he may already have recited poems criticizing the greed (*koros*) of the rich (F 4 West, especially 4c). As archon he perhaps already had implicit legislative powers in his hands. The archon proclaimed, when he took office, that he would respect the current distribution of property (*A.P.* 56. 2); this parallels the proclamation of cancellation of public debts by Spartan and Persian kings at their succession (Herodotus 6. 59),⁴⁴ and the early Athenian provisions ensuring that lawsuits did not run on from the tenure of one magistrate to that of his successor.⁴⁵ The notion of office was not yet strongly elaborated; the incoming office-

⁴² F. 36. 1–2 (cf. R. G. Osborne 1996, 219). If Solon carried out his reforms as archon (see below), this passage should refer to his election campaign and not to summoning the Assembly, which was part of the archon’s regular duties. Welwei 1992 and Van Wees 1999 emphasize the absence of other evidence for debt slavery (e.g. in Hesiod). It remains unclear how ‘just’ and ‘unjust’ sale (F. 36. 12–13) were differentiated.

⁴³ Arguments for dating Solon’s legislation in the 570s, well after his archonship, depended on the chronological implications of Herodotus’ stories about his travels (Hignett 1952, 316–21) and on the dating of Athenian coinage (on the theory of a legislative commission in 592/1 see P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 120–2; on coinage, G. Davis 2012, 2014).

⁴⁴ See Briant 1996, 538–40, 588, 608–9 on the Persian kingship; Hdt. 6. 59 on Xerxes’ remission of tribute debts. Similar proclamations at the beginning of a period of office (or a religious cycle, as in the case of the Jewish sabbatical year) take on various connotations in different societies, orientated towards the relation between predecessor and successor in office or presented as an act of grace by the latter. I am not interpreting these institutions as survivals of age-old tradition, but as a spectrum of innovative attempts at rationalizing succession to office in conditions of insecurity. Cf. the Persian rationalization of the King’s arbitrary power to grant gifts and favours by representing these as a reward for benefactions—evaluation of which remained a royal prerogative (Briant, 315–37). The Greek belief that treaties with a Persian king had to be renewed with his successor (Hdt. 7. 151; cf. Badian 1993) may have been influenced by Greek perceptions of the Persian monarchy as arbitrary despotism. Treaties between Greek cities were made ‘forever’ (M/L 10) or for a fixed number of years (M/L 17, *Staatsverträge* 111; Knoepfler 1995*b*).

⁴⁵ The archon did not accept *epidikasiai* for *klêroi* and *epiklêroi* in his last month of office ([Dem.] 46. 22), presumably because the applications had to be announced in the Assembly, which will not have met more than once a month at this date (*A.P.* 43. 4; the archon’s responsibilities in this field may derive from his presidency of the Assembly). The *archon basileus* did not accept charges of homicide during his last two months of office, because he had to conduct three *prodikasiai* at monthly intervals in the *agora* before passing a case to the *ephetai* for trial (Antiphon 6. 38–42; above, n. 25). These rules may have been formalized in post-Solonian times, but they precede Kleisthenes’ new civic calendar and reflect early attitudes. It has been suggested that the archon’s undertaking to respect property may also be post-Solonian

holder had to make it clear that he was not accepting responsibility for any delinquencies of his predecessor (failure to collect fines, dues, etc.), but also that he would not allow disappointed litigants to reopen cases. The eponymous archon, through his position as president of the Assembly and control over its herald, had become responsible for disputes concerning inheritance and epikleroi (heiresses), and thence might well have come to deal with other disputes over property. Solon, as archon, was thus in a position not only to proclaim that he would not collect debts to the state incurred under his predecessors, but also to lay down the conditions under which he was prepared to recognize private claims; i.e., he could make a proclamation similar to that out of which the praetor's edict developed, later, in Rome.⁴⁶ The references to his own period of office (*archê*) in his amnesty law (Plutarch *Solon* 19. 4) and in his law on testamentary dispositions ([Demosthenes] 46. 14) can also be directly related to the archon's powers. Solon was announcing that as archon he would (with some exceptions) respect the rights of men who had been treated as *atimoi*—i.e., he would admit them to the Assembly and allow them to take part in legal proceedings⁴⁷—

(see P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 622); it seems however to be separate from, and in my view earlier than, the general oath sworn by all nine archons that they would obey the laws, which the Athenians not unreasonably associated with Solon (*A.P.* 7. 1). (In Mycenaean society public debts were carried over from one year to the next: Killen 1984.)

⁴⁶ Cf. Wilamowitz 1893 II, 62 n. 35, though the parallel with the praetor's edict is used there in a more restricted sense. Even in the classical period the *traditio* of debts from one board of magistrates to another was strictly regulated; if Solon as incoming archon was faced with unpaid debts to the state, he had to state publicly whether he intended to collect them or not. On the development of the praetor's edict see J. M. Kelly 1966, A. Watson 1970, Kaser 1984, Selb 1986. Kaser, in a stimulating comparison of early Roman and Greek law, notes (1) that in Rome private law is made by praetors, in Greece by lawgivers; (2) Greek legislation is more systematic in character, Roman law more openly context-related (political); (3) in Rome *iurisconsulti* provide continuity from one term of office to the next; Greek *mnêmones* (and perhaps Athenian thesmothetai and, later, paredroi) remember decisions in individual cases but do not develop legal expertise. However, we do not really know how Cretan enthusiasm for written law arose; J. K. Davies 1996*b* suggests that boards of *kosmoi* may have developed a quasi-praetorian tradition of legislation. The relation between the Roman praetor's instructions to *iudices* and the Athenian *anakrisis* might also be explored; note Thür's view that early Greek magistrates instructed courts on the conduct of hearings (1987, 1989, 1990; cf. Humphreys 1991, n. 15). If the Roman magisterial edict developed from powers of regulating public occasions (markets, festivals, etc.), leading to the issue of edicts and interdicts and thence, via procedural rulings, eventually (in the 2nd c. BCE) to substantive law, this would supply a further contrast with Greece, where the place of the edict was taken by assembly decrees.

⁴⁷ *Atimia* in my view was complete loss of honour and respect rather than outlawry: see above n. 9. What was involved in making men who had suffered it *epitimoi* again may not have been thought out in concrete detail, but the proclamation implied a concept of a sphere of public interaction for which Solon and his fellow-magistrates were responsible. It is quite possible that magistrates had been appropriating *atimia*, originally an informal community sanction, and imposing it by judicial sentence; it would be the victims of such sentences who were to benefit from Solon's amnesty.

and was specifying the conditions to be met in claims for *kleroi* and *epikleroi*.⁴⁸

Thus Solon's cancellation of debts and uprooting of *horoi* may have been his first act in office, taking the form of the customary undertaking to respect existing property rights, with additional explicit assurances that he would not enforce payment of any debts incurred under his predecessors, that the sharecropping obligations of the *hektemoroi* were covered by this cancellation of debts, and that he considered the land worked by the *hektemoroi* to be their property. The archon's proclamation, which was probably regarded by rich landowners as a safeguard against redistribution of land (De Sanctis 1898, 122) was used to settle a class struggle over rights to land by categorizing it as a question of debt. Removal of markers from the land under dispute was described by Solon (F 36. 3–7) as 'freeing' the land, rather than redistributing it.⁴⁹ There is a fairly strong tradition in the sources that the cancellation of debts was Solon's first act, and I suggest that he did it by making use of the archon's traditional proclamation on entry into office; the proclamation, made in the Assembly, would have been greeted with acclamation by supporters, and in this way ratified by the *demos*.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ I am not suggesting that either the amnesty or the law on wills was part of the archon's proclamation, but that the reference to his term of office in them must be taken as referring to the archonship (the fact that *archein* can be used in a rather general way of military commands does not justify the extension of the term to lawgivers at this early date), and that the dating was especially appropriate in these texts because they dealt with matters for which the archon was traditionally responsible. One might have expected the amnesty to figure as an early measure, but Plut. *Sol.* 19. 4 says that the thirteenth axon 'has it as the eighth of the laws'; the Greek is ambiguous here (I am grateful to Nigel Wilson for consultation on this point), but should be taken to mean that this was the eighth of the laws on that axon (cf. Ruschenbusch 1966, 25). The 409/8 copy of Drakon's first axon (*IG* i³ 104. 11–55) contained 2250 letters. Demosthenes 23 quotes short passages from it as separate 'laws'. Although he probably had no authority for the division (i³ 104 is not divided into 'laws', the cutter was instructed to copy 'the' law of Drakon, and to judge from i³ 1 any punctuation in the original text would have occurred within as well as between sentences), this analogy suggests that Plutarch's source (the Aristotelian work on Solon's axones?) would have divided up the text of each axon into a number of laws rather than thinking of a single law as covering more than one axon. On this basis, if each change of topic was taken as a new law, a single axon might have held as many as 20 laws. On the availability of Solon's axones in the 4th c. see Stroud 1993; Polemon saw them in the early 2nd c. (F 87 Preller 1838), and Plutarch saw fragments in the imperial period (*Solon* 25. 1–2). The highest axon number quoted is 21 (Harp. *hoti hoi poiêtoi*; see n. 128 below). See now Leão and Rhodes 2015.

⁴⁹ Connor 1987, 49 suggests a ceremonial destruction (uprooting?) of the *horoi*, which might have been a good way of restraining the *demos*.

⁵⁰ If the *Seisachtheia* was enacted through the archon's proclamation, would it have been inscribed on an axon? Harpokration s.v. *sitos* says that the term appeared on Solon's first axon; he explains it as denoting maintenance payments due to orphans (and their mothers, [Dem.] 46. 20) and to women separated from their dowries, but this explanation relates to Demosthenes' use of the term in his case against his guardians. If the *seisachtheia* did figure on the first axon, one might imagine that *sitos* payments were exempted from the cancellation of debts, or postulate a connection with the prohibition of food exports other than olive oil (on which see n. 60 below).

Measures would have been taken at an early date after the cancellation of debts to ensure that genuine Athenians who had been sold into slavery or had fled abroad were reintegrated into the community without controversy, but that news of the cancellation did not encourage landless men from elsewhere to present themselves as returning Athenians.⁵¹ Solon's law permitting the incorporation into the body of Athenians of men in permanent exile from their city of origin and craftsmen who came with their families may belong in this context.⁵² As archon, he could guarantee the main civic rights of the period: entry to Assembly meetings, legal capacity in cases heard by him. However, the permanent immigrant would also need to be accepted by the phratry among whose members he lived, in order to take part in local sacrifices and celebrate rites de passage for his family.

It was, in my view, Solon who formally integrated phratry membership into the developing conception of citizenship; but the question is controversial. Philochoros, in a fragment once attributed to the fourth book of his history of Attika, which perhaps covered the period from 461–403, quoted a law that 'Phratries must accept as members not only *orgeônes* but also *homogalaktes*', and glossed the latter term as equivalent to *gennêtai*. Andrewes (1961), on the basis of this apparent Philochoran date, suggested that the law was associated with Perikles' restriction in 451 of citizenship to those born of two Athenian parents, and that it exempted two types of privileged phratry subgroup from scrutiny by the phratry as a whole. However, the book number is uncertain, and such an exemption would be surprising in the context of Perikles' law;⁵³ moreover, the term *homogalaktes* seems too archaic for the mid-fifth century.⁵⁴ It is also far from clear that phratry subgroups would have had their own procedures for admission in 451. Even in the fourth century the procedure in many phratries was probably that the father or other sponsor of the candidate led the *koureion* lamb to the altar and took an

⁵¹ The remark on dialect in F 36. 14–15 West indicates a generous policy (cf. Dem. 57. 18 for problems in the reintegration of men enslaved as prisoners in the Peloponnesian War, again with reference to 'foreign accents'). We cannot tell how the ransoming (if any) of slaves was negotiated; I imagine a number just ran away from their masters.

⁵² The law (Plut. *Sol.* 24) cannot be later than Kleisthenes. Exiles would presumably be sponsored by upper-class allies in Athens; this might speak against a date in the period of tyranny, and in any case tyrants perhaps would not secure the status of their hangers-on by law.

⁵³ See ch. 19 n. 3. Bourriot 1976, 600–3 provides a history of interpretations. Ogden 1996 takes the law to be pre-Periklean but thinks that it defends the right of *genê* to accept *mêtroxenoi* (children of foreign mothers), which was being questioned by commoners. This seems to me improbable; it is also most unlikely that (as Ogden claims) Philochoros' gloss covers both *orgeônes* and *homogalaktes*, since *orgeônes* existed in his day (*IG* ii² 1259, 1284).

⁵⁴ The prefix *homo-* seems more productive in terms for social groups in the early period than later: see LSJ s.v. *homêlix*, *homestios*, *homogastrios*, *homoerkês*, *homokapoi*, *homoklêros*, *homosipuos*, *homosporos*. One could I suppose claim that an archaic term had been retained as part of phratry terminology, and that it had only been replaced by *gennêtai* in the fourth century (cf. Bourriot 1976). Ismard 2010, 104–6, attributes this regulation to Kleisthenes, with little justification.

oath: if there were no objections, the lamb was sacrificed and this constituted admission. Separate admission procedures would require separate altars, and we know in one case that phratry and *genos* shared altars.⁵⁵

In normal phratry procedure, what needed regulating was not the possibility that a candidate whose victim had been sacrificed would somehow be rejected by a later vote, but the procedure of appeal for a candidate whose victim was rejected. It seems to me that looking at the law in early sixth-century terms, and seeing it in connection with Solon's repatriation exercise, provides an easier reading. *Orgeónes*, at this period, was probably used as a general term for any cult-sharing group;⁵⁶ an *orgeon* would be a person who regularly attended phratry sacrifices. *Homogalaktes*, on the other hand, seems to denote fellow-members of a household.⁵⁷ Solon's law, then, would direct phratries not only to accept those returning Athenians who were vouched for by members as having attended phratry sacrifices in the past, but also to accept candidates known to members and their kin as having belonged to members' households.⁵⁸

RESTRAINING THE RICH

Since we have Solon's own testimony that he blamed the greed of the rich for the crisis, we may move from the cancellation of debts to other measures directed

⁵⁵ Aisch. 2. 147; the plural 'altars' here probably refers to different deities rather than phratry subgroups, though there is a possible case of subgroup altars in Thasos. On phratry admission procedures, the influence of demes, and the new tightening-up in the phratry *Demotionidai* after the Peloponnesian War see ch. 19.

⁵⁶ Cf. *orgeónas* in *H. Ap.* 389; Attic *orgeónes* probably from **orgeónes*, by metathesis. While there are difficulties in relating the two forms to each other (and to *orgia*; see Chantraine 1933, 159–65), they can hardly be separated semantically. *Hierón orgiôn* [*synthytai*] may appear as one of the types of group whose decisions are legitimized in Solon's law on associations (*Digest* 47. 22. 4), though unfortunately the text is corrupt: the best solution is either to change *é nautai* into *synthytai* (Guarducci 1935) or to change the order in the list of types of association to: *dēmos é phratores é hierón orgiôn synsítōi é homotaphoi é thiasótai é nautai épi leian oichomenoi é eis emporian*. N. F. Jones 1999, 311–20, with discussion of earlier emendations, suggests changing *nautai* to *naukrariai* (chs. 19 n. 3; 22 n. 11). Ismard 2010, 44–57 accepts the MS reading without noting its syntactical problem (*hierón orgeón*). J. K. Davies 1996a, 635 suspects some editing in the 5th c. or later. Seleukos (*FGH* 341 F 1) quoted the term *orgeónes* as appearing on Solon's axones. See also W. S. Ferguson 1944; S. D. Lambert 1993, 250–1.

⁵⁷ Ar. *Pol.* 1252 b 12–18, tracing a process of evolution from the household (*homosipuoí*, meat-sharing; *homokápoi* or *homokapnoi*, garden- or hearth-sharers) to the village community derived from the extended family, uses *homogalaktes* for the latter, indicating that it implies shared descent. This passage may be the basis for Philochoros' gloss (it is not at all obvious how he would have interpreted the law). *Homosepuoi* appear in the new sacred law from Selinus (*A* 3, Jameson a.o. 1993, 20; *SEG* 43. 630), but the context is lost. On *sipuis* see Triantaphyllopoulos 1974, 335.

⁵⁸ On *kai* ... *kai* see ch. 19 n. 3. Cf. perhaps *Iliad* 22. 491–8 for the exclusion from a meat-sharing group of an orphan whose father is no longer among the adults present.

towards controlling the acquisition and display of wealth. There was henceforth to be no slavery for debt.⁵⁹ Food, apart from olive oil, was not to be exported.⁶⁰ Conspicuous displays of wealth and power at weddings and funerals were forbidden. The *phernê* (trousseau) brought by a bride to her husband's home was not to consist of more than three robes and a modest amount of jewellery.⁶¹ Similar restrictions were placed on grave-goods and funerals. The dead were to be laid out within the *oikos* only, for one day after death. Funeral processions were to take place in the small hours of the morning, before dawn; women under sixty who were not kin might not take part in them, women were not to wail or lacerate themselves; funerary rites were not to include commemorative visits to the tombs of kin and ancestors; sacrifice of cattle at the graveside was forbidden. Visits to the tombs of non-kin, except on the occasion of a funeral, were also banned; powerful men were prevented from inviting a crowd of allies and dependants to take part in commemorative rites.⁶²

⁵⁹ A father could still sell a daughter who had lost her honour and could not be given in marriage: see below, n. 137, on *moicheia*; Sissa 1987, 110–16. E. M. Harris 2002 argues, questionably, that ‘debt-bondage’ continued.

⁶⁰ Plut. *Sol.* 24. 1. The penalty was to be cursed by the archon (cf. the curse on those who prevent imports of food at Teos, M/L 30. 6–12) and a fine of 100 dr. (as for *argia*). The crisis may have been exacerbated by a run of bad harvests and export by the rich of surplus grain to the islands. Cf. Jameson 1983, 11–12; Bravo 1983 on early trade in grain. Descat 1993 argues that Solon insisted on sale in Athenian markets rather than forbidding export entirely (cf. Dem. 57. 31). The measure may still have been prompted by a period of acute shortages.

⁶¹ The question whether Solon also banned dowries in land or precious metals is discussed below at nn. 120–2. Wedding processions take place at night, by torchlight, already in *Il.* 18. 491–6 (cf. Sissa 1987, 120 ff.). The London *Times* 21.1.91 p. 10 reported plans in India to pass ‘Guest control laws’ restricting the number of guests and expenditure on food at ‘crudely boastful’ weddings (held in marquees erected in public spaces); the worst offenders are the ‘New Maharajas’, and the wealth is categorized as ‘ill-gotten’. Cf. Theognis on marrying for money; important discussion of the trousseau in 18th–20th c. Greece, Sant Cassia and Bada 1992, 98–137.

⁶² [Dem.] 43. 62; Plut. *Sol.* 21. 6; Cic. *de Leg.* 2. 23/59; cf. Humphreys 1983a/1993, 85–7; Blok 2006; Engels 1998 for a general discussion of sumptuary restrictions on funerals; Frisone 2000. *Il.* 24. 707–14 describes the *prothesis* in public of Hector's corpse; we can imagine similar situations when Athenian dead of leading families were brought back from the battlefield. Women had to be *entos anepsiadôn* ([Dem.] 43. 62), to be taken as a synonym of *mechri anepsiôn paidôn*, as far as second cousins (cf. n. 20 above; the fact that the orator glosses the phrase in § 63 with *entos anepsiotêtos* is not a reason for changing the text in § 62). This rule excluded female affines; the funerary law of the Labyadae at Delphi (*CID* 1, no. 9; Jacquemin a. o. 2012 no. 30; R/O no. 1; ch. 10 at nn. 13–14) allows affines to participate but excludes matrikin. On the Sappho painter's funerary plaque representing a *prothesis* see ch. 10 n. 15. Commemorative visits to tombs were probably largely confined to those of well-known persons and to a relatively short period after their death. It is unlikely that before Solon the *Genesia* were celebrated by each family on its own date, as suggested by Jacoby 1944b: see Humphreys 1983a/1993, 87–8; Georgoudi 1988a. At the *Genesia* the city sacrificed to Gê (Hsch. s.v. *Genesia*) and, if Dow's reading of *IG* ii² 1357a is correct, to Erechtheus (Mikalson 1975, 49). These may well have appeared as traditional sacrifices in Solon's calendar, from which *FGH* 328 F 168 presumably derives (cf. below, n. 133).

These laws seem to be directed at conspicuous displays of wealth in public. To send a daughter to her new home or a member of the family to the grave accompanied by large quantities of richly decorated cloth, especially imported cloth (Van Wees 2005), demonstrated a man's confidence that he could part with stored treasure without decreasing the power of his *oikos*. In addition, such displays were probably occasions for leading families to receive contributions from their allies and hangers-on; they created a disturbance in the city, and drew crowds. They may have been particularly resented by old aristocratic families who were no longer able to compete with the super-rich.⁶³

In the case of funerals, Solon's law followed a period of change and experiment in funerary ritual, in which no doubt conceptions of death and of the presentation of self in public spaces were interrelated in complex ways. The public expression of passionate grief, which if we can trust Homer had once been shared by men and women, came to be left to women (cf. Cordano 1980 on the stylization of mourning gestures). Cremation in the grave had replaced the use of a separate pyre from which the bones were collected and subsequently interred. In the late eighth century there had been a shift from the use of large vases as grave markers to the display and subsequent burning, at the funeral, of symposium vases and, probably, textiles in offering-trenches (*Opferrinne*) near the grave (ch. 10 n. 101); by Solon's day this custom seems to have been on the decline in the city area, though not yet in rural Attika. The first Athenian use of the marble kouros statue as a grave marker must closely have followed Solon's reforms, if it did not antedate them.

This experimentation was no doubt related to competition within the elite, in which (I assume) public processions at weddings and funerals played a conspicuous role.⁶⁴ However, it will have been accompanied by speculation and discussion about the needs of the dead, the afterlife, etc.; this situation of interest, experiment, and discussion may have favoured the emergence into greater prominence of ideas that had hitherto played only a minor role in funerary practice, such as

⁶³ Solon specified that the dead were not to be buried with more than three *himatia* (Plut. *Sol.* 21). For textiles as wealth cf. *Od.* 8. 392; Eur. *Ion* 1158–66. Trade in the archaic period: Van Wees 2013*a*. Seaford 1994 thinks that mobilization of kin for funerals and public expressions of grief were seen as a threat to civic *homonoia*. This view, though not entirely to be rejected, rests on a very uncritical use of anthropological texts of widely different dates, and is still influenced by the Fustelian model of evolution from kin group to polis. A better treatment in Toher 1991.

⁶⁴ Hdt.'s account (6. 58) of the funerals of Spartan kings—who monopolized this type of display—represents the archaic aristocrat's ideal. Note that before Solon not only men but also women who were not kin might attend (the question of the grouping of tombs according to kinship, discussed in chs. 10–11, is quite separate from that of participation in funerals). There will also have been processions at religious festivals, at which sacrificial victims were provided by holders of *genos* priesthoods or of elected office, and presumably when victors came home from panhellenic games. Symposia were also an occasion for lavish expenditure (Kistler 1998), but were less public, though on occasion they might end in informal processions (*kômoi*) of drunken revellers (O. Murray 1990*a*).

the belief that contact with the dead was polluting.⁶⁵ Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood's arguments for a reconfiguration of funerary practices and beliefs, which resulted in greater distance between the living and the physical remains of the dead, would fit into this context.⁶⁶

These measures may thus have had some appeal even to the class against which they were directed. Escalation in conspicuous consumption may be a problem even for the consumers; by imposing sumptuary laws on its richest and most powerful citizens a community may produce a striking image of social control without seriously threatening the bases of the power and wealth of the ruling class. Though the Athenian elite were not asked to go as far as the Spartan elite in committing themselves to equality in consumption (*homoiotês*), the sumptuary laws demonstrated that the upper class (*agathoi*) as well as the poor and delinquent (*kakoi*) were subject to law.⁶⁷

STATUS AND OFFICE

Though the rich must have been indignant at the cancellation of debts and the loss of their claims to land worked by the hektemoroi, Solon's most controversial measure may have been his redefinition of rights to stand for office in terms of wealth. The principle that an office-holder had to have resources to support his position was of course neither new nor disputed. The state's revenues were still very small, and though many religious festivals were funded by genê it would be the archon's responsibility to see that victims were available for the sacrifices that preceded Assembly meetings, the polemarch's responsibility to provide for sacrifices on campaign, and so forth. Even the terms used for three of Solon's classes, *hippeis*, *zeugitai*, and *thêtes*, were not new.⁶⁸ What Solon introduced was the idea

⁶⁵ Cordano 1980; Parker 1983; Frisone 1994; Humphreys 1991 on the role of this belief in the development of homicide law after Drakon; ch. 10 n. 7. It is likely enough that funerals and mourning had always been followed by purification rites, marking a return to normal life, but such rites do not necessarily imply any cultural elaboration of the notion of pollution.

⁶⁶ Sourvinou-Inwood 1981, 1983; cf. 1995, 413–44. She also adduces the shift away from intramural burial.

⁶⁷ Solon F 36. 18–20 West. On Sparta see Redfield 1978; on sumptuary laws generally, Ampolo 1984a, 1984b. For resentment of nouveaux riches cf. Theognis 28–32, 53–8, 149–50, 183–92, 661–6; Van Wees 2000b. For shifts to other forms of conspicuous consumption (funerary monuments, dedications) cf. chs. 9–12.

⁶⁸ It is possible that *pentakosiomedimnoi* was also a pre-existing term for the very rich (cf. 'millionaire'), and that the correlative measures of wealth for *hippeis* and *zeugitai* (hoplites rather than possessors of plough-oxen? Whitehead 1981, but see Van Wees 2006a, 2013b), were calculated by some later historian (cf. P. J. Rhodes 2006; ch. 20 n. 43 on Duploux 2014). In any case, Solon did not carry out a 'census'; people knew their place. Connor 1987 suggests that they brought offerings to a festival of a quantity appropriate to their class; this is not impossible, for the annual Panathenaia or the Eleusinia, but may be

that a change in wealth implied a change in social rank, and, with this innovation, a formal distinction between the average *hippeus* (knight), capable of supporting a horse and allegedly producing 300 measures of crops per year, and an inner elite, the *pentakosiomedimnoi*, who produced almost twice as much, 500 measures per year. *Tamiai*, treasurers, were to be appointed by lot from the members of this top class, and possibly the three major archonships were also initially reserved for them.⁶⁹ Previously the line of discrimination among the wealthier members of the community had distinguished members of priesthood-holding *genê* from commoners; now it was to be used to encourage the richest Athenians, both noble and non-noble, to use their wealth for the common good. Poor descendants of once elite families would be bitter. The status of new families whose sources of wealth were non-agricultural was at least unclear, if not unchanged. The reform produced conflict: in 590/89 and 586/5 elections had to be cancelled; in 579/8, after thirty months of continuous tenure of the eponymous archonship by Damasias, a temporary compromise produced a board of ten archons: five from the old Eupatrid families, three from the new landowning rich based outside Athens (*agroikoi*), and two *dêmiourgoi*, probably urban specialists who were becoming increasingly independent of landed patrons.⁷⁰ Opposition

unnecessary. However, the role of forms of taxation in the early polis has probably been underestimated (Fehr 1996a; Faraguna 1999a; Van Wees 2013a), and a physical demonstration in procession of the numerical weakness of the *pentakosiomedimnoi* and strength of the *zeugitai* might have encouraged moderation, by suggesting that most citizens were neither outrageously wealthy nor destitute. *Thês* was a derogatory term (cf. Chantraine 1933; other nouns formed in the same way are *penês*, *chernês*, *goês*, *planês*, *herpês*), and in principle referred to a temporary situation rather than a permanent status (n. 37 above); a man might own some land and supplement his income from farming by taking on periodic contracts as a *thês* (cf. Foxhall 1997, who also calculates the number of persons that a household at each of the higher census levels could support; Bravo 1993. However, I do not think the term originally covered slaves as well as hired hands.) It is unlikely that Solon used the term *thêtes* in assigning rights and responsibilities, though he recognized them as *epitimoi*.

⁶⁹ On Solon's *pentakosiomedimnoi* see also Moreno 2007, 104–12 (with the criticisms in Magnetto, Erdas, and Carusi (eds), 2010, 96 n. 74). Dem. Phal.'s opinion carries little weight (Hignett 1952, 101–2), but I doubt if Solon would have formalized the distinction between *pentakosiomedimnoi* and *hippeis* merely to ensure that treasurers had adequate resources. Those who accept the statement of *A.P.* 8. 2 that Solon introduced *klêrôsis ek prokritôn* for the nine archonships, but assume that elections were resumed after a short period (P. J. Rhodes 1981a, 146–50; *AO* 2) might improve their case by holding that Solon restricted the archonships to *pentakosiomedimnoi* and that popular elections were restored (or introduced) when *hippeis* were allowed to compete. Excluding *hippeis* (and *zeugitai*?) for a lengthy period (until 487/6 for Welwei 1992, 185) might be demographically problematic. I do not think we have solid evidence for any method of appointment other than popular election before 487; the use of the lot to select treasurers of sacred property (*A.P.* 8. 2) does not prove that it was also used for the archonship. In any case the development of regional factions between Solon's reforms and Peisistratos' first bid for tyranny (Hdt. 1. 59. 3; *A.P.* 13. 3–4; P. J. Rhodes 1981a, 184–8) indicates a search for electoral support. Though the introduction of *klêrôsis* in 487 may not have produced results immediately visible to us (Badian 1971), it fits with the adoption of ostracism at the same date as a form of election in reverse.

⁷⁰ *A.P.* 13. 1–2; P. J. Rhodes 1981a, 182–4. Damasias may have been a peacemaker rather than a would-be tyrant. There seems to be a trend away from belief in a formal 'order' of Eupatridai (Welwei

was developing along several different lines of cleavage: between Eupatridai and commoners, between landowners and those who lived by ritual or secular expertise, and between families with a base in the city and the local squirearchy.⁷¹ The third opposition proved to be the most serious. The resentment of poorer Eupatrid families excluded from power faded with time, and many of them may have been mollified, probably soon after these troubles, by the extension of the right to hold the main offices to *hippeis*; the *demiourgoi* could be accommodated, if Solon had defined census qualifications on the basis of revenue in kind, by prescribing a monetary equivalent; but regional conflict persisted until Peisistratus' tyranny was solidly established in the 540s, and threatened to re-emerge after the expulsion of his son Hippias.

LAWS FOR ALL CLASSES

By the time he had taken the steps that seemed to him needed to avert open conflict, the poet was on the way to becoming a lawgiver. He was still, in my view, basing his measures on his understanding of the causes of the crisis and on the traditional responsibilities of the archon, but his time scale changed: he began to legislate more as a writer, addressing unborn generations, and less as an

1992, 108–9; Bravo 1996a; ch. 20 n. 43), but use of the term in the Leipsydion skolion shows that it was current in the 6th c. *Agroikos* may not yet have had strong pejorative connotations, but it would imply a family without a city residence and thus without a tradition of regular participation in public affairs. *Demiourgoi* would include heralds, seers, poets, and doctors as well as craftsmen (*Od.* 17. 382–7); they had always had a share in the social life of the upper class and those who succeeded in establishing financial independence would expect to be treated as political equals, a demand the landed aristocracy may have been reluctant to satisfy. I assume the information on this board came from a list of archons (a dedication is not a very likely alternative) and thus referred to the eponymous archonship (but see Gernet 1938 for the difficulties of this view). Thasos had an archon list cut in the 360s (Pouilloux 1954a, nos. 28–33; Salviat 1984; *SEG* 33. 702) which began in the second quarter of the 6th c., if not earlier, included information on months of *anarchia*, and preserved punctuation characteristic of the late 5th c. (Pouilloux 1954a, p. 123). Miletos' list of *aisymnêtai*, cut in 335/4, began in 525/4 (Sherk 1990, 250–6). A reconstruction at Athens of the list of early archons (from 683/2) in the late 6th or early 5th c. (possibly stimulated by Kleisthenes' introduction of the system of 42 named age-classes, which began a new cycle when the class enrolled in the demes at 18 in year 1 reached the age of 60: see Humphreys 1983b) does not seem impossible, and at that date some memories of troubles in the 580s could have been preserved.

⁷¹ Cf. the emphasis in A. D. Momigliano 1967 on the multiplicity of opposed categories in early Rome (ch. 18 n. 106). Note also the variable categories used in early references to citizenship: *Athenaioi* in Drakon's law (*IG* i³ 104. 28), *astos/xenos* in i³ 1194 *bis*, *epitimos/atimos*, etc. An interpretation of *Eupatridai*, *agroikoi*, and *demiourgoi* in terms of 6th-c. labels for sections of the elite seems to me more probable than a late 5th-c. reconstruction in which rights to office were claimed by peasants and artisans (Gernet 1938: see P. J. Rhodes 1981a, 182–4. Rhodes' own, implausibly complicated solution depends on the attribution of *klérōsis ek prokritōn* to Solon, on which see n. 69 above, and Welwei 1992, 112 ff.).

archon addressing the Assembly. Legislation may have become a somewhat addictive activity both for the lawgiver and for the Assembly.⁷²

His proclamation (F 36. 19–21W) that he had established laws for both *kakoi* and *agathoi* alike had several nuances. The rich and powerful, the *agathoi*, had been subjected to public control of their behaviour; it was no longer only the *kakos* who was the target of legal regulations (though we have no idea how breach of the sumptuary laws was to be handled—*endeixis*?—and may doubt whether any prosecutions were ever made). The non-nobles, *kakoi* from the Eupatrid point of view, had been given rights to office; even thetes were assured of a place in the assembly. But as lawgiver Solon was faced by a more deep-seated, though less immediately controversial problem: the norms governing behaviour in and relations between the *oikoi* of the powerful and between those of the peasant farmers were not always the same. This could not be openly recognized; the legitimacy of the rulings formulated by the elite when settling disputes between members of the *demos* had always depended on a concept of universally valid law, backed by divine authority, and Solon's own conception of law was a rationalistic one.⁷³ But in order to arrive at a unitary system of rules he had to make choices and compromises.

Although Solon does not mention it in his poems, there seem to be solid reasons for thinking that problems of peasant debt were associated in archaic Greek thought not only with extortionate profit making by the rich but also with the reduction of peasant holdings to a non-viable size by the subdivision of land between sons. Hesiod advises his brother and his audience not only to work hard so that they may be able to acquire more land rather than losing what they have, but also to restrict the family to a single son.⁷⁴ The transfer of the model of division of booty to the division of newly conquered land, both in colonial settlements and in Messenia after the Spartan conquest, had provided a powerful model of the ideal society, as one in which every household owned the same amount of

⁷² Welwei 1992 and Raaflaub 1996 also think in terms of crisis-solving and 'flanking measures', but do not go as far as I do in treating Solon's legislation as context-orientated.

⁷³ Although current opinion is against attributing any regulation or even introduction of coinage to Solon (see now G. Davis 2012, 2014; Van Wees 2013*a*), quantification clearly plays an important role in his laws. It remains possible that he established uniformity in weights and measures, which would be needed if there was any metric content to his 'census law' (Kim 2001; above, n. 68). In systems of weights and measures that have not been centrally regulated, while there is widespread uniformity in the relations between units, there is often local variation in the content of each unit, consonant with variation in the productivity of land (Baxandall 1972; Mira-Smith 1985, 73–101; Ilievski 1987). The tradition that Solon introduced 'lighter' measures might suggest that he based his system on the quantities in use on marginal land (*eschatai*) rather than those used in the plains. See Descat 1990, 1993 for other suggestions.

⁷⁴ The man who lives to old age and sees a further son added to the workforce (*WD* 376–8) is a grandfather (Humphreys in preparation *a*).

land.⁷⁵ Although expansion of territory must have been normal for colonial settlements (Asheri 1971), the image that stuck in Greek minds, at least in the culture of the mainland, was that of a society containing a fixed and finite number of places, in which members of the new generation could only establish themselves when their elders made way for them.⁷⁶ The utopian discussions we find in Plato and Aristotle were preceded by early lawgivers' attempts to deal with the problem of maintaining equality at the practical level. Pheidon of Corinth thought that the number of *kleroi* should be kept constant even if they were not equal in size; Philolaos of Thebes regulated adoption in a distinctive manner in order to maintain a constant number of *kleroi*. In a utopian text probably of the fifth century, Phaleas of Chalkedon recommended that *kleroi* should be equal in size; this would be easy to achieve in a new colony but difficult in an established city. In order to arrive at equality in the latter case he proposed that the rich should give dowries with their daughters and the poor should not.⁷⁷ We are reminded of Herodotus' description (1. 196) of the auctions of village girls in Babylonia, where the high prices paid for the prettiest girls are used to dower the plain ones. Herodotus (*ibid.*) attributes the same custom to the Illyrian Enetoi; the idea was evidently attractive.⁷⁸ It is not clear whether Solon's restriction on trousseaux, and his prescription that a richer kinsman who did not wish to marry a poor *epikleros* was obliged to dower her (discussed further below in section 'The Long Term: kinship and inheritance'), indicate that the idea of manipulating

⁷⁵ Cf. Asheri 1966. A privileged person might be given a special allocation of land, a *temenos*, just as he might be given a special *geras* in the allocation of booty; this did not interfere with the general principle of equal division. *Temēnē* for individuals appear in Homer; it is not clear whether they were ever allocated in colonies.

⁷⁶ The fact that one-son families would produce a falling population (Goody 1973) is not perceived (cf. Lape 2003, 132). Evidently the population of mainland Greece in the 8th c. was not falling, but we are hardly in a position to calculate rates of reproduction; colonization must have generated a great deal of internal migration, and some migrants (like Hesiod's father?) may have found marginal land in a new part of Greece rather than seeking it further afield. On Greek ethnodemographic theory see Gallo 1980 (a different view in Persia, Briant 1987, 21–2); on the fixed-number model in other peasant societies, Schofield 1976. A phratry in Tenos did not admit members' sons until the father was dead or over 50 (*IG* xii *suppl.* 303 = R/O 61).

⁷⁷ Ar. *Pol.* 1265b12–16, 1274a31–b5, 1266a39–b6; cf. Spahn 1980b and E. Will 1955, 317–19 for the relation between such ideas and the experience of colonization. Aristotle seems to have had a text by Phaleas, who precedes Hippodamos in his analysis. Phaleas' recommendation that all artisans should be public slaves (*Pol.* 1267b14–17) may even suggest a 4th-c. date, and in any case his ideas on dowry may derive from Herodotus and Solon. Even the tradition on Pheidon and Philolaos had no doubt passed through sources of the classical period (cf. Szegedy-Maszak 1978; Asheri 1969), but there are no obvious signs of deformation.

⁷⁸ Hdt.'s account (see R. Thomas 2000, 129) presumably also influenced Aristophanes' *Ekklesiazousai*. Folk tales in which a younger son wins the hand of a princess rest on the same idea, and probably most Greeks knew of cases where a marginal man had nevertheless succeeded in making a good marriage (*Od.* 14. 199–213; for a modern example see Just 1989a, 327).

dowry payments to level out discrepancies in wealth was already in the air in the early sixth century; at least these measures will have contributed to the development of such theories.

This model of the equality and continuity of *oikoi* and *kleroi* belonged to a peasant milieu. Though fields may well have been dispersed, a lifetime spent working the same land could generate a sense of the unity of a *kleros*; although land was divided among sons, for *chêrôstai* to divide up fields after an owner's death was an attack on his identity.⁷⁹ Sentiment aside, an ageing man without sons needed help. Practices such as the adoption of a single heir or selection of a son-in-law who would live uxorilocally and transmit the holding of his father-in-law to his sons must have been current before Solon's day. But they would be subject to the approval of the local community; hence, the man without sons would look for an heir in a household of close kin that had a son to spare.⁸⁰

Adoption and uxorilocal marriage had however functioned in a very different way in the households of the rich and powerful. Here the incorporation of strangers was not a last resort, but a source and demonstration of strength. A man with sons might welcome an immigrant into his household, treat a bastard (*nothos*) as a full member of his family, keep his daughters at home and add their husbands to his household (cf. Priam in the *Iliad*). At least at the level of the imagination, the aim of the household was expansion in numbers. Furthermore, since the new members incorporated into an aristocratic household might be strangers to the community,⁸¹ and its members benefited from the prestige of its head, the incorporation of a new member into the *oikos* of a powerful man implied more significant changes of status than the movement of a working peasant from one household to another. Solon's legislation privileged the peasant

⁷⁹ *Chêrôstai*: *Il.* 5. 152–8, Hes. *Theog.* 603–7, Kamps 1948. Scattered holdings: R. G. Osborne 1985*a* ch. 3, 1985*d*; Halstead 1987; Forbes 1989. Where dowry is given in land (as seems probable in early Attika, see below at nn. 120–2), holdings in some societies are reconstituted by exchange of fields (ch. 5 n. 25). The classical practice of *antidosis* challenges, and the use of land as security for dowries and lease of orphans' estates, imply a well-developed practice of comparing the value of fields, but there is no explicit testimony of exchange in relation to dowry in Attika. Even where land has been distributed in compact blocks (cf. Boyd and Jameson 1981), partible inheritance and dowry can produce scattered holdings within a few generations (M. G. Smith 1962). Exchange is provided for in the colony law M/L 13 (*Nomima* I 44; *IGT* 47).

⁸⁰ On a holding too small to divide, presumably only one sibling would marry and the inheritance would remain nominally undivided (cf. Hodkinson 1986, 1989, 2000, on Sparta). But colonization implies that the ideal was for each family head to have a separate establishment. Hesiod and Perses had divided their father's estate when he died. A colonial estate, if there were no sons or *epiklêroi*, would be inherited by a single kinsman (M/L 20, 16–19; *Nomima* I. 43, *IGT* 49) or, presumably, re-allocated.

⁸¹ Lape 2003 also notes the differences between elite and peasant norms. On the personal relations of the immigrant in early times see Sealey 1983*a*, 116; Baslez 1984, ch. 3. In *Od.* 7. 311–16, Alkinoos invites Odysseus to join his household and marry Nausikaa (who has brothers). In Homer marriage with kin is rare, though Arete marries her FB (*Od.* 7. 63–8; in the case of Iphidamas, *Il.* 11. 221–6, a fostered grandson, DS, marries in the household into which he has been incorporated).

model of family relationships by encouraging the view that families should incorporate outsiders only if there were no sons; and by regulating questions of adoption, inheritance, and the epiklerate in written law he opened the way towards conferring on peasant practices an authority in reshaping social relationships equivalent to that enjoyed by the head of an aristocratic *oikos*.⁸²

THE LONG TERM: KINSHIP AND INHERITANCE

Relying then on peasant practice for the substance of his laws but drawing, in a sense, on elite practice in the freedom of decision he allowed to men without sons, Solon addressed the diachronic problem of rights to land in two ways. He limited the right of phratryies to coopt new members, which made it difficult for immigrants and *nothoi*⁸³ to acquire land (cf. above, at nn. 52–8), and he regulated succession.

We are still in the domain of the traditional responsibilities of the archon. Not only did he preside over the Assembly; he also played the leading role in expelling the *pharmakos* (scapegoat) from Attika at the phratry festival of the Thargelia, and in organizing the embassy that went annually to Delos. During its absence the city was purified, and public business stopped (Plato *Phaedo* 58b).⁸⁴ Connections were gradually being made explicit between the manifestations of the polis as a social entity in assemblies, in rituals and in war, the recognition by the city's officials of individuals as *epitimoi* and thus entitled to take part in such activities, and the admission of individuals by phratryies to full membership in the local community and hence in a tribe and in the polis (cf. Manville 1990).

⁸² There was a substantial overlap between elite and peasant norms (cf. Starr 1986, ch. 2), especially in linguistic terms (which created exploitable ambiguities). Popular law recognized the significance of *oikos* boundaries in the treatment of theft and interference with women; see below at n. 135. On adoption and wills see Humphreys 2002*a*.

⁸³ Although legitimacy was defined by reference to *engué* ([Demosthenes] 46. 18), it was socially recognized by the phratry's acceptance of sacrifices celebrating marriage, the birth of children, and finally the introduction of adolescent sons as phratry members. Possibly the upper class laid more stress on *engué* (a panhellenically recognized practice: Hdt. 6. 130), the lower class on *gamélia* (but cf. *Od* 4. 3). By excluding *nothoi* (bastards) from inheritance, Solon implies that they were not to be presented to phratryies. He may not have stated this explicitly, and phratryies may often have been willing to admit *nothoi* in cases where there were no legitimate sons and kin made no objection; but in principle marriage, legitimacy, and citizenship were firmly interlinked.

⁸⁴ *A.P.* 56. 3, with P. J. Rhodes 1981*a* ad loc. The evidence concerning Lemnos and the stopping of public business rather suggest that this annual embassy to Delos (Rhodes 626) may once have brought back new fire (see N. D. Robertson 1985. Plut. *Numa* 9 does not, as Burkert 1970*b* claims, say that Athens got new fire from Delphi; by his day both cities used the sun and mirrors to relight their fires). By Plato's time the embassy was associated with the myth of Theseus. On its calendar date see Robertson 1992, 128–31.

As we have seen, Solon is said to have restricted admission to citizenship—we cannot tell what term he used—to those permanently banished from their city of origin and to craftsmen migrating with their whole families (*panhestiái*). Immigrants in the former category will have been few and presumably of high rank; the Homeric pattern of incorporation by the elite of refugees, by uxorial marriage, clientship, or adoption, was left in place.⁸⁵ With this exception rural communities, probably already concerned to restrict competition for land, were not encouraged to admit newcomers to phratry membership; urban neighbourhoods could continue to be more generous in their attitude to immigrants, but were urged to distinguish the well-established craftsman with a family from the floating population of young bachelors who were trying to scratch together some additional resources before returning to inherit land elsewhere from their fathers.⁸⁶

Solon may also have legislated on adoption, *eispoiêsis*, in the context of phratry membership. Whereas in Rome, Gortyn, and Sparta adoption had to take place in a central public context where the groups of both *genitor* and *pater* were represented—at Rome in the *comitia calata*, at Gortyn in the *agora*, and at Sparta before the kings⁸⁷—in Athens only the local public context of the phratry into which the adopted son was being admitted was concerned. The adopted son accepted by the phratry of his pater during the lifetime of the latter did not have to appear before the archon to claim his inheritance by *epidikasia*; his status was entirely parallel to that of a legitimate biological son. He could not desert the *oikos* of his pater unless he left a son of his own begetting to take his place ([Demosthenes] 44. 64). This rule is parallel to the law of the Lokrian colony at Naupaktos that a colonist may not return to his mother-city without paying fees

⁸⁵ See Whitehead 1977, 141–2; on the ranking of craftsmen, Chankowski, Massar, and Viviers 1998. An exile who sought refuge in another city had to find a patron; if he wanted land, he had to be incorporated into a family. Upper-class exiles were more likely to achieve this. Lane Fox 1985, 226–7 thinks that Solon was concerned to prevent competition by foreign suitors for the daughters of elite Athenian families; but foreign suitors could still take Attic wives home with them, as Megakles brought Agariste (presumably not an *epikleros*) from Sikyon to Attika. It is doubtful whether Solon was worried about the inclusion of temporary migrants in phratries as a means of securing votes.

⁸⁶ Cf. Humphreys 1978, 164–8. Many of these young men will have served as mercenaries or ships' crews for part of the time, but will have gravitated to areas of agricultural intensification or to growing cities in the off-season to look for work and new employment. Cf. ch. 26 n. 3 on attitudes to metic incorporation in 5th-c. demes.

⁸⁷ At Rome the fact that *adrogatio* took place in the *comitia calata* may imply a particular concern with cases in which the adopted son was to change his *gens*, but the situation is complicated by the Roman theory of *patria potestas* (see A. Watson 1971b, 30–3; Wolff 1978). Gortyn code X 34 ff., XI 14 f. (Maffi 1997a, ch. 9); Sparta, Hdt. 6. 57. For comparison of Gortyn and Athens see Gernet 1920 (1955, 139–40). The adoption law on axon 21 (Harp. s.v. *boti hoi poiêtoi*) may be post-Solonian, as may the law in [Dem.] 44. 64 (cf. below, n. 128). On Kos adoptions are registered with *chreophylakes*, IG xii 4. 104. 643–7.

unless he leaves a son or brother in possession of his landholding.⁸⁸ Introduction of heirs by will was subjected to control by the archon, but phratries were still allowed considerable freedom in accepting or rejecting outsiders introduced by living members; the phratry continued, though within narrower limits, to function as a local community taking its own steps to maintain a balance between landholdings and manpower.

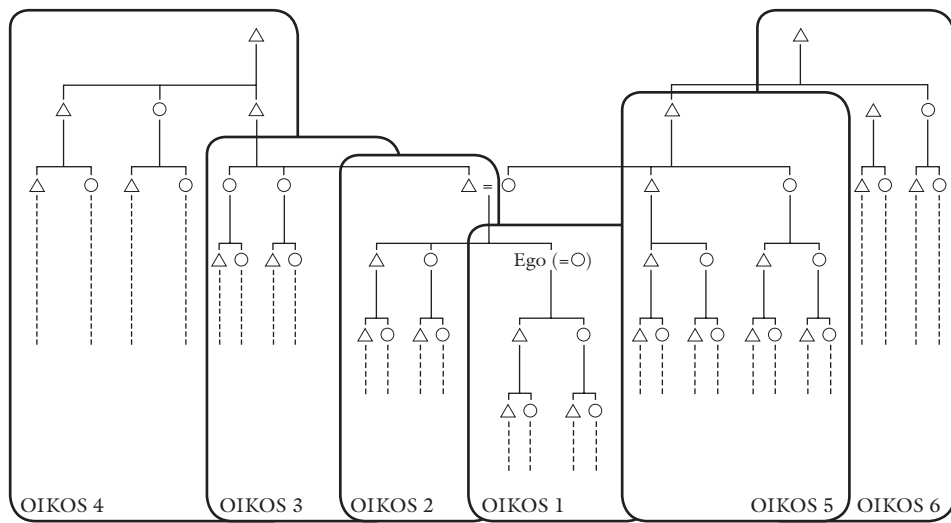
Nevertheless, officials had responsibilities for oikoi as landholding units, as well as for controlling admission to the community. The custom that heirs who found their possession contested could appeal to the archon for judgment will have arisen partly from his position as head of the community and president of the Assembly, and partly from his engagement to respect property rights.⁸⁹ Solon strengthened this trend by his legislation on intestate succession, epikleroi, and testamentary disposition.

Whereas in Drakon's model of the kindred closer and more distant kin appeared as circles or arcs with the homicide victim as their centre, each circle containing a group of kin with defined rights and functions, Solon's law on intestate succession and the marriage of epikleroi aimed at ranking kin individually in order of their degree of closeness to the deceased whose estate was to be awarded (*d.c.*). Like Drakon, Solon no doubt drew on distinctions that had always been made in a rough and ready fashion, but singled out genealogical position as the only standard by which closeness (*anchisteia*)⁹⁰ was to be measured. Earlier, families,

⁸⁸ M/L 20, 6–8. We do not know whether the fees (*enetéria*) were collected only on re-entry or annually as a tax on resident aliens. The Theran colony at Kyrene recruited one son per household (M/L 5. 27–9, cf. 38–40, a rare testimony of the existence of households of brothers); similar practices occur when an heir is to be found for a single estate and when a city founds a new settlement. Adoption or emigration are the alternative choices offered to superfluous sons in Plato's *Laws* (740b–c). The laws in [Dem.] 46. 14 and 64 were interpreted in the classical period as prohibiting adopted sons from adopting in their turn, but the interpretation of § 14 is problematic (Humphreys 2002a) and, as one can see from the speaker's commentary, the law quoted in § 64 did not specify that the legitimate (*gnésios*) son left in the *pater's* *oikos* had to be a biological son. It cannot in any case have been common for a newcomer to a phratry to be allowed to introduce further outsiders.

⁸⁹ Claims to *kléroí* and *epikléroí* were read out by him in the Assembly (*A.P.* 43. 4); cf. the responsibility of the Spartan kings for adoption and *epikléroí*, Hdt. 6. 57. The Athenian archon also dealt with disputes over the division of estates (*dikai eis daitétôn hairesin, eis emphanôn katastasin, A.P.* 56. 6; the former, presumably earlier in date, is noteworthy as evidence for the delegation of the decision to arbitrators).

⁹⁰ *Anchisteia* is an abstract noun denoting the relationship of next-of-kin. The modern practice (e.g. C. B. Patterson 1998, 88; Lape 2003, 124, and elsewhere) of using it to denote the set of kin within the limits set by law to the calculation of *anchisteia* has no ancient basis, and there was no specific designation for this kin set in archaic and classical Attika (Is. 11. 11 has *anchisteuein*, but M. Edwards 2009 suggests *anchisteia* <én>; Dindorf suggested <anchisteu>ontes in [Dem.] 44. 62; *anchisteus* is post-classical). Lepri 1959 has a useful collection of passages in which *anchisteia* and related terms are used (add D. S. 12. 15. 2). Hsch. cites *anchistindên omnunai* from Solon's laws, interpreting it (wrongly?) as meaning 'next to the altar': possibly a reference to oaths in disputes over legitimacy and admission to phratries?



△ = male

○ = female

= = marriage

All rights descend indefinitely (hence dashed lines).

TABLE 1.1. Rights of succession

communities, and judges had probably used a variety of criteria in deciding contested cases, especially if none of the claimants was very closely related to *d.c.*: genealogical position, need, affective quality of relationship with *d.c.*, etc.⁹¹ Solon also imposed a single limit for the recognition of jurally significant kinship in all contexts—descent from *d.c.*'s great-grandfathers—where Drakon had given varying rights and responsibilities to different circles of kin.⁹²

Solon's system did not always produce a single claimant qualified as next-of-kin, but it graded degrees of kinship more precisely than that of Drakon. Like Drakon, Solon used a generational model, distinguishing the descendants of *d.c.*'s father, of his grandfathers, and of his great-grandfathers; but he also ranked patrikin before matrikin and, within each generation, sons and their descendants before the descendants of daughters. The principle of his classification was summed up in the maxim, 'Males and those descended from males are to have precedence, if they come from the same parents, even if they belong to a remoter

⁹¹ These justifications continue to be cited in the classical period in court cases, see ch. 7.

⁹² Solon's limit governs the right of women to attend funerals, [Dem.] 43. 62; admittedly funerals and inheritance are closely connected (cf. chs. 9–10 on commemorative rites). The Drakon model is closer to the patterns of interaction observed in the classical courts (Humphreys 1986a). Homer thinks only in terms of sets of kin: *kasignētoi*, *etai*, *pēoi*, *chērōstai*.

[i.e. younger] generation.⁹³ Thus the rules that governed inheritance by sons or, failing sons, daughters within a single *oikos* were repeated in each generation (including the rule that same-sex siblings received equal shares). If *d.c.* left sons, they inherited; if a son died before his father, leaving heirs (male or female), those heirs took his share, inheritance rights being transmitted *per stirpes*. Not only *d.c.*'s SS but also his SD took precedence over *d.c.*'s daughters. If *d.c.* (the head of *oikos* A in Table 1.1) had no lineal descendants, his estate was treated as if it belonged to his father (*oikos* B), and the same rules applied: *d.c.*'s brothers and their descendants took precedence over his sisters. If there was no heir in the father's *oikos*, the estate was regarded as belonging to *d.c.*'s paternal grandfather (FF, *oikos* C); if there was no descendant of the FF to claim, the estate was treated as belonging to FFF (*oikos* D). The heirs in *d.c.*'s own generation, in this lineage, were his second cousins; he and they stood in the relationship of *anepsión paides* to one another. The way in which relationships were conceptualized is well set out in Isaios 11. 8: the grandfathers of *d.c.* and the speaker were brothers, their fathers were cousins born of brothers, *anepsioi ek patradelphôn*, and they are therefore *anepsión paides*. At this point the regression of the calculation to more remote ancestors on the father's side ceased, and the search for the next-of-kin passed to the descendants of *d.c.*'s maternal grandfather (MF, *oikos* E), and thence to his *anepsión paides* on the mother's side, descendants of his MFF (*oikos* F).

This way of understanding the construction of Solon's model seems to me to provide answers to some of the questions to which his law has given rise.⁹⁴ It seems clear that those of *d.c.*'s lineal ancestors who could be treated as heads of *oikoi* in calculating closeness of kinship must have had rights of succession themselves if still living. However, the question would hardly present itself in these terms to Athenians, since any concession of property by a father to sons during his lifetime was precarious.⁹⁵ On the other hand it is highly doubtful whether

⁹³ *Kratein tous arrhénas kai tous ek tôn arrhénôn, ean ek tôn autôn eisi, kai ean apôterô genei*, [Dem.] 43. 51. It is not entirely certain whether this maxim actually appeared in the text of a law, as stated in [Dem.] 43. 78; it may be merely an interpretative rule popularly associated with the law. It could be tendentiously interpreted in court: see Is. 7. 20; A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 147 n. 2. *Genos* here means 'generation': cf. Is. 11. 2 (*tritôi genei*: descendants of F, FF, FFF, i.e. siblings, *anepsioi*, *anepsión paides*; in the following sentence, read *ean de kai tout' eklipei, eis to genos palin epanerchetai*: W. Thompson 1982b).

⁹⁴ However, many of my predecessors have recognized the structure of the model without drawing the same conclusions: e.g. Lipsius 1905–15 II, 559; Paoli 1936; Biscardi 1989.

⁹⁵ See ch. 5 and the discussion of Is. 6 in ch. 7 Case 1; Schömann 1842; Wolff 1978. Attic law had no provisions covering advances on inheritance given during a father's lifetime, and did not make any strict distinction between inherited and acquired property (Rabel 1907). The maxim cited in [Dem.] 43. 51 makes better sense with infinite succession. This way of analysing the structure of the kindred also eliminates the question whether a woman could be the epikleros of her brother's estate (she becomes epikleros to her father on the death of her brother). See further ch. 7 Case 5. In the Tegean law on the return of

Solon gave a mother any right to succeed as a parent. A strict application of Solon's model would suggest that she (and her descendants by another marriage, *d.c.*'s uterine half-siblings) had rights only through her status as a daughter of *d.c.*'s maternal grandfather, i.e., they would be excluded by *d.c.*'s maternal uncle (MB) and his descendants, and would share with his MZ and her descendants.

It is unlikely that Athenians followed the logic of Solon's law to this length. Very probably his law did not enumerate in detail the sequence in which matrikin were ranked, but merely stated that it was to follow the principles used in ranking patrikin.⁹⁶ There was probably a tendency to think that *d.c.*'s mother and uterine half-siblings should be ranked first among his matrikin;⁹⁷ in practice, as we shall see (ch. 7), even this did not satisfy uterine half-brothers, who tended to look for ways of claiming estates that would give them precedence over *d.c.*'s collateral patrikin. Solon was probably responsible for formalizing the Attic prohibition on marriage between uterine half-siblings and thus is unlikely to have given them any privileged position as potential heirs.⁹⁸ There were presumably already in Solon's day widows with young children who remarried and reared two families together in the *oikos* of the second husband; this created close and affectionate relationships between half-siblings, who at law belonged to separate *oikoi* and kindreds. To allow them to intermarry was a threat to the inheritance rights of their respective patrikin, and allowed the mother too much influence.

The most problematic aspect of Solon's law, for modern interpreters, has been the question whether he intended inheritance rights to descend *in infinitum* within the boundaries of the jural kindred, i.e., from *d.c.*'s *anepsión paides* and *anepsioi*. Most commentators have decided that he did not, either because they

exiles (R/O 101) an exile recovers *matróia* if his mother had no brothers or if her brother(s) died without issue after her marriage (but claims do not go *anóteron*, i.e. an exile cannot recover property that might have descended to his mother from her FF). For an example of recovery of property from deceased children in Roman Egypt see Wilcken 1908.

⁹⁶ Cf. the formulation in Plato *Laws* 924e 9–925a 2; [Dem.] 43. 51. Is. 11. 17 states that the mother was not mentioned in the law; later rhetorical exercises were inspired by this omission (Theon *Progymn.* 13. 10, cf. Wyse 1904, 692–4).

⁹⁷ Plato in *Laws* 924e ranks uterine half-siblings after half-siblings on the father's side. This shows a trend which is confirmed by later Greek law (Montevicchi 1935, 105), but is evidently an innovation in relation to Solon's rules (cf. Humphreys 1988). Some modern scholars have followed Plato (A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 146). Apollodoros' suggestion in [Dem.] 45. 74 that his uterine half-brothers would be able to claim his daughters as epikleroi is irrelevant both because it ignores the existence of Apollodoros' full brother Pasikles and because Apollodoros as the son of a slave had no other kin.

⁹⁸ Philo *de spec. leg.* 3. 4, confirmed by Dem. 57. 20, and Plut. *Them.* 32. It has been suggested that this prohibition indicates the weight attached to matrilineal descent in early Attic thought (cf. A. E. Hanson 2013 on 'incest' in dog breeding); but Sparta allowed such marriages, and Greek theories of procreation seem either to recognize an equal contribution from both parents or to privilege the father (Lloyd 1983, 86–94). I take the prohibition to be closely associated with the rules for claiming epikleroi and thus to be a refusal to recognize kinship between uterine half-siblings in this context. See also Leduc 2011.

erroneously translate *mechri anepsiôn paidôn* as ‘up to and including the children of *d.c.*’s cousins’, or because they think the court must have been right in accepting the argument of Theopompos of Oion Kerameikon in Isaios 11 that he was not obliged to share the estate of Hagnias, his second cousin, with his nephew, one generation further from Hagnias.⁹⁹ In my view *mechri anepsiôn paidôn*, ‘up to and including second cousins’, defines only the lateral spread of the kindred in *d.c.*’s generation, and says nothing about the transmission of rights to later generations. We should not be over-impressed by the fact that Theopompos got the jury to accept his interpretation of the law, in a case which was unusual in involving kin so distant from *d.c.* Apart from Theopompos’ arguments, the only evidence we have for a limit on the transmission of rights is in Plato’s *Laws* (925a), where the right to marry an epikleros is not to pass beyond her father’s brothers’ grandsons, i.e., her first cousins once removed (FBSS, FBDS).¹⁰⁰ Here, however, Plato is concerned to find a husband of a suitable age, a difficulty peculiar to the epiklerate. Inheritance by second cousins was not likely to be frequent; if Solon considered them entitled to inheritance rights, it is hard to see why he should have wanted to exclude their descendants. There was no concept of *bona caduca* in Attic law, and it was normal for all a man’s rights and obligations to pass to his heirs. A limit on generational transmission would always be in danger of creating difficult cases in practice, where the death of a father at an inopportune moment deprived a son of the right to claim an estate that would have come to him if it had passed through his father’s hands.¹⁰¹

Illegitimate children, nothoi, could not enter automatically into an inheritance and could not claim it as next-of-kin: they did not ‘have *anchisteia*’. They were not entitled to phratry membership.¹⁰² Solon did not explicitly prohibit a man

⁹⁹ See ch. 7, Case 9. The nephew was Hagnias’ FFBSS. Scholars who believe in a generational limit also exclude FBSS, but assume that children of *d.c.*’s siblings had rights *in infinitum*. I take the clause in [Dem.] 43. 51, *kai can paides ex adelphôn gnésioi, tén tou patros moiran lanchanein*, to cover the case in Is. 11, entitling the nephew to his father’s share, but this was certainly not the only possible interpretation. I am surprised that Wesley Thompson, after correctly insisting on the interpretation of *anepsiôn paides* as second cousins (1970a), accepted Theopompos’ claim without seriously arguing the case against infinite succession (1976, 9–10).

¹⁰⁰ A limit was also set at the children of *d.c.*’s grandfather, i.e. the epikleros’ FFBs. Plato gives no rights to *d.c.*’s matrikin (except his uterine half-brothers), so these rules cannot be taken as representing his interpretation of Attic law (his interest in preserving the size and number of estates is relevant here).

¹⁰¹ This must have been part of the case of Theopompos’ opponent in Is. 11; Theopompos’ brother had died while they were preparing to put in a joint claim for Hagnias’ estate. On *ho[s] an éi engutata genos* in IG i³ 131 see Humphreys 2017b.

¹⁰² Cf. Humphreys 1989, forthcoming a, on Dem. 39–40; Bertazzoli 2005. The controversy over Theozotides’ proposal, in the late 5th c., that the children of victims of oligarchy should count as war orphans (SEG 37. 65; cf. 28. 46, 33. 67; ch. 2 n. 75), implies that the status of nothoi was not settled until the question of phratry and (after 507) deme membership came up (rejection of the *meion* sacrifice by a genos or, presumably, phratry, was not final: Andok. 1. 125–7, [Dem.] 59. 55–61). When in New

without sons from making testamentary dispositions in favour of a *nothos*, but he cut the *nothos* off from any basis that might have allowed him to compete with legitimate brothers. Any surviving tendency towards polygamy among the elite was discouraged; the *oikos* was to be a monogamous unit.¹⁰³

The rules for claiming *epikleroi*, girls in families with no male heir who were unmarried and not betrothed at their father's death, followed the model used for calculating *anchisteia*. If the girl's father died without making arrangements for her marriage, his next-of-kin could present a claim to the archon when she reached the age of fourteen. The archon thus acted temporarily *in loco parentis*; his decision at the *epidikasia* took the place of the formal betrothal (*engue*) made in other cases by a girl's father or legal guardian.¹⁰⁴ But there were further rules, surprisingly detailed. The husband was obliged to sleep with the *epikleros* at least three times a month, and could be charged before the archon for failure to do so, or for other misconduct.¹⁰⁵ If the property of the *epikleros*' father placed her in

Comedy a child is legitimized by the subsequent marriage of its parents (cf. Ogden 1996, 125) it is a baby, or possibly (in Men. *Georgos* and ? *Kitharista*, cf. Arnott 1978, 26–32) a *parthenos*.

¹⁰³ Ar. *Birds* 1660–6 probably accurately represents Solon's laws as containing two separate provisions which, taken together, effectively excluded *nothoi* from inheritance: 'A *nothos* does not have *anchisteia* if there are legitimate sons ... If there are no legitimate sons, the property passes to the next-of-kin' (A. R. W. Harrison's view, 1968, 66, that *tois engutatô genous meteinaî tôn chrêmatôn* means that the *nothos* is to share with the next-of-kin seems to me untenable). There is a formal parallel in the law of Gortyn (VI 56–VII 10): 'If from the same mother both free and slave children are born, if the mother dies, if she leaves property, the free children take it. If there are no free children, the next-of-kin (*epiballontes*) inherit.' Aristophanes' quotation may not be verbally accurate. I suspect *huiôn ontôn gnesiôn* to be his own addition; the actual form of the law may be that quoted in [Dem.] 43. 51, '*nothoi* and *nothai* have no *anchisteia* in either sacred or civil affairs', to which a reference to Eukleides' archonship has been added to prevent disputes over irregularities that had crept in during the Peloponnesian War; see Humphreys 1974, 89 n. 5. The rule that a father could leave 1000 or 500 dr. as a legacy to a *nothos* (*notheia*) may be post-Solonian; the variation in the sum given by sources (Harp. s.v. *notheia*, Sud. s.v. *epiklêros*, cited in schol. Ar. *Birds* 1655–6) may derive from the use of case material. 500 dr. was the dowry to be given by a *pentakosiomedimnos* to an *epiklêros* of thetic census; in the classical period this was the value of a small plot and house (Lewis 1973a), like the *chôrion* offered to a *nothos* in Is. 6. 23. It would not be easy for fathers to circumvent the law by gifts *inter vivos*, since these were not protected by law (contrast Gortyn IV 48–V 8) and heirs might well claim that the property transferred was a loan (cf. Dem. 41. 8–11).

¹⁰⁴ A.P. 56. 7, cf. P. J. Rhodes 1981a ad loc. and APF 8429 IV. The girl's matrikin had no claim (on Dem. 41, where marriage with MB is reinforced by adoption, see ch. 2 case V 5). There were no special arrangements for the guardianship of *epikleroi* who had not reached the age of marriage. The wedding rites of the *epikleros* will also have differed from those of other brides: the groom would presumably in early times have moved to the bride's home, and originally the sacrifice of *gamêlia* may have been made in the phratry of the bride's father.

¹⁰⁵ Plut. *Sol.* 20. The *eisangelia kakôseôs epiklêrou*, which presumably also covered misconduct in managing the *epikleros*' property, should be Solonian or indeed even earlier, since if Solon had created a new institution for this purpose one might have expected him to use the *graphê* (cf. A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 117–9; Van Wees 2011a). The specification of the husband's sexual duties may be later, if Plutarch's information does not come from philosophical speculation or case material. The danger envisaged seems

the lowest census class, the thetes, and the next-of-kin was richer and did not want to marry her, he was obliged to dower her according to his own census level.¹⁰⁶

Another law states, 'If a son is born of an epikleros, and he has passed the age of puberty (*hēbē*) by two years [i.e. is eighteen], he takes possession of the estate, but he is responsible for his mother's maintenance.'¹⁰⁷ The estate is clearly that of the boy's maternal grandfather, but this law does not tell us whether the epikleros' son entered the phratry of his MF, nor whether all her sons had equal rights to his status and property.

In the classical period it seems to have been normal for one of the epikleros' sons to inherit the status of his MF, to whom he was adopted either *inter vivos* or posthumously, while any other children took the status (i.e. phratry and deme affiliation) of their father. In practice the division of property and the separation between the two oikoi may well have been less clear-cut than the use of adoption suggests; and wherever there was more than one epikleros in a family their sons were not adopted.¹⁰⁸ When adoption is used to consolidate the position of an heir, the heir is always a single individual.

It seems probable, however, that the rules governing the epiklerate were originally inspired by the practice of uxorilocal marriage, where the son-in-law had been absorbed into the oikos of his wife's father and all the children of the marriage had been considered as belonging to that oikos. Both the attitudes associated with the ideal aristocratic oikos portrayed by Homer and the situation

to be that a rich widower or divorcé (perhaps *d.c.*'s brother), who already has an heir, hopes to combine the epikleric property with his own and pass the whole estate to his son.

¹⁰⁶ [Dem.] 43. 54. This law is remarkably detailed, providing also for cases in which there is more than one kinsman in the next-of-kin relationship (they divide the cost of the dowry), or more than one epikleros (it is not certain that K. F. Hermann's conjecture *tōi g' hēni* for *tōi genei* should be adopted; a rule that a single sibling group, *genos*, was not obliged to dower more than one epikleros is conceivable). This may be a case of post-Solonian refinement and clarification, and so may the specification of dowry amounts (cf. the doubts expressed above, n. 68, about the attribution to Solon of precise census criteria; below, n. 128). However, the low level of the dowries and of the fine to be paid by an archon who fails to enforce the law (1000 dr.) suggest a 6th-c. date, as does the specification that the fine is to be paid to Hera, not a prominent deity in Attika; she is still expected to play an active role in protecting marriage. The clause *apographētō de ton mē poiounta tauta ho boulomenos pros ton archonta*, which follows the entrenchment clause, may have been added at the end of the 5th c.; the original procedure was *eisangelia*.

¹⁰⁷ [Dem.] 46. 20: *kai ean ex epiklērou tis genētai kai hama hēbēsēi epi dietes, krastein tōn chrēmātōn, ton de siton metrein tēi mētri*. The context is unclear; did preceding clauses specify the obligations of the epikleros' husband? This does not seem to be a law directly concerned with the right of the epikleros' son(s) to succeed, and therefore does not tell us whether all or only one took possession of the MF's estate at 18 (ch. 19 n. 47). It may have applied only to epikleroi who had been claimed by *epidikasia*: Beauchet 1897 I, 436. In the laws of Manu the eldest son of an 'appointed daughter' becomes the son of his MF at birth.

¹⁰⁸ On adoption of the husband of a brotherless daughter see ch. 2, II B 1, V 5 (on the use of the term *epiklēros* during the father's lifetime see n. 112).

of the in-marrying peasant son-in-law (modern Greek *sôgambros*) point in this direction.¹⁰⁹

It is hard to see where Solon stands in this development. The ideal situation, in his day, may have been for the husband of the epikleros to renounce his right to inherit and to procreate sons in his *oikos* of origin, and to transfer himself entirely to the *oikos* of his wife's father.¹¹⁰ However, it would presumably be open to the epikleros' husband—like the adopted son, whose position was in some respects similar—to return to his *oikos* of origin once he had produced an heir for the *oikos* of his wife's father. In practice, because the status and rights of the epikleros' husband were not clearly defined, he came to retain his position in his father's *oikos* and transmit it to all but one of his children. The working of the epiklerate in the archaic period is difficult to understand because although on the one hand we have some very precise specifications in written law governing some aspects of epikleric marriage, on the other hand it is clear that questions remained that were not explicitly regulated, and that room was left for flexible arrangements to suit individual circumstances.¹¹¹ In fact, since Solon allowed fathers who had no sons to select husbands for their daughters both *inter vivos* and by testament, and since girls married in their teens, the whole of the law on epikleroi represented a regulation of marginal cases. In practice Athenians came to feel that the regulations prescribing marriage by the next-of-kin should govern the marriage of all heiresses,¹¹² but it is far from certain that Solon either foresaw or intended this development.

We should perhaps rather connect the mixture of precision in regulating marginal cases and vagueness on more central issues that we find in Solon's law on the epiklerate to other indications in his legislation of a wish to legitimize the authority of magistrates, and especially of the eponymous archon, by emphasizing their quasi-parental role as protectors of the weak—orphans, epikleroi, widows

¹⁰⁹ Material from elsewhere in Greece does not help to decide this question. On the modern *sôgambros* see Peristiany and Handman (eds.) 1989 s.v. (more care needs to be taken in distinguishing permanent and temporary uxori-local residence), and for historical parallels see e.g. Segalen 1980, 77–8.

¹¹⁰ Gernet (1921 = 1955, 137, following Beauchet 1897 I, 470–3) thinks that all sons of the epikleros inherited from their MF even if one was adopted. A. R. W. Harrison (1968, 135) and Lane-Fox (1985, 227, a useful discussion) opt for the view that only one son succeeded to the status and property of the MF. This was also the view of De Sanctis 1898 (= 1975, 275), who noted that the law did not work very effectively.

¹¹¹ In particular, there were no clear rules for marriage and inheritance if a man left more than one daughter in the situation of epikleros. This question was regulated at Gortyn (Link 1994b; Maffi 1997a).

¹¹² Technically a girl was not epikleros until her father (or brother) died, but the term could be used when it became unlikely that a male heir would be born (e.g. *IG* ii² 1165). Note that in Sophokles' *Antigone* the heroine, who became an epikleros on the death of her brothers (though this is not mentioned in the play), and is perhaps portrayed as epikleric in character, was already betrothed to her (not her father's) next-of-kin, her MBS Haimon (in Euripides' *Antigone* she seems to have married him, before her brothers' death).

pregnant at the time of the husband's death,¹¹³ 'empty' oikoi, aged parents, victims of *hybris*. Solon of course did not invent the idea that the strong had a moral duty to protect the weak (cf. Adkins 1960). Consciously or unconsciously, however, he focused on the empty oikos as a domain where the power of law and of the state could be given free rein. The Athenian citizen could be invited to contemplate the state's powers of regulation, deployed in minute detail, in a context where he would not feel that his own right of control over his affairs was directly threatened.¹¹⁴

The other question invariably discussed in modern treatments of the epiklerate is whether a woman already married during her father's lifetime to a husband who was not her next-of-kin could be claimed by the next-of-kin on her father's death, if she was the sole remaining heir in his oikos. Solon's law did not provide any explicit basis for such claims; on the contrary, he clearly stated that a man who had daughters but no sons could dispose of his property as he wished, provided that the daughter(s) went with the property.¹¹⁵ The effect of formulating in writing the rules for marriage of an epikleros whose father had made no such arrangement was, however, to encourage kin to feel that they had a right to potential epikleroi as soon as the girls reached the age of marriage (cf. Humphreys 1989); and in the classical period there are allegations that kin had threatened to claim married women as epikleroi. But there is no attested case of such a claim being formally presented, and we cannot tell how a court would have decided.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ [Dem.] 43. 75 (the use of the term *paranomōn* does not prove a late date: Humphreys 1988, n. 15). Earlier, this protective function (cf. Van Wees 2011a) will have been shared by local *basileis*, whose performance no doubt varied considerably. The law did not specify whether the archon could act without an *eisangelia*; in any case he could arrange that an *eisangelia* was made. A childless widow returned to her family of origin, and the interests of a widow with children who stayed in her husband's *oikos* were covered by provisions for protection of orphans. In the classical period (and presumably earlier) even a widow with children normally remarried, if still of child-bearing age (Hunter 1989).

¹¹⁴ See the interesting discussion of Solon and the oikos in Spahn 1980b. More work needs to be done on the contexts selected for regulation in early written law, both in the individual case and comparatively (the 'empty oikos' is already problematic in the *Odyssey*). Another domain in which early Attic law is very detailed is the regulation of planting close to land boundaries. There is a certain preference for matters amenable to quantitative treatment, but also for marginal or interstitial areas of social life; perhaps Gagarin's ideas on the role of procedural regulations in early law (for which, he admits, the Solonian case presents some difficulties: 1986, 71–2) may be set in this wider framework. Hölkeskamp 1999, ch. IV 1–2, does not address this question.

¹¹⁵ Is. 3. 68. De Ste. Croix' suggestion (1970; cf. Lane Fox 1985) that Solon wanted to prevent competition for heiresses overlooks the father's right to dispose of his daughter during his lifetime.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Maffi 1990. No doubt, if a claim came to court, the court would have been less ready to break the marriage of an epikleros with children than of one without children, but the speaker of Is. 10 (§ 19) rather implies that his opponents had threatened to claim his mother as epikleros after she had borne children, and it is improbable that there was any legal ruling on this point. Is. 6. 46, 51, 57–8 refers to threats to claim a widow, who had a daughter, as epikleros; on the other hand, Is. 8. 31 argues that although a married woman with children who became an epikleros on her father's death could be claimed by his next of kin, her sons would still inherit the estate when they came of age. Is. 3. 64 asserts that many

LAW AND THE OIKOS: (I) FREEDOM OF ACTION

In analysing laws attributed to Solon, it is important to remember that Attic family law does not seem to have undergone any systematic revision (for example c.400), and that written law influenced behaviour in ways that might subsequently generate changes in interpretation. Interpretations that seemed obvious to the orators and their contemporaries, against the background of institutions familiar to them, are not necessarily valid for earlier periods. Meaning is contextual, and contexts change through historical process; cf. Luhmann 1986. The law on testamentary dispositions is a case in point.

I have argued elsewhere (Humphreys 2002*a*) that the law on testamentary dispositions cited in [Demosthenes] 46. 14 should be translated: 'Whoever has not adopted a son for himself, on conditions such that there is to be neither repudiation [by the adopter] nor *epidikasia*, at the date when Solon became archon, may dispose of his property (*diathesthai*) as he wishes.' Like the further provision cited in Isaios 3. 68, this law applies only to men without sons.

We have no evidence that the noun *diathékē*, will, was already used in Solon's day.¹¹⁷ There were, however, situations in which a man might wish to 'make arrangements' (*diathesthai*)—especially, perhaps, a man who as yet had no children, or only young children, who was about to leave home on a dangerous expedition. Such arrangements might include appointment of guardians, designation of future husbands for young daughters, or designation of an heir to be adopted when he was old enough for presentation to the phratry, or if a son died before reaching maturity. The law was primarily framed to protect the rights of already-adopted sons and epikleric daughters rather than those of the testator, whose freedom was further limited by specification of the conditions that would invalidate his dispositions.

According to the nineteenth-century conception of the oikos-genos as a primordial property-owning unit, perpetuating itself by agnatic succession, adoption was an essential part of the inheritance mechanism. Conversely, if the 'oikos', in this sense, was not primordial, neither was adoption. Indeed, there is no sign of it in Homer or Hesiod. If a man has no sons, *chêrôstai* divide his property (n. 79).

marriages have been broken up, and that the law authorized claims to married epikleroi, but this statement does not prove either that disputes concerning married epikleroi had actually come to court, or that a legal text could be cited which explicitly authorized such claims. Maffi 1989*a* argues that there was no dissolution of the marriage of a woman who became a *patrôioškos* (epikleros) at Gortyn. The analogy of Is. 2, where *d.c.*'s next-of-kin try to claim his estate from a son adopted *inter vivos*, suggests that a litigant claiming a married epikleros would need to argue that her father had been mentally deranged when the marriage was arranged, citing the law in [Dem.] 46. 14. Even the right of a wife's father to remove her from her husband (*aphairesis*) was doubtful (hence the interest of comic writers, cf. Rosivach 1984; Scafuro 1997; Arnott 2004; Furley 2009).

¹¹⁷ The first evidence is Ar. *Wasps* 583–6, *Birds* 84, 589.

An elite household may incorporate immigrants (as it may recognize *nothoi*), but these hangers-on (Patroklos, Phoinix) do not become sons. Hence we have to ask how adoption became institutionalized.

This means asking what phratry procedure was like in Solon's day. If, as I have argued above (at nn. 53–5), he linked phratry membership to an embryonic conception of citizenship, the sponsor of an immigrant would have to testify that he was either permanently exiled from his own community or a craftsman intending to settle in Attika with his family. The numbers would be small; exiles (*xenoi*) would be sponsored by upper-class patrons, craftsmen might also have elite patrons, or might have contacts with traders or the owners of small independent workshops. An Athenian who moved from the locality of his phratry (probably to the city or the Piraeus area) might also find a sponsor in a phratry based near his new home. Many Athenians, however, would continue to present their sons to their own phratries. In that case, it might matter little whether a boy was presented as son of his genitor or of a pater who had chosen him as heir, provided that his kindred accepted the arrangement. Only in controversial cases—where the kindred objected, or where the designated heir did not come from a phratry family—would it be necessary to secure the arrangement for the future by explicit, formal action (a vote of the phratry?). The references in the law to *epidikasia* and to Solon's archonship indicate that as archon Solon had announced that he would not accept *epidikasia* cases where such formalities had been carried out.

The law, then, was not an exhaustive statement of norms concerning 'adoption', but a ruling for a small body of potentially controversial situations. Over time, however, it would have an effect on the norms it had left untouched. The ring-fencing of exceptional situations by formal means would come to look like a desirable precaution in all cases, and eventually take on the contours of a norm, especially when conditional testamentary arrangements came to be fixed in a written will (*diathêkê*).¹¹⁸ Phratries might take to voting on all cases of adoption *inter vivos*, and adoption on the basis of a will (though still apt to provoke controversy) would seem a more normal procedure.

Apollodoros' argument in [Demosthenes] 46. 14 was in any case specious, since he was claiming that his father as a naturalized citizen was an adoptee. It was probably equally dubious to interpret the law as ruling that adoptees could not make wills. By the fourth century Athenians with legitimate sons, whose testamentary freedom was limited (i.a. they could not adopt), were regularly making wills, and there is no reason to suppose that adoptees (who might also need to arrange for repayment of debts, appoint guardians, etc.) could not do the same. What adopted sons could not do, according to general opinion, was to

¹¹⁸ Cf. the reference in *PGrVindob* 29816 F 5 (Carey 2004) to frequent arguments setting genealogy (*genos*) against wills; Wohl 2010, 257–68.

adopt in their turn. Apollodoros was thus playing on the ambiguity both of the middle-passive form *epepoiênto* and of *diathesthai*, which could be used by this time either of adoption or of will making.

Thus a strong connection grew up between adoption and the designation of an heir by testament. This also affected the marriage of epikleroi. Normally in this case it was a son of the epikleros who was formally adopted into the oikos of his maternal grandfather, but occasionally it is the husband. Solon's law evidently did not prescribe adoption in either case; if there was more than one epikleros their sons were never adopted, and it is in such circumstances that we find one case of the adoption of a son-in-law and two cases of the adoption of sons who did not marry any of their adoptive sisters. In the former case ([Demosthenes] 41. 3–4) the marriage ended in divorce and the adoption was annulled; in the latter (Isaios 5, 8) the question of dividing the estate between the adopted son and the epikleroi led to protracted disputes.

The only formal law regulating the rights of an epikleros' husband and of her sons to control the property to which she was attached would on this view be the rule that the son(s) gained control at the age of eighteen ([Demosthenes] 46. 20). This seems indeed somewhat puzzling: if the epikleros' husband was incorporated into the house of his father-in-law in uxorilocal marriage and/or was in any case her next-of-kin, why was he not allowed to retain control of the property during his lifetime? Is this due to the strength of the feeling that each oikos should produce its own heirs, to fear of the merging of estates, to fear that the epikleros herself would retain too much influence? I have no answer to this question.

It should be noted that the law obliging the kinsman who does not wish to marry a poor epikleros to dower her, if he belongs to a higher census class ([Demosthenes] 43. 54), implies that the epikleros whose next-of-kin did not claim her could be adjudicated to another claimant. Whereas the law code of Gortyn and biblical regulations for the levirate make specific provision for the case of the *patrôiochos* or widow whose legally designated husband does not claim her,¹¹⁹ Solon apparently thought it unnecessary to do more than provide a dowry for the epikleros whose inheritance was not sufficient to make her an attractive marriage prospect.

This law seems to provide the answer to the last question we have to consider concerning Solon's regulations on the devolution of property: whether in his period land circulated as dowry. The obligation of a richer kinsman to dower a poor epikleros if he did not intend to marry her seems to imply that it was normal for men to dower the women of their family when giving them in marriage. The

¹¹⁹ Gortyn code VII 36–VIII 8; Deut. 25. 5–10 (Cassin 1987 304–15; cf. also Bourdieu 1972, 46–8).

term used in the law is *proix*,¹²⁰ and the payment envisaged is clearly different from the *phernê* which had been restricted by Solon's sumptuary laws. The level of dowry demanded from members of each Solonian census class is expressed in drachmas, but it is hard to believe that in the early sixth century all Athenians were able to make their dowry payments in silver or valuables. Furthermore, the use of the term *sitos*, grain, to denote financial obligations arising from possession of a dowry suggests that in early times dowry was normally transferred in the form of rights over land. Even in the classical period, when most dowries were paid over in cash, they were secured by a mortgage on land (*apotiméma*).¹²¹ The dowry was conceptualized as a fund for the woman's maintenance, and was therefore controlled by the man with whom she was residing. A husband who had not received all the dowry promised with his wife, or the kin of a divorced woman whose dowry had not been returned, could bring a *dikê siton* against the withholder of the dowry; in the classical period he was entitled to interest at 18% of its value.¹²²

All these indications seem to me to point to the conclusion that Solon was legislating in a context where dowry in land was well established. Fathers and brothers may well have preferred to substitute cash, animals, and/or valuables when they could do so, but this option in practice will largely have been restricted to the elite; to some extent Solon's limitation of the goods that could be carried in wedding processions as *phernê* may have encouraged a shift towards dowries

¹²⁰ Etymologically the term *proix* seems to refer to a free gift that did not form part of a series of exchanges (cf. *Od.* 13. 15, *proikos*, and the adverb *proika*, 'for free'). It seems that the gift of *hedna* by the groom (Humphreys in preparation *a*) had already become insignificant by Solon's day. The view of Piccirilli 1978 that *phernê* included land transfers seems to me untenable. Cf. the limit on *komistra* (chattels and cash) in the Gortyn code, III 38–41. D. O. Hughes 1978 has useful data on transitions from one (medieval) form of marriage-prestation to another. Important analysis of the relation between transfers of land, cash, and valuables at marriage in Sant Cassia and Bada 1992, ch. 4.

¹²¹ A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 296–303. The use of stone markers, *horoi*, to indicate such liens on land was probably introduced after the disruption caused by the Peloponnesian War; earlier, it would have been sufficient to call neighbours to witness the agreement. A *horos* is a stone marker carrying information about property rights; *pace* Finley 1952, 5–6, it seems to me misleading to speak of it as 'marking an encumbrance', and thus to distinguish 'mortgage' *horoi* from boundary markers (cf. above, n. 38). Dowry in land at Sparta, *Ar. Pol.* 1270a25 (Plut. *Lys.* 30. 5 is hardly reliable). See Hunter 1994, 25–6 on possible cases of dowry in land in classical Athens.

¹²² Cf. above, n. 50 on *sitos* on Solon's first axon. The interest rate was 9 obols per mina (100 dr.) per month, [Dem.] 59. 52. It is not entirely certain that the husband who had not received the full dowry could use the *dikê siton* (A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 50–2), but it seems likely. It was also available against a guardian or tenant who held an orphan's estate and failed to pay over the revenue from it; the archon was responsible for such cases (*A.P.* 56. 7), which in early times could also have been brought under the procedure of *eisangelia kakoseôs orphanou*. The *dikê proikos* (Harrison 1968, 49–60), for return of the whole dowry, belonged to the class of 'one-month suits' (*emménōi dikai*) handled by the *eisagôgeis*, probably introduced in the late 340s or later (Gernet 1938), and is therefore irrelevant here.

in land even at the elite level, until monetarization made it easy to make dowry payments in cash.

LAW AND THE OIKOS: (II) INTERVENTIONS

It has been suggested that to transfer land from one oikos to another on the occasion of the transfer of a woman was not in accordance with the male ideology of Solon's society and with Solon's interest in stabilizing the size of landholdings;¹²³ but the ideological situation is more complex. Early Attic law was shaped at least as much by conceptions of the role of law and of the state's officials as by conceptions of gender and property. Women were considered incapable of managing property and, for that reason, dangerous—Solon may have been responsible for the Attic law limiting the value of business transactions a woman could undertake to one medimnos (about 1½ bushels) of barley, and a will made under the influence of a woman could be challenged—but their weakness also made them a suitable subject for legal regulation. The situation of the orphaned epikleros whose father had not arranged for her marriage either during his lifetime or by diatheke, which must in practice have been very rare,¹²⁴ inspired an extraordinary proliferation of legal detail, especially focused on the yet rarer cases where the epikleros' inheritance placed her in the lowest property class but her next-of-kin was richer ([Demosthenes] 43. 54, cf. n. 106). Rather than pre-

¹²³ Cf. Leduc 1991. But the sequence of developments that has to be postulated is improbably complex. We have to believe that Solon's law on *pherné* forbade all marriage-prestations and that dowry in land and/or cash subsequently crept in, concealed under the different term *proix*, at a date early enough for 500 dr. to seem a reasonable value to set on the dowry that had to be paid to a poor epikleros by a rich *pentakosiomedimnos* kinsman. In the classical period trousseau items are included in the *proix* (A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 46–7; Is. 1. 8, Dem. 41. 27). *Pherné* is used twice to denote land in classical prose texts: in Aisch. 2. 31 the context is mythical and Aisch. probably regards *pherné* as a poetic synonym for *proix*; in Xen. *Kyrop.* 8. 5. 19–20 the choice is influenced by Greek ideas about the role of gifts in Persian culture, and since the fiancée is an only daughter *proix* would not be appropriate (*pherné* is also used by Hdt. 1. 93 of the dowries earned for themselves by Lydian prostitutes).

¹²⁴ Cf. Ruschenbusch 1990; ch. 7 n. 106. The daughters of Epilykos, whose father seems to have died while they were in infancy, were claimed by their next-of-kin when they came of age, and no mention is made of a will (Andokides 1. 117–21, *APF* 8429 IV; Table 4.2, ch. 4 n. 8). Sositheos, speaker of [Dem.] 43, had claimed his wife by *epidikasia*, but he refers to his WF's *episképsis* that a son of the marriage should be adopted posthumously to him, so the *epidikasia* may have been made on the basis of a will (cf. ch. 7, case 9). *POxy* 2464 refers to an epikleros claimed by *epidikasia*, but the situation is hard to reconstruct; see Appendix 5. Lys. F XI Thalheim 1913, XII Carey 2007 (and perhaps LXVI/50, LXXVII Carey), from an *epidikasia* by a Kallaischros for a girl whose father Antiphon was killed by the Thirty, may provide a parallel to the case of the daughters of Epilykos. The father's freedom to betroth a potential epikleros as he wishes is attested for Sparta (Hdt. 6. 57), and probably (*pace* Maffi 1997a) for Gortyn, where however the woman married or betrothed by her father or brother had the right to free herself on becoming an heiress if she wished.

sending itself as the strong arm ready to decide disputes between independent male householders, who might see such pretensions as infringing on their own autarky, the law seems to stress its role in protecting the weak, the woman and children of the *oikos* without a head. While Solon did provide ongoing legal protection as well as immediate relief for the lower classes (ban on debt slavery; perhaps law on *hybris*, but see below, n. 143), he also introduced a significant gender (and age) dimension into the functions of law. The belief that women are incapable of managing their own affairs does not lead simply to their total exclusion from the public sphere, but instead makes the woman who lacks a male protector a peculiarly proper subject for the exercise of public authority.¹²⁵ The same combination of mistrust of women and paternalism is seen, in my opinion, in the classification of dowry as provision for a woman's maintenance (*sitos*). Whereas the law of Gortyn recognized that dowry represented a form of inheritance for daughters,¹²⁶ Attic law denied this, but made careful provision to ensure that maintenance payments were made.

LAW AND THE OIKOS: THE BALANCE

In trying to assess the general character of early Attic written law and its effects on patterns of interaction between kin, it is obviously necessary to recognize that later legislators may have added to the core of laws provided by Solon. Indeed, comparison with what we know of the legislation of the years following the reforms of Kleisthenes and Ephialtes rather suggests that Solon's activities would have created an interest in legislation which would have produced a trickle of minor measures and adjustments in subsequent years (cf. Humbert 1990, 284).¹²⁷ It is also very possible that laws passed by Peisistratos were subsequently attributed to Solon.¹²⁸ Some of the more pedantic details in archaic Athenian law—even the law on the dowry to be given to poor *epikleroi*—may well belong to this epigonic

¹²⁵ The *Odyssey* shows how problematic this situation could be felt to be, as does (later) Aisch. 1. 170–1. Cf. Humphreys 1988 n. 15.

¹²⁶ IV 31–V 10. While the Attic classification no doubt represents a refusal to confer property rights on women, it should also be noted that there is no recognized category of gifts in anticipation of inheritance in Attic law.

¹²⁷ After Kleisthenes: oath of council, *stratēgoi*, ostracism, introduction of lot for selection of archons. After Ephialtes: archonship open to *zeugitai*, jury pay, Perikles' citizenship law.

¹²⁸ The tyrants seem to have innovated in ritual, acting through the office of the *archon basileus* (J. K. Davies 1988; cf. n. 14 above, and n. 36 on Peisistratid taxation). I take it that *axones* continued to be used in the sixth century (but see G. Davis 2011), and thus quotation from an *axôn* does not prove that a law is Solonian. The law forbidding an adoptee to return to his *oikos* of origin without leaving a son in that of his pater (cf. colonial parallels, n. 88), cited from axon 21, may belong to this trickle-on legislation. Axon 16 specified prices of sacrificial victims, and may therefore have contained (part of) Solon's festival calendar (cf. n. 133).

legislation. Nevertheless, it seems to me both possible and useful, at least as a basis for further discussion, to pull together some of the characteristics of early Athenian legislation, as we see it before the city began to draft regulations for an empire.

Sweeping measures and swingeing penalties could be proposed to remedy a situation of crisis such as that in which Solon took office, or to deter magistrates from misconduct in office, but in other contexts the legislator had to proceed with caution. Intensive and detailed regulation of marginal situations is combined with considerable freedom for the individual to make any arrangements that his kin and peers will accept. The order of intestate succession to a man who leaves no lineal heirs is precisely specified, yet the man who sees his death approaching can make what arrangements he chooses, for his property and for his potentially epikleric daughters. Nothoi were not entitled to claim an estate before the archon, nor to claim the right to phratry membership, but if a man without legitimate sons could persuade his kin and community to accept a diatheke in favour of a nothos, the law had no powers to stop him. Magistrates were given little chance to act on their own initiative; they could only react to a complaint from a member of the public, and the level of fines and penalties they could impose was restricted.¹²⁹ Written law enhanced the authority of elected magistrates in relation to that of other members of the political elite, by specifying that complaints about illegal behaviour (*eisangeliai*, *graphai*, *phaseis*, etc.) were to be brought to them; but written law also represented an effort to detach the law from the individual office-holders responsible for enforcing it. The law was given this air of independent consistency partly by the physical reality of the wooden blocks on which it was inscribed,¹³⁰ but also by the mass of detail concentrated on a few topics: intestate succession, the protection of the epikleros,

¹²⁹ A thief could be sentenced to 5 days in the stocks only with the authorization of the *heliaia*, Lys. 10. 15, Dem. 24. 105 (see Humphreys 1983b, 238; 1997, 550). The archon could fine those guilty of *hybris* against orphans and others for whom he had responsibility *kata to telos* ([Dem.] 43. 75; *telos* probably here refers not to his office, but to their census class, Kahrstedt 1936, 215–19), but had to ask the *heliaia* for authority to impose a heavier penalty. The formula, ‘let the *heliaia* decide what he is to pay or suffer’ belongs to the archaic period of Athenian law. Whether the *heliaia* was ‘the assembly sitting as a court’ (P. J. Rhodes 1981a; Humphreys 1983b; Ostwald 1986) or a separate institution (M. H. Hansen 1982; 1987a, 104–5) is perhaps an academic question. I see no reason to assume a differentiation in meeting place or membership at this period. The question to be asked about *epheisis* is not (*pace* MacDowell 1978), whether the term meant ‘appeal’ or ‘referral’, but under what circumstances litigants could oblige a magistrate to refer a case to the *Heliaia* (Van Wees 2011a). Comments by bystanders, who will have been present at magistrates’ hearings (n. 6 above) may well have exerted an influence.

¹³⁰ Of course Solon’s *axones* (and/or *kurbeis*) were not as imposing physically as the wall on which the Gortyn code was inscribed, but the length of the text must at the time have been very impressive for a public announcement (n. 48 above). I suggested in Humphreys 1991 that they were kept indoors and that the choice of revolving wooden beams was partly due to a need to save space (cf. N. D. Robertson 1986; but I am not yet convinced by his suggestion that the *kurbeis* were Peisistratean).

abuse in public places (with a list of specifically prohibited terms), behaviour likely to lead to disputes with neighbours. The distance to be left between the boundary of one's property and a wall, house, ditch, pit, well, beehive, olive tree, fig tree, or other trees, is precisely laid down.¹³¹

I am not suggesting that Solon or his successors in the archonship consciously set out to enhance the dignity of the law by elaborate regulations in these areas. Rather, they worked with experience of the kind of problems that were likely to come to magistrates for settlement,¹³² and a sense of the 'soft' areas of social behaviour where public opinion would tolerate regulation by authority, and the 'harder' areas where resistance would be encountered. Although Solon's legislation touched on many different aspects of social interaction, it still has a somewhat interstitial quality. Adumbrations of what law might one day become are sketched out in obscure corners of social practice.¹³³

Solon's concern with matters for which the archon had special responsibility, the connection of his legislation to the economic crisis of the time, and the view of law and the state as the protectors of the weak are all illustrated by the regulations on *paranoia*, designed for use against a father who had become incapable of managing his oikos; in correlation, Solon also specified that sons were obliged to support their aged parents, provided that the son was legitimate and had been given the means of making a living, either land or a training in trade.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Ruschenbusch 1966, nos. 32–3, 60–2, cf. 63–4; cf. R. W. Wallace 1994 on slander. Gagarin 2005 (cf. 2007) links written law to detail, but in my view this is not yet 'codification'.

¹³² In the modern Cretan disputes resulting in charges of homicide or attempted homicide analysed by Astrinaki 1986, land boundaries and abuse figure prominently.

¹³³ It must of course be remembered that parts of the legislation of the 6th c. will have been lost. I am here partly modifying what I said in Humphreys 1988, n. 9 about the tendency of lawgivers to legitimate their own position and their laws by presenting their legislation as a code designed to impose order systematically on all forms of social interaction. The scope of such systematic ordering may depend on the ambitions of the ruler/lawgiver and the source of his authority. Solon's position was more circumscribed than that of a Hammurabi or—since he lacked divine authorization—of a Moses. Apart from the festival calendar, which belonged to the genre of the list, and in which precise regulation of sacrifice was a proof of piety, early Athenian law thus shows a tendency to systematic coverage only in dealing with a few, rather interstitial, areas of behaviour. See n. 114 above; Maffi 1989*a*; Cartledge a. o. 1990, 7. The next major development in Athenian law was in regulation of the empire (cf. the influence of colonialism on the development of the modern state).

¹³⁴ On *epidikasia* in Bekker 1814 I 310 see above, n. 41; *A.P.* 56. 6 refers to *graphai* and *dikai paranoias*, Plat. *Laws* 929d–e has *graphé*. There may be a reference to a paranoia case in Is. 6. 35–7, where an attempt to have Euktemon's estate leased during his lifetime is reported (on *Vita Soph.* 13 see ch. 9 n. 54). The law stated in Plut. *Sol.* 22 cannot have said that every Athenian had to teach his son a craft; rather, if the father had no land to leave, he had to train his son to get a living by other means. (The distinction between farmers and craftsmen appears again in Solon's regulations on citizenship, Plut. *Sol.* 24.) I assume this provision was related to the procedure for protection of parents (*eisangelia* or *graphé goneôn kakoseôs*, cf. P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 618, 629); Ruschenbusch 1966 F 111–14 doubted the attribution to Solon, but it can hardly be much later.

These provisions also illustrate another aspect of Solon's laws: it was clearly established that the effects of law could reach inside the *oikos*. It was not that the community had previously lacked interest in the internal affairs of *oikoi*, or had no way of making its disapproval known if it sensed irregularity; but nevertheless the *oikos* wall had marked an important boundary in legal thinking. An intruder caught inside the *oikos* in the act of stealing or interfering with a woman under the control of the *oikos* head could be killed with impunity; the status of a *nothos* in the community was markedly influenced by the attitude to him of his father or his legitimate brothers; a child born in an *oikos* became a member of the family, or a slave, of the *oikos* head; a woman was under the control of the head of the *oikos* in which she resided, and if it had no effective head there was no rule to determine who should take responsibility for her.¹³⁵ The Athenian legislators of the sixth century tended to override the *oikos* boundary. There were general laws on theft, rape, and adultery; laws on the criteria for admission to *phratry* membership were offered, in place of conventions based on *oikos* membership, as the basis for determining personal status; the archon was charged with responsibility for 'empty' *oikoi*, and for dealing with the widow who claimed to be pregnant by her deceased husband. Safeguards were added for the man wrongfully imprisoned as an adulterer or accused of seducing or raping a woman who is behaving as a prostitute.¹³⁶

It is misleading to think of these developments in terms of an evolution from 'self-help' to written law, or of encroachment by the state on 'private' affairs. Rather, written law began to appropriate some of the functions of popular justice. The sanctions in the laws dealing with *moicheia* indicate this origin: the cuckolded husband who continues to live with his wife, and the adulterous wife, are subject to forms of *atimia*, i.e., public dishonouring; the successful defendant in an entrapment case may do anything he wishes, in court, to his prosecutor, short of using a knife (i.e. short of publicly castrating him).¹³⁷ The law stating that a

¹³⁵ D. Cohen 1991; Ogden 1996, 265–71 on Gortyn; Bourdieu 1972, 16–17 on the category-structure of customary law; Todd 1993, 204–10. The boundedness of *oikoi* of course varied with social status.

¹³⁶ Ruschenbusch 1966, nos. 23, 26, 28–30. If there is any basis in law for the tradition that Solon legalized brothels (perhaps derived only from comedy, cf. Rosivach 1995), the law protecting the clients of prostitutes against prosecution for *moicheia* ([Dem.] 59. 67, cf. Lys. 10. 19) may have supplied it. Cf. McGinn 1992 on Rome.

¹³⁷ Cf. above, n. 9. Cuckold and adulteress, [Dem.] 59. 87 (cf. Aisch. 1. 183, but the laws in this text are later additions). An entrapment case, settled out of court, in [Dem.] 59. 64–71; in Lys. 1 the prosecution clearly accused Euphiletos of entrapment as well as homicide (cf. ch. 14 n. 47). Cf. Scafuro 1997, C. B. Patterson 1998, Omitowoju 2002. In claiming that death was the penalty for *moicheia*, while the rapist only paid compensation, Euphiletos (Lys. 1. 32) was tendentiously comparing the *oikos*-based provisions in Dracon's law on justifiable homicide with offence-based provisions in the law on assault (*biaia*; cf. Patterson, op. cit.). The only evidence for death as the penalty for a court conviction for *moicheia* is Lys. 13. 68, where the orator claims that the defendant (who survived his conviction) was of slave origin. Court cases will have been rare (Foxhall 1991).

man convicted of homicide, if found on Athenian territory, could be killed but not mutilated or held to ransom, belongs to the same context.¹³⁸

Before we turn to consider the effects of this archaic legislation, it is worth asking what the legislators did *not* try to regulate, in the field of interactions involving kin and affines. Guardianship, *apokêryxis*, and divorce receive attention in Plato's *Laws*, in the Gortyn code, and in some other texts, which they do not seem to have attracted in archaic Athens. Law did not prescribe the choice of guardians for orphans; provision was made for the removal of guardians who mistreated their wards, through the *eisangelia kakôseôs orphanôn*, but the idea that the state should regulate the selection of guardians emerges only later (cf. ch. 3 at n. 33). The right to make testamentary arrangements extends to the appointment of guardians. The lack of legal interest in relations between a father and his adult son(s) contrasts strikingly with the elaboration of this issue in Roman law. Athenian law had nothing to say about gifts of property to sons during the father's lifetime, or about the son's capacity to make a will while his father was alive.¹³⁹ The right of a father to disown and disinherit his son by *apokêryxis* was recognized in Attika, but there is no evidence that it was in any way regulated by or referred to in law; Plato's apology for dealing with the question in the *Laws* (928d–929c) suggests that it was not. Plato's idea that the father should be obliged to discuss the matter first with a council of kin, composed of the son's patri- and matrilineal relatives up to and including first cousins (*mechri anepsiôn*) may be inspired by Phoenix' story in *Iliad* 9. 447–77; it is doubtful whether *apokêryxis* was frequent enough in real life to generate any customary rules. Divorce in Athenian law was dealt with only under the provisions for returning dowry (*dikê sitou*); the wife was not considered to have contributed anything else to the household during her residence in it.¹⁴⁰ Not only were women considered,

¹³⁸ Imprisonment and holding to ransom, often no doubt with some rough treatment, were the normal response for a cuckolded husband; *Od.* 8. 266–366; Gortyn code II 20–45; in *Lys.* 1. 25, 29 the adulterer, who was probably killed accidentally by his captors, had offered to pay a ransom. D. Cohen's claim (1991) that the *moichos* was treated as a *kakourgos* is justified in the sense that in both cases written law took over popular procedures for dealing with known offenders; and no doubt *moichoi* who could not afford to pay ransom money, or had no reputation to lose, would get summary treatment. However, his argument rests on very conjectural restorations of legal texts (p. 121), and disregards the underclass connotations of *kakourgos* in the classical period (A. R. W. Harrison 1971 aptly translates 'felon'). The typical penalty for a *kakourgos* was *apotympanismos*, the Athenian equivalent of crucifixion (Keramopoulos 1923; cf. Todd 1993, 141; Todd 2000; *Lys.* 13. 64–8, where the condemned were allegedly of slave origin); on the mass burial of handcuffed bodies at Phaleron, see Killgrove 2016.

¹³⁹ Cf. Wolff 1978 on Athens and Rome; Herzfeld 1980 on the importance of analysing the devolution process as a whole; Maffi 1983 on the regulation of father/son relations at Gortyn; n. 95 above.

¹⁴⁰ At Gortyn the woman could take half the crop from land she had contributed to the marriage, as well as the land itself, plus half the cloth she had woven (II 45–55). On the (mistaken) modern view that a wife who left her husband, at Athens, had to register her divorce with the archon see ch. 9 n. 50.

at law, incapable of managing property, they were also considered incapable of producing it.

LAW AND THE KINDRED

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to conclude too hastily that written law decreased the rights and influence of women. Attic culture, in its conceptions of gender, descent, and property, offered conflicting ideals and categorizations. Women, considered solely from the gender angle, were classed as incapable of concluding legally valid transactions; yet daughters, viewed as descendants, could transmit property to their heirs. Women could not own property, but they could be attached to it; the heiress was *epikleros*, attached to the inheritance, the wife was *epiproikos*, attached to her dowry. In a family with both sons and daughters, parts of the property were detached to serve as dowry for the daughters and pass into the control of other households; where there were only daughters, the *epikleros* was considered to remain with the whole property in her father's *oikos*, her husband residing there with her. This situation, however, was unstable, since the position of uxorilocally married son-in-law was only likely to attract men of lower status than the bride's father, yet a wealthy father could attract a prestigious bridegroom for his daughter. Written law may have facilitated the transition to a view of the uxorilocality of *epikleric* marriage as legal fiction rather than residential fact.

Solon not only confirmed the rights of daughters to remain attached to the whole of their fathers' estate in the absence of male descendants, he also generalized the rules for inheritance in the individual *oikos* to form the basis for his ranking of kin in the law on intestate succession. This must imply that—as Drakon's law on homicide and Greek kinship terminology also indicate—the bilateral kindred was already strongly established. Drakon had regarded all cousins (*anepsioi*) as equivalent; Solon ranked FBD before FZD, MBD before MZD, and patrikin before matrikin, but although if a man died intestate and his next-of-kin was an aunt, a niece, or a female cousin, her attachment to the *kleros* would not be as physically self-evident as that of a daughter, it does not seem to have occurred to Solon to restrict rights of intestate succession to agnates. His conception of the kindred was less symmetrical than that of Drakon—a sister's son (ZS) was much more likely to inherit from his MB than MB from ZS—but his law nevertheless provided strong motives for kin to remain in close association with each other. Relationships in which the connecting link was a woman remained important and this allowed women to play an influential role in kindreds. Indeed, fixing the rules for intestate succession in written law must have had the effect of strengthening ties with cognatic kin who did not live in the same community. Without

the authority of written law, it is unlikely that an outsider could have imposed himself as heir, even if he was the next-of-kin.

Written law privileged the calculation of genealogical relationship over other claims. Physical division of the estate of a childless man among his *chêrôstai* was probably not the only form of succession available in pre-Solonian times, but merely the worst possible scenario, the outcome dreaded because it seemed to threaten the complete destruction of the personality of the dying owner, identified with the integrity of his estate. The childless man would hope to select an individual heir, to join him in his *oikos* during his old age or to be solemnly instated by *episkepsis* on his deathbed. Kin and neighbours, in considering whether such a choice was fair and deserved the approval and support of the community, would consider a number of factors: not only genealogical closeness but also the number of sons in the family from which the heir was chosen and in other families that might have provided heirs, the personal relations between the parties concerned, the ages of potential heirs (particularly important where the marriage of an *epikleros* was concerned), and so forth. Solon's law could not incorporate all these variables, which continued to serve as justifications in court when an heir who was not *d.c.*'s next-of-kin had to defend his position. Written law encouraged next-of-kin to feel that they had a claim to inherit regardless of *d.c.*'s wishes.

FORMAL LEGISLATION AND WRITTEN LAW: EFFECTS

It cannot have been easy for Solon to foresee the effects of his laws. He was legislating in a society in which outlying villages had little contact with the elected authorities in the city, and nobles were more ready to impose judgment on others than to submit to it themselves. He had the vision of a law that applied equally to all—rich and poor, centre and periphery—but it would take time for this vision to translate itself into reality.

The growth of the control of elected magistrates, rather than local leaders, over dispute settlement is likely to have come about through the decisions of litigants dissatisfied with local judgments to appeal to the city authorities. The reverse process—attempt to get local support for overturning a judgment given in the city—is by no means unthinkable, but disputants are more likely to have tried to settle matters locally in the first place. Appeal to local leaders to act as arbitrators was always permitted—any dispute could be submitted to private arbitration—but the alternative possibility of a more formal hearing in the city would make it more difficult to get disputants to accept a local ruling as final. Nevertheless, there was still enough judicial activity by local leaders some fifty years later for Peisistratos to appoint travelling arbitrators, *dikastai kata dêmous*, perhaps to ensure that the rules applied in the countryside were the same as those

of the city. The first step, taken by Solon, was to emphasize the superior authority of judgments delivered by city officials; only when the authority of magistrates, the *Heliaia* and written law were more firmly established could the city appoint its own travelling commission of arbitrators.¹⁴¹

Apart from the emphasis laid on the judicial role of the eponymous archon both by his own tenure of the post and by his legislation on inheritance and *epikleroi*, Solon reinforced the authority of elected magistrates by specifying the officials to whom complaints about various forms of flagrant wrongdoing were to be made. A number of forms of popular complaint, vaguely differentiated as involving taking the offender to a person in authority or the authority to the scene of the offence, making a verbal report, pointing out an offending object or person, etc., acquired the authority of mention in written law and started on a slow (and never fully completed) journey towards more precise legal definition. In addition, several laws now provided for a written indictment to be made.¹⁴²

Stress on the authority of the city's elected officials and institutions went hand-in-hand with the admission of rich non-Eupatridai to office. Rich country landowners from the old towns or villages of Attika, *agroikoi*, were encouraged to spend more time in the city; the tradition that Solon regulated the right to dine at the office-holders' table in the Prytaneion may indicate that this was one mechanism used to increase the integration of the new political elite, and one of the purposes of introducing sanctions against *hybris* and *kakégoria*, insults to honour, may have been to protect non-Eupatridai from the resentment of some members of the old nobility.¹⁴³

The impact of Solon's legislation must have been affected by the fact that it was passed in a period of intense politicization. Provision for public arrest or denunciation of malefactors, announcement of estates and *epikleroi* open to be claimed, by herald and in the Assembly, hearings by magistrates in the public centre of the city or, for especially notorious or controversial cases, in the Assembly (above, n. 129), brought the new laws and legal institutions to the attention

¹⁴¹ See Humphreys 1983*b*, 239–40. The competence of the travelling *dikastai* was probably limited to minor affairs, but they would send more important cases to the city.

¹⁴² *Apagôgê*, *endeixis*, *eisangelia*, *phasis*, *graphê*; above, n. 10. Solon himself may have specified the use of a *graphê* in only a few laws (Gagarin 1986, 69), but the procedure was widely generalized. The use of writing provided a safeguard both against malicious and irresponsible accusations and against inaction on the part of magistrates (cf. Humbert 1990). In my view, Athenian law never provided an exhaustive list of offences for which each of these procedures was appropriate, still less an authoritative definition of each offence (*contra*, Rudhardt 1960; cf. P. J. Rhodes 1979. Hyp. 4 *Eux.* 7–8 does not prove that there was a law defining all offences in respect of which an *eisangelia* could be brought).

¹⁴³ On *sitêsis* in the Prytaneion see Ruschenbusch 1966, F 87–8; Schmitt-Pantel 1992; Humphreys 2017*b*; on *hybris*, Humphreys 1988 n. 15; O. Murray 1990*b*; Van Wees 2011*a*. Murray perhaps lays too much stress on the drunken pranks of young symposiasts documented in the classical period; in Solon's day neither symposia nor contumacious behaviour were so clearly associated with the young or so clearly separated from the public sphere (cf. Schmitt-Pantel 1990).

of citizens and gave their perception of law a bias towards the type of case that was likely to give rise to disputes. The ample space left by Solon for informal, amicable agreement over the choice of an heir or son-in-law tended to escape notice, as the public became used to hearing claims based on closeness of kinship to *d.c.* As I have suggested, the frequency of disputes over cases where the chosen heir had to be introduced to *d.c.*'s phratry by adoption also generated a tendency to secure the position of all heirs by adoption, an ideology that stressed the importance of 'continuing the oikos' and of the adopted son's religious obligations, and a belief that Solon's law on testamentary arrangements was essentially concerned with regulating adoption. We cannot however date these developments with any precision, or assess the role in them of the introduction of jury courts.

Solon's laws by no means provided complete coverage even for the hereditary transmission of property, one of his best-attested concerns. The programme was ambitious in its announcement of a single law for all classes, and in the firm and minute detail with which it regulated some rather marginal areas of behaviour, yet timid in the latitude it left for powerful household heads to continue to order their own affairs as they pleased. The situation of the woman left alone in an 'empty' oikos was made the focus of detailed public regulation, yet the right to dowry of the woman in an oikos with a head was neither protected nor quantified. Some additions must have been made to Solon's laws during the period before the late fifth century, when we start to have evidence from forensic speeches, yet there was a tendency to sacralize and mystify early written law, to turn its authors into quasi-mythical figures and distance it and them from current political activity, which inhibited constant revisions. Early written law became part of traditional *nomos*, custom; Assembly decrees came to be known as *psêphismata*, and it was not until the later fifth century that *nomos* came to be accepted as a term for recent legislative activity by the demos.¹⁴⁴ The story that Solon left the city for ten years after his term of office, persuading the Athenians to swear not to alter his laws until he returned, gives expression to an attitude that lasted throughout the classical period.

In assessing the effects of Solon's legislation in the sixth century, it is almost impossible to disentangle the effects of the laws themselves from the effects of the political crisis in which they were passed and the heightened political consciousness and interaction between city and countryside that it must have

¹⁴⁴ Humphreys 1987*b*, 1991; R. Thomas 1994 on the 4th c. constructions of Solon. The poems call his laws *thesmoi*, which put them in the same category as oral rulings delivered by community leaders. I do not know whether the six annually elected *thesmothetai* existed before Solon's archonship or were created by him; they were responsible for some of the *graphai* attributed to him (*hybris*, adultery). Changes consequent on Kleisthenes' and Perikles' modifications of the law of citizenship are discussed in chs. 19/22.

generated. Solon's laws encouraged and favoured those who were ready to involve themselves in the growing activity of the city and the public sphere. On the economic side, the abolition of debt slavery and of the rent obligations of hektemoroi would only have provided short-term relief, but they may have stimulated alternative forms of economic activity. The prohibition of food exports (above, n. 60) may have stimulated the market in food in the city, as may increased building activity; the rich may have organized more trading expeditions in search of slaves to work their land, and this may have increased demand for luxury items produced by urban artisans; more maritime activity meant more information about the opportunities for acquiring wealth abroad open to young men. Athenian colonization of the Sigeion area and the Chersonese, on the route to the Black Sea, will be part of this process, and will have helped to absorb surplus sons from Attic smallholdings. The balance began to tip from exploitation of peasant labour by larger landowners to cooperation between rich and poor in exploiting other areas. Increased travel by the young will have had its own influence, too, on the use made of Solon's laws on succession; it would presumably be the young man who had gone abroad to seek wealth and had detached himself from village society who would be the most ready to acquire land by insisting on his legal rights as next-of-kin even if the family and neighbours favoured another candidate.

For the elite, changes in behaviour may have come about mainly as a result of the growing importance of the public sphere, although the experience of administering written law may also have had some impact. The importance of having an *oikos* full of fighting men was decreasing. Armies were recruited by tribes and phratries rather than through individual ties; power passed from one officeholder to another, widespread alliances became more important than the concentration of followers under personal control. Homosexual ties with younger men partly replaced marriage as a means of acquiring allies; the male *symposion* was becoming more clearly separated from the domain of the respectable women of the household, the *gymnasion* began to develop as another space for male socializing. A law forbidding slaves to have erotic relations with boys and exercise in the gymnasium is attributed to Solon, and should belong in any case to the sixth century.¹⁴⁵ The relation between Achilles and Patroklos, presented by

¹⁴⁵ Quite a lot of the development described here may have taken place before Solon (cf. Weinsanto 1983). Homosexual courtship was incorporated into the institutions of the city in Crete, where it was used in coopting new members into the *andreion*, a group with some of the functions of the Attic phratry (Ephoros *FGH* 70 F 149 = Str. 10. 4. 21/C 482–3; Schmitt-Pantel 1992). For homosexuality in Solon's period see Dover 1978, 195; the problem of dating the laws has not been seriously discussed, and is complicated by the introduction of laws and documents into Aisch. 1 in the Hellenistic period (prosopographical inaccuracies in §§ 50, 68, and perhaps also 66; nothing in the 'laws' that is not directly derived from Aischines' text can be regarded as trustworthy), which means that we do not know how much

Homer in terms of adoption by Achilles' father, had by the early fifth century come to be interpreted as homoerotic, despite the difficulty of classifying a partnership in which the younger man, Achilles, was of higher status than and extravagantly attached to the older.¹⁴⁶ (Normally, extravagant devotion on the part of the older *erastês* and arrogant resistance—or at least modest reluctance—on the side of the younger *erômenos* helped to mask the element of domination implied in the *erastês*' age and in sexual penetration.) Thus the motives that had sustained different forms of household, marriage, and adoption at elite level from those in use among peasants disappeared, and conformity to Solon's laws became less problematic for the elite.

In the classical period, when we can see the laws working in practice in the courts, there is some evidence that a rich man might still try to use his influence to introduce an illegitimate son to a phratry and deme and thus confer citizenship and an inheritance on him. Disputes often arise from a compromise arrangement, with no backing in law, made in the hope of averting an open family struggle in the courts, which then provides the beneficiary with a basis for court action. Wills and even adoptions *inter vivos* are contested by next-of-kin of the testator, though there is less evidence of conflict over the marriage of epikleroi. Disputes arose not so much over the interpretation of the laws as over the conflict between closeness at law and closeness in affection, between the exercise of choice in selecting an heir and the rules laid down in the law on intestate succession. The existence of written rules gave rise to claims based on them, even where a man had exercised his right to make a choice in due form; but court decisions were never predictable enough to mould behaviour entirely into the pattern prescribed in the law on intestate succession. Space for choice remained. In the following chapters we will first study in more detail three relationships in which Athenians chose to reinforce ties of kinship through legal forms (adoption, guardianship, and marriage within the kindred), then consider relations with kin in the economic sphere, and subsequently look at some of the more interesting court cases and the general patterns of dispute that can be deduced from the forensic speeches.

Aischines embroidered the laws that he cited. Dover seems to me to be right in concentrating on the elaboration of homosexual courtship as a key element in high culture (cf. Algazi and Drory 2000 for medieval parallels; Žižek 1994, ch. 4; ch. 13 n. 25); too many discussions still wander off into anthropological exotica, animal behaviour, and popular psychology.

¹⁴⁶ Dover 1978, 197–9; sources differ in deciding which was *erastês* and which *erômenos*.

Adoption

It was argued in ch.1 that in the early archaic period (8th–7th centuries) powerful men might incorporate immigrants or sons-in-law into their households without formalities; the children of an uxori locally married daughter would automatically derive their social position from her father. A powerful man whose marriage was infertile would presumably try to have sons by a concubine, and hope that they would be accepted as heirs to his status.¹

In a case more like the epikleric adoptions to be discussed below, Kisseus of Thrace married his daughter to Antenor, a leading Trojan, but took one of the sons of this marriage, Iphidamas, back into his own household. Though we meet Iphidamas fighting beside his patrikin at Troy (*Iliad* 11. 221–8), he had married a sister (or half-sister?) of his mother and was now clearly expected to settle in the household of Kisseus. Adoption is mentioned only once as a mechanism for incorporating new members into the Homeric *oikos*, and here it is the newcomer who adopts: Phoenix adopted the child Achilles (*Iliad* 9. 480–95: *se paida... poieumên* 494–5). This clearly does not alter Achilles' relationship to his *genitor* Peleus; it seems to be a way of incorporating the refugee Phoenix into Peleus' household without loss of honour and dignity for him.

It can also be assumed that a farmer who had no sons of his own would look for a son-in-law or adoptive son to work beside him as he grew older, support him in old age, and eventually inherit his property. Whereas Homeric heroes are presented as preferring to incorporate strangers of their own class but from another community, in these quasi- or proto-adoptive relationships men lower in the social scale were apparently expected to look first among their own kin.² Formal adoption would have begun, perhaps, in cases where the adoptee's father

¹ Cf. *Od.* 4. 3–14 on Menelaos' son by a slave mother.

² Adoption of this kind arises from fosterage and in early stages is not clearly distinguishable from it. In the classical period the only attested cases of fostering are those in which a child grows up in the household of a guardian or of his mother's second husband; these are discussed below in ch. 3 (see also Bremmer 1996a). Fostering probably remained common among the poor, who have left no record; exposed infants who are taken up and reared in a quasi-servile status appear frequently in New Comedy (where their formal status as slaves has to be played down) and must have existed—in less romantic circumstances—in reality. For comparative perspectives on adoption, fosterage and related institutions see Donner 1969; J. R. Goody 1969; Carsten 2000; on post-classical antiquity, n. 83 below.

belonged to a different phratry. However, by Solon's time the eponymous archon had acquired responsibility for judging inheritance disputes, and it was accepted that a publicly recognized adoption dispensed the adoptee from having to claim his inheritance by *epidikasia*; this will have encouraged the formalization of adoptions through presentation to the phratry.³ Solon's law did not specify that a childless man had to adopt a kinsman; the aim of coming as close as possible to the ideal situation in which each *oikos* had a single heir made it desirable to allow free choice. Practice clearly shows, however, that Athenians were expected to adopt kin—preferably from the sibling group that would have been entitled to succeed if the adopter had died intestate—and that other changes were more likely to be contested at law (Gernet 1920).

I have argued (Humphreys 2002*a*) that Solon did not forbid adopted sons to adopt in their turn; his law on *diathékai*, wills, only limited the freedom of a man who had formally adopted a son to make arbitrary testamentary arrangements. Conditional testamentary adoption in wills made by men about to leave on dangerous enterprises may already have been a familiar practice, but such a will would need the backing of the kin and associates who witnessed it. Although Solon's law on wills was later interpreted as giving too much freedom to testators, an equally important effect of his legislation was to encourage next-of-kin to challenge wills which the community might well have accepted, but which passed over next-of-kin in favour of candidates closer to the adopter in terms of association and affection.⁴

Most of our evidence on adoption for the period between Solon and Menander comes from forensic speeches in which adoption has been contested, or in which conflict has later arisen over the transmission of property through an adopted heir. Hence, what litigants say about adoption and its functions has to be treated with caution. Contested adoptions were in most cases testamentary, and a litigant defending a will in which he has been adopted as heir would naturally make much of the needs of the dead, while also claiming to have been close to the

³ Rubinstein 1993 argues the case for presentation to phratry and deme being a necessary part of the adoption process. Maffi's claim (1997*b*) that this presentation is merely a mechanism of proof seems to be based on too narrowly legal a view (cf. Vernant 1973 on marriage); in the case of biological sons too, presentation to phratry and deme was part of the process of legitimization.

⁴ The law cited (irrelevantly, in the context of testamentary adoption) in Is. 6. 63, that if natural sons are subsequently born to a man who has adopted *inter vivos* all should share equally, should be relatively early in date; on the law restraining an adoptee from returning to his family of origin unless he left a son in his place see n. 70 below. Ruschenbusch 1962 insists that there was no legal regulation of adoption *inter vivos*; in my view there was also little regulation of testamentary adoption. Posthumous adoption (not based on any statement of intention by the adopter) is attested for the end of the 5th or beginning of the 4th c. in Is. 10 (n. 27). Deaths in the plague must have caused considerable disorder in the 420s.

testator during his lifetime.⁵ We get a diametrically opposite and probably equally unrepresentative view of adoption in Menander, where the adoption takes place when the adoptee is a small boy, there is no family opposition (in Terence's *Adelphoe*, based on a Menandrian original, Micio adopts one of his brother's two sons with the brother's full agreement; nothing is said about Moschion's family of origin in the *Samia*), and the emphasis is on the indulgence of the *pater* and the gratitude and affection of the adopted son, contrasted in *Adelphoe* with the strictness of the biological father and the distance between him and the son he retains. Adopters are unmarried in comedy, and the subtext on adoption is that they have not attained full adult manhood; their indulgence and sympathy for the wild-oat-sowing of the young bachelor is linked to their inability to sire their own offspring.⁶ Curiously, comedy did not as far as we know exploit the tension between the adoptee's feelings for his family of adoption and those he retained for his original kin, although this played a role in the courts, and the contrast between natural affection and legally defined relationship is probably what attracted comic writers to the theme of the *epikleros*.⁷

Since it became the custom that only men without sons adopted,⁸ some discussion of the concept of childlessness is needed here. Adopters from this point of view fall into three categories: married men who are childless or (much more commonly) have a daughter but no sons; men past the age of marriage who have decided not to marry; and young men, unmarried or married but so far childless, who make wills when going on campaign adopting heirs in case they fail to return.

Childlessness is a social rather than a biological concept. The case of Menekles (Isaios 2), who after his second wife has failed to produce children divorces her, on the grounds that he himself is evidently infertile, and adopts one of her brothers,

⁵ Rubinstein 1993 seems to me to give too little weight to this point, though I agree with her that tomb cult was probably increasing rather than decreasing in the 4th c., and that adoption continued in the Hellenistic period.

⁶ Detailed discussion of the *Samia* in Lape 2004. Cf. the comments in Konstan 1983 on Plautus' *Asinaria*, where an indulgent biological father is dominated by his rich wife (possibly an *epikleros* in the Greek original: see Scafuro 1997, 294 on other cases of Greek *epikleroi* becoming richly-dowered wives in Roman comedy); here the father has failed to achieve economic adulthood.

⁷ Foundlings feature prominently in comedy, but at Athens formal adoption was only possible where the adoptee was of proven citizen origin on both sides; the adoptee who does not know his or her origin is an unknown figure, and foundlings are reared in a quasi-servile status (in comedy, usually as prostitutes) until their real parentage is discovered. Cf. below, at nn. 80–3, on Hellenistic developments.

⁸ There are no cases in which a man with a single daughter adopts his son-in-law. In Dem. 41 a man with two daughters adopts the husband of one of them; Diokles of Phlya (*APF* 8443) claimed to have been adopted in the will of his mother's second husband, who had three daughters (Is. 8. 40). Dikaiogenes III was adopted by the will of Dikaiogenes II, who had four sisters. Cf. below, #V 5 2; III 1.

is unique in our sources.⁹ In Menander's *Samia* the only concern of the adopter, Demeas, when he is told that his Samian mistress has had a child, is to have it exposed so that his liaison does not become known. On the other hand, one of the reasons why men with daughters prefer to adopt a daughter's son rather than a son-in-law may be that they wish to be satisfied that the daughter's marriage is fertile, though questions of lineage are also involved.

Adopters in comedy, as we have seen, are represented as unmarried. This is also the case of Archiades in [Demosthenes] 44, who refused the offer of his niece (BD) as wife, saying that he did not wish to marry, and allowed his brother to continue to manage the family farm undivided, while he himself went to live on the island of Salamis (§ 10), eventually adopting the grandson (DS) of his sister. If a childless man had brothers, they would make a strong claim to keep his share of the property in the family, by adoption, in-marriage, or merely keeping the property undivided.¹⁰

The case of Apollodoros, the adopter in Is. 7, forms an interesting transition from the topic of definitive to that of temporary childlessness. He had grown up in the household of his mother's second husband, in which he had a matrilinear half-sister. In his youth, when going on campaign, he had made a will leaving his property to this sister and arranging a prestigious marriage for her into a Eumolpid family. However, he returned alive and well, cancelled the will,¹¹ married, and had a son. But when this son died, and he was already elderly, he adopted his half-sister's son.

Athenians tended to have close relations with their sisters and, as we shall see, with matrilinear stepkin. But the frequency of adoptions of sisters' children is also due to the difference in age of marriage between men and women. Women married in their mid- to late teens, men in their thirties or later. Archiades' great-nephew (ZDS) was about the age his son would have been had he fathered one. A young man engaged in active military service in his thirties might well have sisters' sons who were already in their teens, while he and his brothers were still childless.

⁹ Table 7.11. Her elder sister had produced two children in the time that had elapsed since they were both married: Is. 2. 6. A husband who suspected his wife of infertility will have been in a difficult position. Her kin would presumably strongly have opposed divorce on these grounds, since if the reason for divorce became known they would be unable to find her another husband; on the other hand a charge of adultery was also shaming both for the guilty wife and for the cuckolded husband. This may explain why it was thought better to persuade the wife's family to initiate divorce (Rosivach 1984).

¹⁰ On adoptive fathers in comedy see Fantham 1971. Cf. below on Is. 2 and 9; ch. 4 at nn. 9–11 on BD marriage; ch. 5 at nn. 67–75 on indivision. It was rare in Athens for a man to commit himself to an exclusive, lifelong homosexual relationship (Dover 1978), and adoption in such a case would have been extremely problematic.

¹¹ The prospective husband Lakrateidas (see ch. 20 n. 99) perhaps lost interest in the girl when she was no longer heiress to Apollodoros' estate.

Inter vivos adoptions are comparatively rare in our sources, partly at least because testamentary adoptions were more likely to be contested. Any heir who claimed an estate on the basis of a will had to claim by *epidikasia*, which gave rivals a chance to put in counter-claims. Adoption of the sons of inheriting daughters, which in any case is one of the most frequent forms in the dossier, and was in principle noncontroversial,¹² will normally have taken place when the chosen adoptee reached the age of presentation to the phratry (sixteen), and this will quite frequently have happened during the adopter's lifetime.¹³ On the other hand, the late age of marriage for men meant that a young man in his late twenties or early thirties might well inherit while still unmarried or childless, and there were substantial risks of death at that age from war, injury, or illness. Thus in considering the cultural profile of adoption at Athens we must take into account a very high number¹⁴ of provisional testamentary adoptions made by young men who thought of their childlessness as temporary. Most of these provisional arrangements will have been cancelled when the testator returned safely home, but not all.

According to Solon's law, then, and in conformity with its aim of producing one heir for each *oikos*, the adopted son or daughter¹⁵ was definitively transferred into a new kinship status as child of his adopter, and lost all kin ties with his genitor (except such ties as might be attached to his new status). An adopted son could not adopt in his turn, but could return to his *oikos* of origin if he had produced a son to take his place in his adoptive *oikos*. A man who adopted an heir during his lifetime would introduce the boy, or young man, to his phratry and deme; the term for this was *eispoiein* or *eispoieisthai*, to make a newcomer a member, whereas a father presenting his own son was said to *eisagein*, to 'present' a boy whose existence had already been announced by the sacrifice of the *meion* on his behalf when he was a small child.

A man who still hoped to have heirs but wished to provide for his estate if he died on campaign or on a journey would make a will naming an heir who was to

¹² Controversy might arise if a posthumous adoption to MF was part of an attempt to claim a contested estate ([Dem.] 43), or if the adoptee was trying to keep hold of two estates (Is. 10, [Dem.] 44).

¹³ Probably he would be in his early to mid sixties. A man who reached the age of 60 in robust health was quite likely to live another 10 or more years. Statistically, low life expectancy at birth does not imply that no Athenians reached 60 or 70.

¹⁴ Will-making in such circumstances seems to be the norm. Only in Is. 4 and in Menander's *Aspis* do we hear of a soldier who died without leaving a will in Athens. However, Is. 9. 14 asserts that Astyphilos had not made a will before previous campaigns. See ch. 5 pp. 155–61 for data on age of inheritance and of marriage.

¹⁵ Two cases of adoption of girls are known from the 4th c., both among the descendants of Bouselos (APF 2921). There is also one case in which a man makes a will providing for inheritance by his matrilateral half-sister, and later adopts her son (Is. 7, APF 1395). Solon probably did not envisage the possibility of adopting daughters and the practice is likely to have remained rare.

be adopted as his successor. Alternatively, a childless man might give instructions in old age or illness, or on his deathbed,¹⁶ that he wished to adopt an heir. There is at least one example, outside Athens, of instructions that a daughter is to adopt her as yet unborn child to be her father's heir.¹⁷ In these cases kin would present the heir to phratry and deme, producing witnesses and in some cases a written will to prove that this was the testator's wish.

By the late fourth century we also find some cases where kin 'adopt' an heir posthumously to a dead man without apparently producing any firm evidence that he had left them instructions to do so, sometimes well after his death. In some instances this might be merely a harmless expression of sentiment, a way of perpetuating the dead man's line without altering the disposition of his property, or a way of redistributing property from different sources (F and MF) among heirs that provoked no controversy. In other cases however ([Demosthenes] 43; [Demosthenes] 44; Isaios 10: see #II 2) it was a conscious move to capture a contested estate. We should not allow ourselves to be misled by the rhetoric of speakers engaged in such manoeuvres. Not all childless Athenians were pre-occupied with the need to secure an heir by adoption; indeed, as we shall see later (ch. 5 at nn. 67–70), some childless men never formally divided their own share of their father's estate from that of their siblings.

As has been noted, most of our evidence comes from forensic speeches, and therefore the attested cases of adoption in which the relationship of adopter to adoptee is precisely known contain a high proportion of controversial adoptions. Adoptions can only be detected in the epigraphic record if a change of deme was involved,¹⁸ and then only in some cases; and even here it is not usually possible to reconstruct the relationship. Not all the adoptions mentioned in forensic speeches, however, were originally controversial. It was often the attempt to assert ties of kinship formally broken by adoption, rather than the adoption itself, that brought families into court.

Attested adoptions in which the relation between the parties is known will be discussed according to the sequence of relationships laid down in Solon's laws (Table 1.1), beginning with the adopter's own *oikos* and that of his father, moving then to links traceable through more remote ascendants on the father's side,

¹⁶ Old age: Is. 7. 14; the adopter died between the presentation to the phratry and that to the deme. Deathbed (*apothnēskōn*): Is. 11. 41.

¹⁷ Maier 1959, no. 51. 6–10 (? 201 BCE, Chios). See A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 92 n.1. Is. 3. 73 also mentions this as a hypothetical possibility: *exōn...epi hapanti tōi klēroī katalipein autēn* (Pyrrhos' daughter Phile) *kai episkēpsai tōn gignomenōn <ek> tēs thugatros paidōn eisagagein huon heautōi* (note the verb).

¹⁸ The practice of giving the names of both genitor and pater as patronymics does not begin until after our period, at least in Athens (Rubinstein a. o. 1991). Reconstruction of adoptions from the epigraphic record depends either on naming patterns or on some continued recognition of the tie between genitor and son: see below at nn. 66–7 on Klearchos son of Nausikles of Aigilia, and Timarchos son of Praxiteles of Eiresidai.

then turning to kin related through the adopter's mother, her father and her agnatic ascendants, and finally to affines, who had no place in Solon's sequence of next-of-kin but nevertheless were sometimes adopted. Genealogical closeness was not of course the only standard considered by adopters.

However, given the authority conferred on the genealogical scale by written law, and the expectations that next-of-kin derived from it, adopters had to take the genealogical standard into consideration even if they decided to base their choice on the criteria of affection, cooperation, or frequent interaction. The discourse on adoption—whether we read Menander on the additional love associated with optional relationships or litigants measuring their own claims against those of genealogical next-of-kin—is concerned with comparing forms of closeness.

Distinctions will be made between *inter vivos*, testamentary, and posthumous adoptions; between uncontested and contested adoptions; between adoptions of only children and of one child from a sibling group, where this can be ascertained; and between historically attested adoptions and cases in which adoption is conjectural, was planned but not carried out, is mentioned as a hypothetical possibility, or is represented in fiction. The ages of the parties concerned, when known, will also be noted.

CASES

I. Adopter's oikos

In Attic law a man could not adopt his own illegitimate child. To be eligible for adoption by a citizen a child had to be the legitimate offspring of Athenian parents. Adoption was not therefore available as a mechanism for legitimating illegitimate children (cf. Maffi 1985 on Demosthenes 39–40). When Apollodoros alleges that Phrastor of Aigilia had tried to introduce his illegitimate son by Neaira's daughter to his *genos* ([Demosthenes] 59. 59ff.),¹⁹ using the term *eisēgen*, he means that Phrastor was trying to claim the boy as his own legitimate offspring.

The common form of adoption deriving from the adopter's own *oikos* was the adoption of the son of an inheriting daughter. It is possible that in Solon's time the marriage of a brotherless girl to her next-of-kin was thought of as incorporating him into her father's *oikos* in uxorilocal marriage, with the result that all the children of the marriage would have inherited the status and property of their

¹⁹ And therefore probably to his phratry: ch. 20 n. 113.

MF. In the classical period however only one son was adopted, this being normally, presumably, the eldest.²⁰

I 1. Lykophron II, oldest son of the Athenian statesman Lykourgos of Boutadai, adopted his DS Lykophron IV, son of Kleombrotos of Acharnai, possibly *inter vivos*. The adoption was uncontroversial. We do not know if Lykophron IV had any siblings by birth.²¹

I 2. Euboulides III, son of Sositheos and Phylomache ([Demosthenes] 43, *APF* 9291) was posthumously adopted to Phylomache's father Euboulides II some time after the death of the latter. The adoption, which followed an epikleric marriage by epidikasia, was only feebly contested,²² but the associated attempt to reclaim the estate of the boy's MFMBS Hagnias II, won and then lost again in court by Phylomache some sixteen years earlier, was highly controversial. Euboulides III had three brothers, one older than himself, and a sister. Sositheos and Phylomache may only have taken the decision to introduce a son into her father's oikos after their oldest boy had already been introduced to his father's phratry and deme, when they saw a chance of regaining Hagnias' estate.²³

²⁰ Lane-Fox, 1985, thinks that from the beginning only one son would have been adopted. Elite and folk practice may conceivably have differed. Cf. ch. 1 at nn. 81–2. However, to judge from modern practice, a man who agreed to marry the daughter of a small farmer without sons (the modern *sogambros*) would be unlikely to have resources of his own which some of his children could inherit (cf. Friedl 1962, 65; Boulay 1974, 126–8; *POxy* 281, 20–50 CE). Epikleric inheritance by second son, Eur. *Herakles* 467–9.

²¹ *APF* 9251; Table 4.6; for the birth order of Lykourgos' sons see Humphreys 1985*b*, n. 3. [Plut.] *Mor.* 843a, *ho pappos eisepoiēsen*, implies *inter vivos* adoption if based on reliable evidence. Lykophron II was born c.350 (his younger brother Habron was ephebe c.330), and was alive in 307/6 ([Plut.] *Mor.* 843c); that we do not hear of him later means little (he was priest of Poseidon Erechtheus but does not seem to have had a political career). However, the brothers had difficulties after their father's death in 325/4, and may not have married before the restoration of democracy in 307/6. Lykophron IV died childless; his mother remarried after his death, and had a son, but there was no further adoption, although descendants later boasted of their tie with Lykourgos. Posthumous adoption may not have been considered respectable in these circles. We now know that Lykophron II had cousins (FBS; ch. 20 n. 132, Table 4.6); this might support my tentative suggestion that his epikleros daughter Kallisto had married a kinsman, her FZS (ch. 4 n. 13), except that legal disputes were perhaps also not in their style.

²² [Dem.] 43. 14; Makartatos asked the *phrateres* to refuse to admit the boy, but did not take the formal step of leading the sacrifice away from the altar. See W. Thompson 1976, 71. It seems clear from § 12 that there was no will. Phylomache II, the boy's mother, was still unmarried when her father died. See Table 7.9.

²³ Sositheos' statement in [Dem.] 43. 81 that Euboulides III was introduced to the *phrateres* of Euboulides II, Hagnias, and Makartatos, and not to those of his father, has been taken (and was doubtless intended) to imply that Sositheos belonged to another phratry, but it is possible that he merely belonged to another meat-sharing group (*thiasos*) in the same phratry. He had presumably sacrificed the *meion* for Euboulides II in his own group (ch. 19 n. 34). The latter's name does not indicate that his parents had destined him for adoption to his MF from birth, since second sons were normally named for MF (ch. 8). However, this norm may have generated a feeling that it was appropriate for MF's adopted son to be his namesake rather than his daughter's eldest son, normally named after FF.

In the cases which follow we do not know whether the adoption was *inter vivos*, testamentary, or posthumous.

I 3. In Isaeus 10, Kyronides son of Aristarchos I was adopted (§ 4) by or to his MF Xenainetos I.²⁴ The adoption was uncontroversial and Kyronides had a brother and two sisters. It was the early deaths of his brother and (later) one of his sons that led to conflicts over inheritance rights.

I 4. According to Plutarch (*Them.* 32), Themistokles' son Diokles was adopted by his MF Lysandros of Alopeke. We do not know whether Lysandros' daughter Archippe was an epikleros²⁵ or whether she had had brothers who died after she had married and produced sons; since her marriage and child-bearing years fell in the period of the Persian wars the latter alternative seems quite probable. The adoption was so far as we know uncontroversial. Diokles had four brothers, one of whom (the oldest son) died as a child, and five sisters, at least three of them by another mother (*APF* 6669).

I 5. Phainippos, opponent of the speaker of [Demosthenes] 42 (§ 21), had been adopted by his MF, Philostratos of Kolonai, apparently without controversy. Since he had also inherited from his genitor he was probably an only child, and may have been adopted after his genitor's death (*APF* 14734; ch. 25 n. 66).

I 6. The son of Kallistratos son of Euboulides I of Oion Kerameikon had been adopted by or to his MF Archimachos, who was also probably his FBS ([Demosthenes] 43. 13, 37). He had a sister who might technically have been considered an epikleros as a result of this adoption, but as far as we know her husband Sosias was not a kinsman (*APF* 2921; Humphreys 1986*a*, 63–6; Table 7.9).

Two further cases of DS adoption are more doubtful.²⁶

I 7. Xenokrateia, who dedicated *IG* ii² 4548 to the river-god Kephisos, describes herself as 'daughter and mother of Xeniadēs of Cholleidai', which might suggest that her son had been adopted by or to her father (cf. A. Williams 2015).

I 8. [Demosthenes] 58. 30–2 refers to a dispute over the adoption of Charidemos son of an Ischomachos to a man called Aischylos (*APF* 436). Charidemos' stepfather Polyuktos was accused of trying to gain control of Aischylos' property

²⁴ Table 7.5. The *hypothesis* to Is. 10 says that Aristarchos I adopted (*eisepoiēsen*) Kyronides to the estate of his MF Xenainetos I, implying posthumous (perhaps testamentary) adoption. However, there is no statement to this effect in the speech, and the adoption may have been *inter vivos*. The only classical bearer of the rare name Xenainetos apart from those mentioned in this speech is the eponymous archon of 401/0, who may well be Xenainetos I. Since the speaker of Is. 10 was old enough to serve in the Corinthian War (394–386), his mother's marriage, which took place after the adoption and marriage of Kyronides (§§ 4–6), should have been concluded by c.405 at the very latest, and probably much earlier.

²⁵ Themistokles' deme was Phrearrhioi, but in a period so soon after Kleisthenes' reforms difference of deme does not preclude agnatic kinship between him and Lysander.

²⁶ The suggestion of *APF* 4549 (p. 172) that Polyuktos son of Xanthippos of Erchia had been adopted by his MF is extremely speculative (Table 20.4). See ch. 6 n. 10 for the possibility that Timarchos son of Praxiteles (*APF* 8334) was adopted by an MF in Eiresidai.

by persuading the boy to return to the *oikos* of his genitor, in order to claim a hereditary right to dine at the public hearth (*sitêsis en prytaneîôi*). If Charidemos' mother was the daughter of Aischylos and had other children by Polyeuktos he could have claimed Aischylos' estate on their behalf.²⁷

As we shall see later in the analysis of marriages between kin, the legal rules governing the marriage of *epikleroi* were much less likely to be respected by fathers who had no sons but had two or more daughters.²⁸ Adoption of grandsons is very unlikely to have taken place in these cases; however, there are some cases of adoption of others in such circumstances. Polyeuktos of Teithras, who had two daughters, adopted his wife's brother and married him to one of the potential *epikleroi*, but the arrangement broke up (Demosthenes 41; below, no. V 5). Dikaiogenes II, by whose death his four sisters became *epikleroi* to their father's estate, was said to have left a will adopting his FZS or FZSS (below, no. III 1). Diokles (no. V 2) claimed to have been adopted by his mother's second husband, who left three daughters. It would be rash to assume that even in cases where there was only one daughter one of her sons was invariably adopted to his MF, and there are three possible examples (two in the same family) of transmission of rights through a single daughter without adoption. Hipparete daughter of Alkibiades IV of Skambonidai (*APF* 600 X) married Phanokles of Kettos and had a daughter, Kritolea, who married Andromachos of Leukonoion. The descendants of this latter marriage shared a *peribolos* in the Kerameikos (Humphreys 1983a/1993, 117; Bergemann

²⁷ *APF* and R. G. Osborne (1985c, 48–9) misunderstood this episode. Charidemos' genitor and his pater had both died while he was a minor (it is conceivable that his genitor's death had preceded the adoption), and his mother had been remarried to a Polyeuktos, perhaps of Sphettos (*APF* 436; ch. 27 n. 29; or Kydantidai, ch. 24 n. 97). The father of the speaker of [Dem.] 58 had proposed a decree granting him *sitêsis* (§ 30) as son of his genitor Ischomachos (cf. MacDowell 2007). The proposer may have been unaware of the adoption, or may have thought it irrelevant. *Pace* MacDowell 2007, *sitêsis* here may be a synonym for *trophê* (Gabrielsen 1981, 67–81 with *FGH* 124 F 48); possibly the decree proposed a grant of war orphans' rights to boys whose fathers had not so far been classified as killed in action. However, Theokrines of Hybadai attacked the decree as illegal, on the grounds that it would nullify the adoption and cause the estate of the adopter, Aischylos of (?) Athmonon (ch. 29 n. 71) to fall into the hands of Polyeuktos. The proposal was voted down and Charidemos remained in the *oikos* of Aischylos (*IG* ii³ 550). If Aischylos was his MF, his 'return' to the *oikos* of Ischomachos could have left his mother as *epikleros* to Aischylos' estate, which Polyeuktos could then control as her husband and legal guardian and, perhaps, as father of further children with claims to inherit from her father. It should be noted that if Aischylos belonged to Athmonon he probably had a brother, [Andre]as son of Andron A., councillor c.350 (*SEG* 28. 150) and a nephew (BS), Andron II son of Andreas, *IG* ii² 5323 (Table 29.9).

²⁸ Is. 7. 11: Eupolis had two daughters but did not marry either of them to his nephew (BS) and next-of-kin Apollodoros, with whom he was on bad terms as a result of their dispute over the estate of Eupolis' brother Mneson (*APF* 1395). However, Eupolis also had a son; by the time this son died (childless), both sisters may have been already married, with children. No one was adopted into the brother's *oikos* (7. 31). Demosthenes' MF Gylon seems to have left his two daughters as heirs, but there was no adoption; it is not clear whether Gylon ever returned to Athens from the Crimean Bosphoros (*APF* 3597 VII). For the Hellenistic development of the *epiklerate* see ch. 4 at nn. 21–2.

1997 A19) and perpetuated the name Alkibiades, but there were no adoptions into Skambonidai or Kettos. Timostratē daughter of Pandaites of Prospalta married Pasikles son of Myron of Potamos. From the large commemorative dedication *IG ii² 3829* Timostratē seems to have been an only child, but their sons Myron II and Pandaites II both remained in Potamos (*APF* 643, Table 12.1).

Arguments from silence, especially when based only on epigraphic data, are of course problematic. However, since it is clear from the case histories of plural epikleroi and the law cited in [Demosthenes] 46. 20 that adoption was not a necessary condition for transmission of inheritance, it is likely enough that property was sometimes also transmitted by sisterless epikleroi to their unadopted sons. While a father whose daughter produced children during his lifetime could adopt *inter vivos* or by will, a father who left an immature daughter would principally be concerned to arrange her marriage. Any wish he might express in his will concerning her as yet unborn children would have little legal force. Posthumous adoption at a long interval after the death of MF, and without the support of a will, may have been regarded as a dubious practice.²⁹

IB 1. Another form of adoption of a grandchild, only attested once, was to adopt the child of a son who had been adopted out into another oikos. The normal move was for an adopted-out son who wanted to inherit from his genitor to ‘return’ to his oikos of origin leaving a son in his place in the oikos into which he had been adopted. Kyronides, son of Aristarchos I of Sypalettos, who had been adopted by his maternal grandfather (#I 3), died before making this move, and his son Aristarchos II was posthumously adopted into the oikos of Aristarchos I instead (Isaios 10. 6; Table 7.5).

II. Oikos of adopter’s father

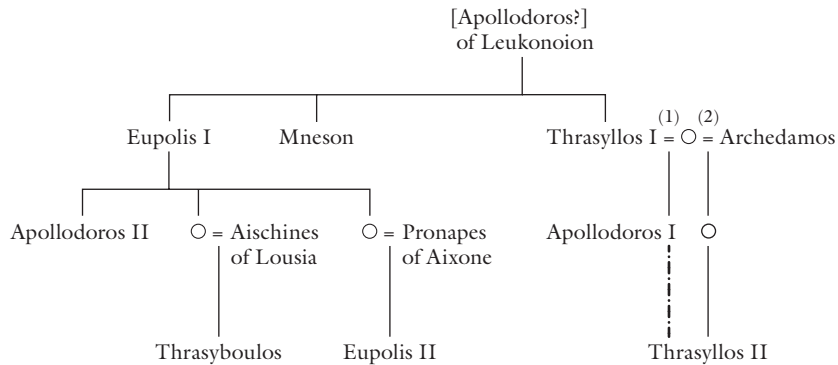
The first type of adoption to consider here is that of a brother, and there are four cases attested. All of these, however, were controversial; to confuse the egalitarian relation between brothers with the hierarchic relation of father to son may have seemed deviant to Athenians, and in normal circumstances brothers who wished to merge their shares of their father’s estate could do so by remaining in indivision. Adoption by a brother had almost no effect on the adoptee’s civil status in normal circumstances (it merely changed his patronymic).

II 1. In Isaios 7. 6 we are told that Apollodoros II son of Thrasylos of Leukonoion (*APF* 1395), whose estate the speaker is claiming, had in his youth been defrauded of property by his uncle (FB) Eupolis. Thrasylos and Eupolis had another brother, Mneson. When he died childless, after the death of Thrasylos,

²⁹ Cf. Rubinstein 1993, 105–12.

Eupolis claimed to have been named as sole heir³⁰ and refused to share the estate with Apollodoros II, his ward, who by the rules of intestate succession should have received half of it (Table 2.1).

TABLE 2.1. Isaios 7



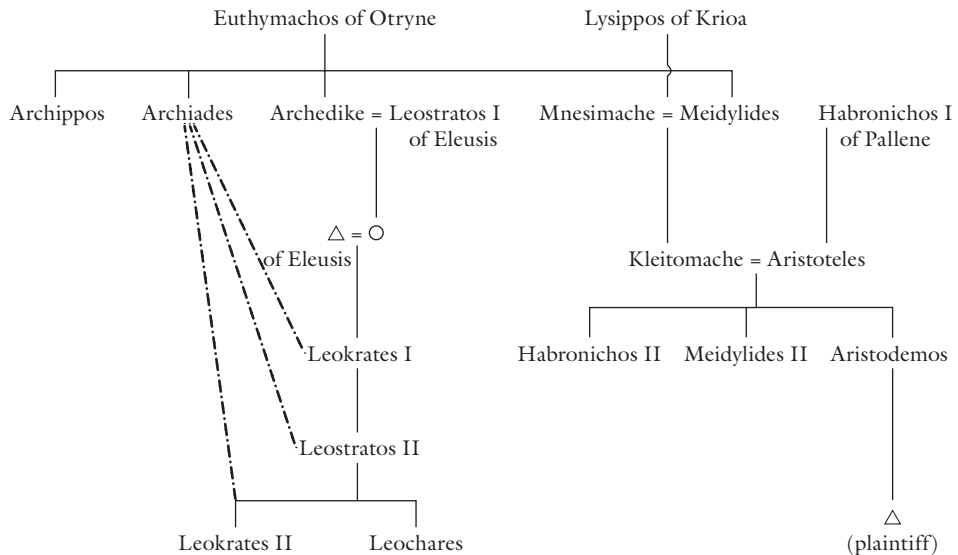
II 2. Aristarchos II, with whose estate Isaios 10 is concerned, left a will appointing his natural brother Xenainetos II as his heir. Aristarchos II had been adopted to Aristarchos I (genitor of the boy's father Kyronides and FB of his mother), and by the calculation of kinship from his new position as adopted son of Aristarchos I, Xenainetos II was his FBDS (Table 7.5). Strictly speaking, the appointment of Xenainetos II as heir cannot have been presented as an adoption, since it was generally agreed in the fourth century that adopted sons were not permitted to adopt.³¹ However, since they were not permitted to dispose of their estates by will in any other way either, there is some justification in treating this as *de facto* an attempt at testamentary adoption. The speaker of Isaios 10 contested it, claiming to be Aristarchos II's next-of-kin, son of a patrilineal half-sister. He also claimed that the adoption of Aristarchos II to Aristarchos I was invalid because Aristarchos I had a living child, the speaker's mother. He alleges that his opponents had threatened to claim his mother as *epikleros* and break up her marriage if her husband opposed this adoption. This claim is not worth much. From the speaker's point of view, Aristomenes, the maternal grandfather (MF) of Aristarchos II and Xenainetos II, and brother of Aristarchos I whose estate was in dispute, was

³⁰ Eupolis claimed, we are told, that Mneson had 'given' him the whole estate. Thrasyllus had died in Sicily and it may not have been clear whether he or Mneson died earlier. Apollodoros succeeded in recovering half Mneson's property in the courts (Is. 7. 7). This was not technically an adoption but achieved the same result of excluding a competing heir with an equal claim in genealogical terms. (There is an error in *APF*'s table, but the correct information is given in the text.)

³¹ Cf. Humphreys 2002*a*. It is difficult to tell, when the speech refers to adoption by Aristarchos, whether Aristarchos I or Aristarchos II is intended. Wyse (1904) takes §§ 14–15 to refer to Aristarchos II. § 23 speaks only of a will by him.

trying to keep control over two estates, those of Xenainetos I and Aristarchos I, through a series of adoptions. From the point of view of Aristomenes and Xenainetos II, the speaker was trying to insert a claim as a distant kinsman into a process of succession which was following the close natural ties between genitor and sons and between brother and brother.³²

II 3. [Demosthenes] 44 presents a similar situation (Table 2.2).³³ Leokrates I was adopted into the oikos of Archiades, his great-uncle (MMB) (below, #II B 6). Meidylides, Archiades' surviving brother, apparently made no objection, although the speaker asserts that there had never been a formal division of Euthymachos' estate between Archiades and Meidylides.³⁴ After the birth of Leostratos II, Leokrates 'returned' to the deme of Eleusis; after the birth of Leokrates II Leostratos II followed suit. Leokrates II died unmarried. Leostratos II first tried to reclaim Archiades' estate in his own name and then,



Notes: Aristoteles diaitetes in 371/0 or 363/2, *IG* ii³ 4. 24. Archiades of Otryne in Ziebarth 1934 now of Thorikos, *SEG* 58.265.

TABLE 2.2. Demosthenes 44

³² Table 7.5. On the principle that adoption did not nullify the relation between child and mother (Is. 7. 25) Xenainetos II could have claimed to be the matrilinear half-brother of Aristarchos II, but this claim would not have given him precedence over the speaker and does not seem to have been made.

³³ *APF* 5638. There is an error in *APF*'s table: the disputed estate belonged to Archiades and not to Archippos.

³⁴ See ch. 7 Case 12. Meidylides may have retained his share of the original estate, and therefore have been in no position to claim a share of whatever Archiades had added to his inheritance. Add to *APF*: the inscription which records Aristoteles of Pallene is discussed in Ruschenbusch 1984. *IG* ii² 7016 appears to be the grave monument of Leokrates II (ch. 24 n. 17); note the speaker's concession, [Dem.] 44. 32, that it was appropriate for Leokrates II's genitor to bury him.

when Aristodemos protested³⁵ and the deme Otryne refused to reaccept him, got the deme to accept his son Leochares instead. The legal situation here is as unclear as in the previous case. Technically Leochares must have been presented as the adoptive son of Archiades, who will have been dead for some 50 years by this time. De facto Leostratos II clearly regarded the property as his own, himself as the father of Leokrates II (cf. [Demosthenes] 44. 32), and Leochares as Leokrates II's brother.³⁶

II 4. After the death of Euktemon of Kephisia (Isaios 6; *APF* 15164; Table 7.1) the kinsmen who were trying to claim his estate for two boys of doubtful parentage alleged at one point that the boys had been posthumously adopted to two of Euktemon's dead sons. Since they also alleged that the boys were themselves sons of Euktemon by a second marriage (6. 36, 44), this could be regarded as adoption by patrilateral half-brothers. But clearly this is an extreme case of jiggery-pokery. The claim was of course contested.

In Athenian minds the ideal type of adoption was probably that of one of a pair of nephews by their FB. Such an adoption forms the basis of the plot of Terence's *Adelphoe*, based on an original by Menander,³⁷ but is not attested historically, perhaps because such adoptions were non-controversial (and are hard to detect epigraphically). In Isaios 2 the speaker, adopted son of his brother-in-law (ZH) Menekles, disingenuously claims that Menekles could not adopt his brother's son because the boy was the brother's sole heir. The adoption of the wife's brother however led to very bad relations with Menekles' own brother, who clearly felt that his son had been deprived of an inheritance to which he had a right, even after Menekles had ceded some property to compensate them for this loss.

II B Adoption of a sister's child is more commonly attested.

II B 1. Pyrrhos, whose estate was the subject of dispute in Isaios 3, adopted Endios, one of the two sons of his sister, by will (3. 56); in § 72 the speaker emphasizes that Endios was Pyrrhos' next-of-kin, *engista genous*. Pyrrhos was a young man at the time and left a daughter. The adoption was uncontested; it was only after the death of Endios that conflict arose over the succession.³⁸

³⁵ The speaker of [Dem.] 44 was the son of Aristodemos, the claimant, speaking on behalf of his father because of the latter's inexperience in public affairs (§ 3–4).

³⁶ As Sir J. Miles (1952) pointed out, we do not know whether Leostratos II returned to Eleusis before or after the birth of Leochares; he may have persuaded the demesmen of Otryne to accept the boy on the grounds that he (Leostratos II) was still in Otryne when the boy was born. Such situations are not likely to have been clearly regulated by law. The Archiades of *SEG* 58. 265 A 16 is now attributed to Thorikos and not Otryne.

³⁷ For further bibliography see Gratwick 1987.

³⁸ Table 7.4; Carey 2012, IX. Pyrrhos' will may have been oral (3. 56) and we do not know whether he was mortally ill or merely leaving for a campaign. About 12 years elapsed between his death and his daughter's marriage, so she must have been a young child when he died. Endios too, since he was still unmarried 20 years later, may have been a minor when adopted (§§ 31, 57). It seems likely that Pyrrhos' sister and her

II B 2. Hagnias son of Polemon of Oion Kerameikon (*APF* 2921) made a will adopting the daughter of a sibling.³⁹ This adoption was not contested but the girl—who would have become an epikleros—died before reaching marriageable age.

II B 3. In the same family group Theophon adopted one of the four daughters of his sister, the wife of Stratokles of Oion Kerameikon, apparently by an oral will (*apothnēskôn*, ‘as he was dying’, *Isaios* 11. 41). The adoption was uncontested. This girl, who seems to have been about five years old when adopted, may have been claimed when she reached the age of marriage by a patrilateral kinsman of Theophon as epikleros, if not betrothed in his will.⁴⁰ Note that the adoption of a girl not yet old enough for marriage has the effect of delaying disputes over an estate.

II B 4. Still among the descendants of Bouselos, Makartatos II son of Theopompos of Oion Kerameikon was adopted into the *oikos* of his mother’s brother Makartatos I son of Apolexis of Prospalta. It is unclear whether this was a testamentary adoption or an unsolicited initiative on the part of Theopompos, but the adoption seems to have been uncontested and Makartatos II was probably his uncle’s next-of-kin.⁴¹ He had a brother.

husband (and his patrikin?) disapproved of his relationship with the girl’s mother, and that the will represented a compromise by which he agreed to adopt his nephew (ZS) and his sister’s family agreed to take responsibility for the child. Whatever Pyrrhos may have hoped, Endios did not marry the girl, but he found her a husband and gave her a dowry of 3000 dr. (The best solution to the inconsistency between §§ 49 and 51 seems to be to emend *dekaton* in § 51 to *tetarton*; see Wyse 1904, xlvī, on letter-numerals in the MS tradition.) The compromise collapsed when Endios died; Pyrrhos’ daughter claimed the estate and Endios’ mother counter-claimed as Pyrrhos’ next-of-kin (sister), alleging that the girl was illegitimate.

³⁹ Daughter either of a full sister of Hagnias who does not otherwise appear in the dossier or of one of his uterine half-brothers. See below, section IV 3, and Table 7.9 on the chronological problems of this dispute.

⁴⁰ Stratokles eventually had four daughters and two sons but we do not know how many had been born by the time of Theophon’s death; it is unlikely that a son would have been passed over in favour of a daughter. Theophon was unmarried when he died, though old enough to have served as phylarch (perhaps recently, since his horse was still of high value: *Is.* 11. 41, cf. Spence 1993, 279 on value and depreciation of cavalry mounts; ch. 16 n. 50 on age of phylarchs). *Is.* 11. 41–2 seems to imply that after managing the estate left to his daughter for 9 years her genitor Stratokles gave her in marriage. As an epikleros she should have married at 14 (*A.P.* 56. 7).

⁴¹ [Dem.] 43. 77 *eisepoiéthē eis ton oikon* is ambiguous. The speaker implies that Makartatos changed his name because of the adoption, but is not necessarily to be believed. Davies (*APF* 2921) thinks that there must have been another claimant, since otherwise Theopompos would not have arranged the adoption. W. Thompson 1976, 57–8 suggests that Makartatos of Prospalta had another sister whose children also had a claim. However, the adoption may have been prescribed in a genuine will; once Makartatos had been adopted he had to leave a son in his place if he wanted to retain the estate. Lysias’ lost speech ‘on half Makartatos’ estate’ (*F.* LXXXVII Thalheim 1913, XCVIII Carey 2007) is best left out of the question since it may have concerned the estate of the earlier cavalryman who died c.410 (*IG* i³ 1288, *CEG* 90; I think we have to assume that Pausanias 1. 29. 6 got the wrong battle. Discussion in Clairmont 1983, 140 no. 21e). It is probably a mistake to try to connect all bearers of the name Makartatos (cf. also *CAT* 2. 861) to a single family. Euripides had used Makaria as the name of his heroine in the *Herakleidae*, and it is found in two demes in the 4th–3rd c.; Makareus occurs in five demes (5th–4th c). The adjective *makar*, ‘blest’, and its derivatives belonged to popular speech as well as to literary language, and the choice of Makartatos as a name may belong to the sphere of popular belief.

II B 5. According to the speaker of *Isaios 6*, Philoktemon son of Euktemon of Kephisia left a will in which he adopted his sister's son Chairestratos son of Phanostratos, also of Kephisia (*APF* 15164). Philoktemon died before his father, and no steps seem to have been taken about the adoption until Euktemon died. Since both families belonged to the same deme the adoption did not affect Chairestratos' civic status, and Philoktemon had been co-resident with his father up to the time of his death (on active service).⁴² He thus did not have a separate estate to bequeath, and the whole family property remained in Euktemon's increasingly shaky hands until his death. Philoktemon however was aware before he died that Euktemon wanted to leave property to the two boys whom the family regarded as sons of the freedwoman Alke (Table 7.1); his will (if genuine) was presumably an attempt to prevent this. Chairestratos had a younger brother,⁴³ and they were Philoktemon's next-of-kin.

II B 6. The adoptions which gave rise to the dispute recorded in [Demosthenes] 44, although involving a long chain of filiations, ultimately rested on the relationship of Archiades of Otryne and his sister Archedike. The first heir to be adopted into Archiades' oikos was his great-nephew (ZDS) Leokrates I, followed by his son, Leostratos (ZDSS to Archiades), and by Leostratos' son (ZDSSS). The adoption *inter vivos* of Leokrates I (who was as far as we know an only child) was not contested.⁴⁴ Leostratos and Leokrates II were born in the oikos of Archiades and therefore were not strictly adopted sons; the opposition to the introduction of Leochares son of Leostratos after the death of his brother Leokrates II has been discussed above (#II 3).

Six other more doubtful or marginal cases may be added.

II B 7. Demosthenes (18. 312) asserts that Aischines had inherited (*ek ekléronomékeis*) five talents (30,000 drachmas) from his wife's brother Philon. He may well have exaggerated the sum (*APF* 14625 I), but the term used and the size of the bequest indicate that Aischines or, more probably, one of his sons,

⁴² Ch. 7 Case 1.

⁴³ One of Chairestratos' sons was called Philoktemon, the other being called after his FF Phanostratos. *IG* ii³ 4. 63, in which Chairestratos is called 'son of Phanostratos', may precede the settlement of the case, or indicate that Chairestratos returned to his father's oikos after the birth of a son (cf. *APF* 15164; Table 7.1).

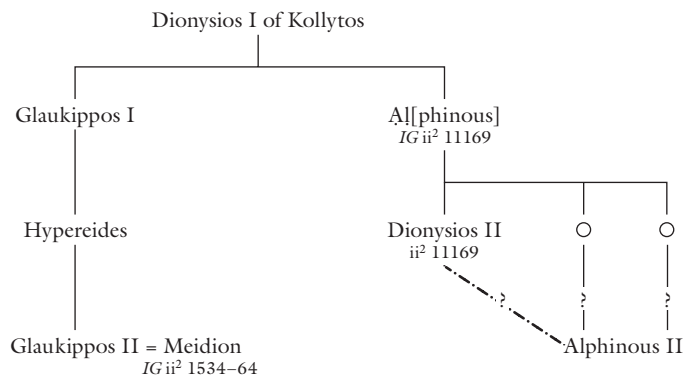
⁴⁴ Table 2.2; ch. 7 Case 12. Although [Dem.] 44. 19, 21 says that Leokrates 'adopted himself' to Archiades, it also uses the term *enebateusen*, which implies adoption *inter vivos*. Meidylides' daughter had a better claim, as BD of Archiades. Leokrates I however could have claimed her as epikleros ([Dem.] 44. 10 vaguely suggests she already had children when Archiades died, but this may be *suggestio falsi*. Her husband does not seem to have been a kinsman). Cf. n. 37 above.

was Philon's principal heir.⁴⁵ Aischines defends the reputation of Philon (attacked under the pseudonym 'Nikias' in Demosthenes 19. 287) in 2. 150–1.

II B 8. It seems likely that Alkiades of Anagyrous (*IEleus* 159. 48) was the biological son of Demochares II son of Alkiades of Prasiai, adopted into the family of his mother Demokrateia, daughter of Archedamas of Anagyrous, perhaps (since she was not an epikleros) by her brother Archenomides (*IG ii²* 7277; [Dem.] 35. 14; Table 25.5).

II B 9. Dionysios II son of Alphinous of Kollytos, attested as treasurer of the kleruchs on Samos in 346/5, was buried in the Kerameikos in an impressive tomb complex that included a marble sarcophagus, a naiskos apparently representing him with his mother and carrying two poems of a quality praised by Wilamowitz, and a bull sculpted in the round on a pillar.⁴⁶ Dionysios, who was a cousin (FBS) of the orator Hypereides, left only his mother and sisters to mourn him; the Alphinous II who took charge of the orator's funeral in 321 should have been a nephew (ZS) of Dionysios, possibly adopted by will or posthumously (he is variously described as a grandson or *anepsios*, cousin, of Hypereides but the adoption suggested here would not change their relationship) (Table 2.3).

TABLE 2.3.
Dionysios of Kollytos



II B 10. A suggestion is made in [Demosthenes] 40. 10 that Boiotos and Pamphilos, sons of Plangon daughter of Pamphilos of Keiriadai, might have been adopted by two of Plangon's brothers. However, as has been explained above, adoption was not recognised at law as a means of legitimizing children of doubtful parentage. Adopted children had to be born in wedlock, of Athenian parentage on both sides, and a father who swore to the legitimacy of sons he did not wish to recognize, in order to get them adopted by someone else, would have been asking for trouble (*APF* 9667; cf. Humphreys 1989).

⁴⁵ It is not useful here to make a sharp distinction between adopted heirs and heirs appointed by will without adoption. If, as suggested here, Philon had adopted one of Aischines' children, it seems not to have been the eldest son Atrometos, attested as ephebos with patronymic in *IEleus* 82. 7. Cf. ch. 25 n. 35.

⁴⁶ *CAT* 2. 408b, *IG ii²* 11169, *CEG* II 593, *APF* 13912. Cf. ch. 24 n. 7.

II B 11. It is relevant to note here that while Plato left his property to his great-nephew (BSS) Adeimantos II—apparently the sole agnatic heir left by Plato and his two brothers—the headship of the Academy went to his sister’s son Speusippos. Speusippos could not be adopted, but became Plato’s spiritual heir. He may have had a brother (*APF* 8792 X–XI).⁴⁷

II B 12. Aristotle, not an Athenian but perhaps influenced by Athenian ideas, adopted his sister’s son and foster-brother Nikanor, who was to marry Aristotle’s daughter Pythias and act as guardian to the philosopher’s illegitimate son Nikomachos.⁴⁸

III. Oikoi of more remote ancestors on the father’s side

III 1. Dikaiogenes II of Kydathenaion allegedly adopted (by will) Dikaiogenes III, the villain of the story told in *Isaios* 5, who was probably his FZSS (Table 7.2). The adoptee had a brother. Dikaiogenes II had four sisters with sons, who were closer to him by the rules of intestate succession and who made several attempts to contest this adoption (*APF* 3773). While *Isaios* succeeds in making us feel that this choice of heir was deplorable, it must be recognized that choosing an heir among the sons of the sisters would have created just as much ill-feeling; if Dikaiogenes II wanted a single heir who would keep his property together and preserve his name his choice may have been astute. Dikaiogenes III was able to play off his opponents against each other, and put them off by promising concessions of property which he then failed to hand over, for a considerable time.

III 2. Another contested will appears in *Isaios* 9 (Table 7.8). The speaker’s opponents produced a will by which, they claimed, Astyphilos of Araphen (*d.c.*) had adopted a patrilateral cousin (FBSS), son of Kleon I. The speaker, Astyphilos’ matrilateral half-brother (cf. below IV 4), asserts that Kleon’s father Thoudippos had killed Astyphilos’ father in a fight (17ff.) and since that time had had no relations with Astyphilos; furthermore, Thoudippos had been adopted into another *oikos* (below, III 4), and consequently his descendants could no longer

⁴⁷ D. L. 3. 41–3; Table 5.3. Plato did not mention the Academy, or the library it may have owned, in his will, and we do not know whether he had expressed any view on the headship. The tradition that Thales adopted his ZS (Plut. *Solon* 7) may be influenced by the cases of Plato and/or Aristotle.

⁴⁸ The adoption of Nikanor is proved by a grant of honorary citizenship of Ephesos, naming him as ‘son of Aristotle of Stageira’ c.318; *IEph* VI 2011 (Table 4.3). Chroust (1967; 1973 ch. xv) believes that Aristotle also adopted Nikomachos, but clause xv in the Arabic version of the will, ‘As to my estate and my son, there is no need to make a last will and testament’ seems to me to support the view taken here, as does its position between provisions for Herpyllis and for other freedmen, freedwomen, and slaves. In the event both Nikomachos and Nikanor died relatively soon, and childless. Pythias married again, twice (Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* 1. 258), first to the Spartan Prokles, descendant of the exiled Demaratos, who insisted on Spartan royal family names for their two sons, and then to a doctor, Metrodoros, who finally produced an heir to be named after Aristotle.

claim to be Astyphilos' kin. Astyphilos had a sister, who presumably predeceased him leaving no heirs. The adoptee may have had a brother (*APF* 7252).

In two other adoptions the relationship cannot be precisely reconstructed, but seems to be patrilineal:

III 3. Thrasyboulos son of Aischines of Lousia was adopted by Hippolochides son of Thrasymedes of Lousia; the common element Thrasy- in the names, and the deme affiliation, make it highly probable that they were agnatic kin. Thrasyboulos seems to have changed his name to Hippolochides, the name of his adoptive father, an uncommon practice in Attika as far as we know.⁴⁹

III 4. As already noted, we are told in *Isaios* 9 (2, 33) that Thoudippos of Araphen had been adopted. He does not seem to have changed his deme affiliation,⁵⁰ and may therefore have been adopted by a patrilineal kinsman (*APF* 7252). The adoption apparently took place after Thoudippos had inherited from his own father, and perhaps after the death of his brother Euthykrates.

In two further cases in which claims to inheritance were involved, there was no formal adoption:

III 5. In the family of Bouselos of Oion Kerameikon, the estate of Hagnias II had been awarded to Theopompos, and was claimed at his death by his son Makartatos (*APF* 2921; [Demosthenes] 43). Other kin contested the claim, and we do not know who won. At the time of the lawsuit Makartatos was childless ([Demosthenes] 43. 26), but he later had a son whom he named Hagnias (III), attested as ephebe in ? 330/29/8 (*IOrop* 353 = Reinmuth 1971 no. 15, cf. Lewis 1973*b*, Humphreys 2009). The name suggests that Makartatos contemplated adopting the boy posthumously to Hagnias II, but since the ephebic list records him as son of Makartatos this plan evidently came to nothing. Hagnias III

⁴⁹ *APF* 1395, Is. 7. 23; Table 2.1. A son destined for epikleric adoption would probably have been named after his maternal grandfather (MF) at birth, and Hagnias III (below, #III 5) may have been so named at birth also. Another possible change of name on adoption, in the same family, #IV 2 below (Thrasyllus II). Cf. also n. 26 above. There may have been cases in which coincidence of names, though probably not due to any prospect of adoption at the time of naming, later influenced the choice of heir: for example Dikaiogenes III (#III 1). Thoutimos son of Androkles of Poros was named on the tombstone of Thoutimos III son of Aristogeiton II of Aphidnai, probably his MF or MB; if the latter (so *APF* 12267 III–IV), if he was named with the possibility of adoption in view, it did not take place. It is not certain that Thoutimos III had no heirs, and he had another sister, Eukoline, who married Dikaiogenes IV of Kydathenaion (SS of #III 1). The suggested identifications of descendants of Spoudias of Aphidnai (Dem. 41) in Cox 1995 are dubious. Cf. ch. 31 n. 41.

⁵⁰ See *APF* 7252; ch. 7 n. 85, Table 7.8; ch. 24 nn. 114–15. The statement in § 33 that members of Astyphilos' meat-sharing group have refused to admit the son of Kleon, thus implying that they rejected the claim that he had been adopted by Astyphilos, does not prove that the boy's FF Thoudippos had been adopted into another phratry, since it may refer to a phratry subgroup (thiasos: ch. 19 n. 34). Since Araphen was a small deme (2 councillors) and the family had probably owned land there for some generations, adoption into another phratry is relatively unlikely.

was distantly related to Hagnias II both agnatically and matrilaterally, being Hagnias II's FFBSSSS and MFBSSS.⁵¹

III 6. The speaker of Isaios I (Table 7.10) was contesting a will in which his MB Kleonymos had left property to more distant kin. However, we do not know the relationship, and since there seems to have been more than one heir, and kin had suggested that the two parties should compromise and split the estate (§ 2), the will evidently did not contain formal provisions for adoption.

IV. *Matrikin*

Adoption of matrikin other than half-brothers is virtually unknown, although one very doubtful case will be noted below; while mothers' brothers quite frequently adopt their sisters' sons, sisters' sons do not adopt the descendants of their mothers' brothers. Adoption of half-siblings or their children, however, appears relatively frequently in our sources, usually as a controversial measure by which property that by the rules of intestate succession could have been claimed by patrikin is claimed instead by half-brothers, who evidently felt that their relation to the deceased was stronger and closer, in terms of 'natural' kinship and affection, than that of a patrilateral cousin.

IV 1–2. The story of Apollodoros son of Thrasylllos of Leukonoe (*APF* 1395) provides an excellent illustration of the structural factors involved. His father Thrasylllos had died when he was a child and his mother had remarried. Apollodoros had grown up in his stepfather's household and had been aided by him in two

⁵¹ Table 7.9. If rights of inheritance within the jural kindred descended *in infinitum*, Hagnias III's claim as FFBSSSS of Hagnias II was stronger than his claim as MFBSS. The case illustrates the reasons for and against the view that rights descended *in infinitum*. Makartatos obviously felt that property awarded to his father by a court should descend to him and to his heirs. Other branches of the family, who had never accepted the legitimacy of the court's decision, wanted to reopen the case. Since there are very few cases in which such remote relationships come into question in an inheritance dispute, it is unlikely that jurors had any strong views about the correct interpretation of the law. Is. 3 also involves a claim to an estate which had already been adjudicated more than 20 years earlier (§ 1; cf. also [Dem.] 44). Here however the adopted son who had inherited Pyrrhos' estate had died childless. §58, with [Dem.] 43. 16, have been interpreted as meaning that an heir's right to his inheritance could be challenged at any time in his life and for five years after his death. I suspect, however, that when Isaios—who is not likely to be quoting verbatim—says 'The law rules that claims to an inheritance must be made within five years from the death of the inheritance-holder' (*pente etôn dikasasthai tou klêrou epeidan teleutêsei ho klêronomos*), he is playing on the ambiguity of the term *klêronomos*, inheritance-holder, and that the period was intended to run from the death of *d.c.* and not of his heir. [Dem.] 43. 16, *ean de mê zêi ho epidikasamenos tou klêrou, proskaleisthō kata tauta, hōi an hē prothesmia mēpō exêkei*, does not contradict this interpretation. Pace A. R. W. Harrison (1971, 120, cf. Wolff 1963), the 'law of prothesmia' (statute of limitations, Dem. 36. 25) may well have been a simple rule, stated possibly in Solon's law of inheritance, generalized by analogy to other types of case by litigants when it suited them. It may have been more often referred to than used; formal use could only be made of it through the procedures of *diamartyria* or *paragraphē*.

lawsuits against his uncle (FB) and guardian Eupolis (§§ 7–13). By her second marriage his mother had a daughter. Apollodoros could not marry her; Attic law forbade such marriages, presumably because they would have facilitated the transfer of estates from patrikin to matrikin in just the circumstances now being described. There were however ways of circumventing the prohibition. While young and unmarried Apollodoros made a will naming his half-sister as his heir if he should die childless (§ 9).⁵² Later, after marrying and producing a son who died young (§ 14), he adopted Thrasyllus II, the speaker of Isaïos 7, his half-sister's son (*inter vivos*). The adoption was contested by one of Eupolis' two daughters.⁵³ The adopted heir does not seem to have had siblings.

IV 3. We have seen already that Hagnias II son of Polemon of Oion Kerameikon made a will adopting a sibling's daughter (#II B 2). When this girl died before reaching adulthood, the will produced had an additional clause providing for this contingency: the next heir was to be Glaukon (son of Glauketes), also of Oion, one of Hagnias' two half-brothers.⁵⁴ The will was initially accepted by Hagnias' mother's brother Stratos and by her first cousins (FBS) Theopompos and Stratokles. However, when it had been successfully contested by Phylomache, Hagnias' FZSD, these three put in claims on their own account, Theopompos ultimately winning the estate.⁵⁵

IV 4. The speaker of Isaïos 9 did not claim to be the adopted son of *d.c.*, Astyphilos, because this claim had been preempted by his opponent (cf. above #III 2), but would clearly have liked to do so. Like Apollodoros (#1), Astyphilos was an orphan who had grown up in the household of his mother's second husband and had a close and affectionate relationship with his half-brother. Astyphilos' intentions about the disposal of his estate, however, remain unclear.

⁵² Table 2.1; ch. 26 at section 'Leukonoion'. In this will Apollodoros 'gave' (*didous*, § 9)—i.e., promised—his half-sister to Lakrateidas (of Ikarion? Paiania? ch. 20 n. 99), who later became hierophant; this may have been an attempt to prevent her kin from claiming her as epikleros. In the event this marriage did not take place (n. 14 above). Note that the arrangements for Thrasyllus II's adoption were made between Apollodoros and the boy's mother, Apollodoros' half-sister (§ 14,); women played an important role in such matters (cf. Humphreys 1986a, 90; ch. 5 n. 50 on Lys. F 23 Gernet/Bizos 1926, XXXIII/71 Carey 2007, for another case of close relations in stepfamilies).

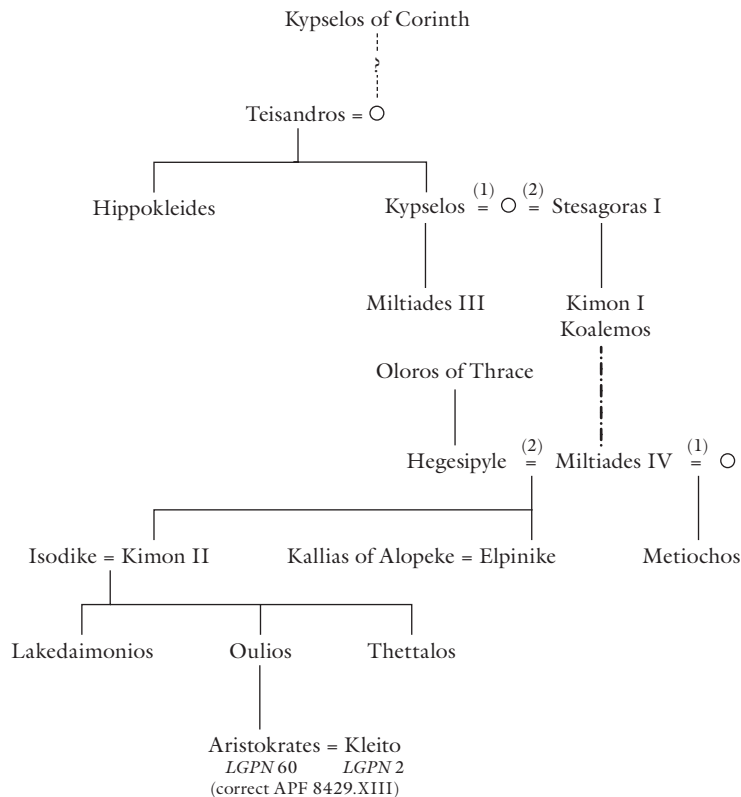
⁵³ Apollodoros presented Thrasyllus II to his phratry at the Thargelia (May–June) in 355 (7. 15) but died before he could present him to his deme in July (§§ 27–8). The deme nevertheless voted to accept him, although objections were made on behalf of Eupolis' daughter (ch. 26 n. 34). Thrasyllus may have changed his name on adoption. Thrasyboulos son of Hippolochides of Lousia (#III 3), son of another daughter of Eupolis, took no part in the dispute, although under the maxim that adoption did not nullify ties of matrilineal kinship he could have claimed.

⁵⁴ APF 2921; Is. 11. 8–9; [Dem.] 43. 43; Table 7.9. Isaïos says Hagnias *epoiēsato* (adopted) his niece and uses the phrase *ta onta edidou*, 'tried to give his property' in the case of Glaukon, but the variation probably reflects the speaker's bias rather than a difference in the will. Cf. Plat. *Laws* 923e–924a for the possibility of two conditional adoptions in a single will.

⁵⁵ Ch. 7 Case 9. There is no particular reason to suppose that the will was not genuine.

IV 5 (Table 2.4). Miltiades III, who left Attika under the Peisistratid tyranny to rule over the Dolonkoi in the Thracian Chersonese, at some date before 528 brought out Stesagoras II, son of his half-brother Kimon I Koalemos, to be his heir. He apparently had no sons, or none from a woman he considered of sufficient status to provide a successor to the tyranny. Stesagoras II died childless and his younger brother Miltiades IV (later to lead the Athenian forces at Marathon), who had originally been left in Attika with his father (Herodotus 6. 103), moved also to the Chersonese at some date between his archonship in 524/3 and c.515 (Herodotus 6. 40. 1). This was presumably ‘adoption’ in the Homeric rather than the classical pattern, with no legal formalities being observed. The adoption was not contested, although Miltiades III probably had patrikin, descendants of his FB Teisandros (*APF* 8429 IV);⁵⁶ Akestorides I, archon in 504/3, may belong to another line of patrikin (*ibid.* II–III with Addenda p. 599).

TABLE 2.4. Miltiades



⁵⁶ *APF* 8429 III–IV. Davies suggests (*ibid.* IX, followed by Piccirilli 1986) that Miltiades IV married and then divorced a daughter of Hippias; I cannot see that this idea gets us very far. Herodotus (6. 103) implies that Miltiades IV left Athens immediately after his father’s death, suspecting that Hippias had been responsible for it, but his tenure of the eponymous archonship disproves this. On the unreliability of such traditions see R. Thomas 1989. The suggestion reported in *APF* 8429 VII that this adoption implies kinship between Kypselos and Stesagoras I should be disregarded.

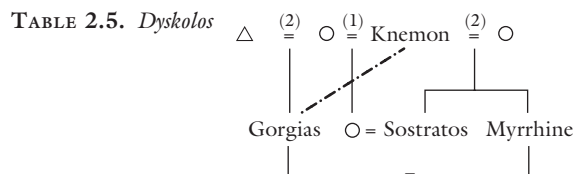
V. Affines

Affines—under which heading I include stepsons—were not included in the jural kindred and therefore from the legal standpoint were dubious candidates for adoption. Nevertheless men were often fond of their wives' children⁵⁷—especially if they had none of their own—or of their wives' brothers, who would usually be a decade or so younger (since women married much younger than men) and could therefore fit into a filial relationship without strain.

V 1. Isokrates adopted the youngest of his three stepsons, Aphareus, *inter vivos*. Isokrates' three brothers and his sister apparently raised no objections (APF 7716; Humphreys 1983a/1993, 116).

V 2. Diokles of Phlya claimed to have been adopted by the will of his mother's second husband; this marriage however had produced three daughters who contested Diokles' claim. As in the case of Apollodoros of Leukonoe (#IV 1–2), Diokles could not marry his half-sisters,⁵⁸ but from his mother's point of view this adoption had the same effect, allowing a child by one husband to inherit the estate of another. Though the speaker of Isaios 8 (§ 41) paints a very black picture of Diokles, it should be recognized that his half-sisters had already been dowered from their father's estate and that their mother probably connived at Diokles' claim (APF 8443; Humphreys 1988; Table 7.3).

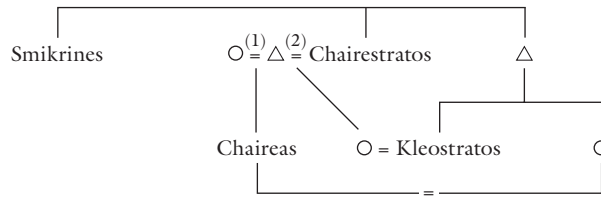
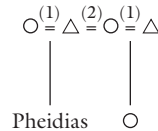
V 3. Knemon (Old Grumpy), the eponymous character in Menander's *Dyskolos*, at the end of the play when he feels at death's door (729–60) adopts his stepson Gorgias, born to his wife after she had left him and remarried (Table 2.5). This adoption makes Gorgias the full brother of his half-sister: these two siblings then marry another sibling pair, Sostratos and his sister.⁵⁹ In



⁵⁷ Patrilateral half-siblings were not expected to be on such good terms, and stepchildren were not expected to get on well with stepmothers (cf. Humphreys 1986a, 69–70, 75–6; 1988). I have not made a systematic survey of data from other parts of Greece, but note that Agoranax of Kalymnos c.280 asked the city to give citizenship to his *huion proggon*; it seems likely that his wife had had a son by a previous marriage to a non-Kalymnian and Agoranax was at least as far as civic status goes, adopting him (Segre 1952, 56–7 no. 21). Calder 1930 was mistaken in supposing the adoption of stepsons to be peculiarly Anatolian.

⁵⁸ Cf. n. 11 above. A law that if a man with daughters adopted a son he had to marry one of the daughters, if genuine, would have made adoption of Diokles illegal (Is. 3 *Pyrrh.* 68; cf. A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 85 n. 2). It might have been held that an adopted son who dowered his half-sisters adequately from the estate had fulfilled his obligations towards them (cf. MacDowell 1982a).

⁵⁹ Cf. Paoli 1961. Pace MacDowell 1982a, there is no need to see an intention to adopt in *Aspis* (cf. P. G. M. Brown 1983).

TABLE 2.6. *Aspis*TABLE 2.7. *Phasma*

Menander's *Aspis* Chaireas is incorporated into the family of his mother's second husband and finally marries his stepfather's niece (BD), sister of Kleostratos, who in turn marries his FBD, the daughter of Chairestratos and half-sister of Chaireas (Table 2.6). In the *Phasma* Pheidias falls in love with his stepmother's daughter by a previous marriage, the 'ghost-girl'; we do not know if they married at the end of the play (Table 2.7).

Thus in fiction the affection between half-siblings could lead to a neat and happy pairing off, as in a country dance; but in real life the fact that they belonged to different patriline, while it lessened the potentiality for conflict over property, meant that any attempt to pool resources generated opposition from their respective patrikin.

Two men adopted brothers-in-law (WB):

V 4. Menekles, whose estate was the subject of *Isaios* 2, had adopted one of his wife's two brothers twenty-three years before his death. This lengthy period did not prevent Menekles' brother's son from claiming, when Menekles died, that the adoption was invalid because made 'under the influence of a woman' (§ 1, cf. [Demosthenes] 46. 14). Previous attempts to reconcile Menekles' brother to the adoption, which had included handing over property on the advice of private arbitrators,⁶⁰ had been unsuccessful. Menekles had divorced his second wife because their marriage was childless (above, at n. 12) and he believed himself responsible for this; she married again. The two families were on friendly terms before the marriage; since his wife's father seems to have died early, Menekles probably stood in a quasi-paternal relationship to his brothers-in-law before the adoption.

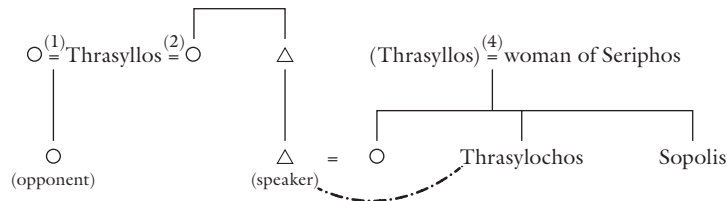
V 5. Polyuktos of Teithras also adopted one of his wife's brothers, Leokrates, and married him to one of his two daughters. Later, however, they quarrelled; the marriage was broken off and there were contentious negotiations, at the end

⁶⁰ Table 7.11, Is. 2. 30: the arbitrators say that their solution is not just, but is 'to the advantage of all'.

of which Leokrates ‘took back what he had contributed to the property’ and the adoption was annulled.⁶¹ Both Polyeuktos’ daughters seem in the end to have married non-kin, and we do not hear that the adoption was contested at the time when it was made; this suggests that Polyeuktos did not have close kin of marriageable age.

V 6. In Isocrates 19, Thrasylochos son of Thrasylos of Siphnos, whose estate was in dispute, had adopted the son of a brother of his stepmother and betrothed him to his (Thrasylochos’) sister by an oral will (§ 12) (Table 2.8).⁶² Both families came from Siphnos and they had travelled together in exile, finally settling in Aigina. The adoption was contested by a woman who claimed to be Thrasylochos’ half-sister by an early marriage of his father, a wandering seer (*mantis*; § 5–6).

TABLE 2.8. Isocrates 19



VI. Cognatic kin or affines

There are two cases of certain or probable adoption in which we know that the beneficiary changed his deme, and therefore was not being adopted by an agnate, but cannot reconstruct the relationship further.

⁶¹ Dem. 41. 3–5, 9 (§ 9 for Leokrates’ brother or brothers). The phrase is vague and the arrangements unclear; adopted sons did not usually contribute property, and Leokrates might have expected to get some compensation for the loss of the inheritance he had been led to expect. In fact we learn in § 27 that he had been paid 1000 dr. to compensate him for giving up the jewellery and clothes his wife had brought as her trousseau. This was not a common arrangement in divorce. Possibly Leokrates’ ‘contribution’ was somehow connected with the dowry brought by his sister, Polyeuktos’ wife, or the security put up for it? In any case it appears that Polyeuktos had some economic motive for the adoption.

⁶² The speaker and *d.c.* originally came from Siphnos and the case was tried on Aigina, but by the 4th c. practice in the smaller islands is not likely to have differed very significantly from that of Athens; islanders had served in the Athenian fleet throughout the 5th c. and were probably still doing so, though in smaller numbers; many island families will have had kin who lived, or had lived, in Piraeus as metics; Aigina had been an Athenian kleruchy in the 5th c. Thrasylos’ third wife (by whom he had no children) was a cousin (*anepsia*) of the speaker’s father and of wife no. 2. Wives 2 and 3 had died childless and Thrasylos had remained on friendly terms with their kin; the speaker, probably born some fifteen years after Thrasylos’ second marriage, had grown up as a friend of Thrasylochos, son of the fourth marriage. Cf. ch. 4 p. 130.

VI 1. The sculptor Praxiteles, whose deme was Sybridai, seems to have had a son called Timarchos whose deme was Eiresidai,⁶³ presumably because he had been adopted into another family (*APF* 8334). Adoption did not prevent Timarchos from following in his genitor's footsteps. He had a brother.

VI 2. Nausikles son of Klearchos of Oe seems to have been adopted into a family of Aigilia and returned to Oe after producing a son to take his place; his debts were paid when he died by Klearchos, son of Nausikles, of Aigilia (*APF* 10552). Klearchos seems to have succeeded in inheriting two estates, though this may have been more of a liability than an advantage. At least he did not—or could not—claim that adoption freed him from the obligation to pay his genitor's debts.⁶⁴

We only hear of one case in which a man claimed to have been instituted as heir by a non-kinsman:⁶⁵ in *Isaios* 4 the speaker's opponent claimed to have been 'given' by will the property of a fellow-soldier, Nikostratos, who died on campaign when they were serving as mercenaries (*APF* 7291). The speaker alleges that the opponent, Chariades, originally presented the child of a prostitute (*hetaira*) to be adopted posthumously to Nikostratos' estate, but later changed his mind and claimed that the property had been bequeathed to him (§ 10). Nikostratos had been abroad for eleven years (§ 8) and his title to citizenship may not have been above question (§ 9). Chariades only knew Nikostratos' father's name as Smikros, 'Titch' (§§ 3f.); they evidently came from a milieu in which official nomenclature, legitimate kinship, citizenship, and law meant little. Indeed the most surprising aspect of the whole story is that the two-talent fortune Nikostratos left (12,000 drachmas) was brought back to Athens and handed over to the archon for adjudication.

CONCLUSION

Most of our evidence on adoption, as noted above, comes from controversial cases and may not provide a reliable guide to normal practice. Nevertheless controversial cases reveal contradictions in the institution, which throw light on long-term changes. While the idea of the fictive creation of kinship ties as a way of incorporating

⁶³ Possibly a son-in-law, *APF* suggests, but the sources say 'son'. See above, n. 29.

⁶⁴ If Goette 1989 is right in attributing *IG* ii² 3206 to Klearchos, there was no shortage of funds (but see ch. 12 n. 25). If Klearchos had been the adoptee, as suggested by E. M. Harris 1994, 1996, his patronymic would not have been Nausikleous.

⁶⁵ We have no details about the adoption of a Theodoros by an Archephon (perhaps A. of Erchia, attested as a goldsmith in the 320s), contested in a case for which Deinarchos wrote a speech (F LXXIX–LXXX Conomis 1975; the Archephon of Machon F V, if there is any reference to a real person, should be later, cf. Gow 1965). On *Is.* F III Thalheim 1903 see ch. 7 n. 23. On *IG* ii² 3850 see ch. 12 at n. 96.

a stranger into a new status in the *oikos* may have come from the practice of upper-class households, adoption in its Solonian form appears to be essentially an attempt to compromise between contradictory tendencies in ethno-demographic theory and in practice at the level of the small-scale farmer. On the one hand, as the distribution of individual lots of land when a colony was founded strikingly demonstrates, a community was thought of as made up of individual households, each consisting of a peasant-proprietor with his wife and children. Ideally, each household should be transmitted to a single heir. On the other hand, inheritance was partible, divided equally between brothers; what any man owned had thus come from ancestors shared with his kin, and if he left no sons it seemed reasonable that his property should return to this common stock for redistribution.⁶⁶

Adoption, then, allowed the selection of a single heir from the group to which the estate of a childless man would otherwise revert. It may have had a clear physical basis in practice, childless elderly men taking in a younger kinsman to work on their land when they came to need full-time help. Within a village community, choice of a suitable heir had to satisfy local members of the kindred and the general sense of what was fair in each particular case, the circumstances of which would be well known. This would have limited conflict.

When the same law was transferred to the city, used for diversified and scattered estates where neither re-creation of an original holding nor provision of supplementary labour was in question, and administered by courts, the contradictions implicit in the law began to show themselves. The rule that an adopted son completely severed his ties with his genitor and lost his status in the kindred into which he had been born, unproblematic as a statement of the concrete logic of a move from one farm to another, could not be applied abstractly to all rights and obligations associated with kinship without coming into conflict with moral sentiments and emotional ties.⁶⁷ Selection of an adoptive heir from a kinsman's *oikos* was in personal terms obviously not equivalent to breaking off relations. On the contrary, it both implied pre-existing ties and reinforced them by the creation of a further, quasi-affinal link. The adopted son retained personal emotional ties with his family of origin; the maxim 'No one is adopted away from his mother' (Isaios 7. 25) reflected this.

⁶⁶ Note that it is quite unnecessary to believe in communal ownership by joint families or some other type of kin group at an earlier period. The residual inheritance rights of the kindred are sufficiently explained by partible inheritance. (The rights of *matrikin* may derive from the practice of giving land as dowry or from analogy with their relevance in other spheres). Sharp distinctions between 'individual' and 'joint' systems may be misleading.

⁶⁷ For similar problems in Indian law see Venkataramiah 1982. The provision that an adopted son could return to his father's *oikos* if heirs failed there, and if he left a son in his place, was probably made in Athens from the beginning; cf. the parallel provision in the East Lokrian colony law M/L 20. 6–8, cf. 29–31, 35–37; ch. 1 n. 88.

Solon's law thus created a split between jural and folk definitions of kinship, repercussions of which can be traced in the classical period. By this time considerably more was involved in jural kinship than the practical question of arranging a neat fit between farmers and farms, and any spatial constraints that may once have favoured the adoption of close patrikin would have become less significant.⁶⁸ The rules had become detached from their physical base. Three situations were particularly likely to be problematic. In the first place, any adoption that was followed by the development of further opportunities for collateral inheritance within the adopted son's kindred of origin, or by the death of his father's expected heir, was likely to inspire attempts to reassert the kinship ties which had in theory been broken by adoption ([Demosthenes] 44; cf. Isaïos 9. 2, 33, [Demosthenes] 43. 77–8, [Demosthenes] 58. 31). Secondly, with more scattered estates and greater discrepancies in wealth between kin, the selection of one of a set of equally qualified heirs for adoption might conflict with the principle of equal division of inheritance between brothers. We do actually hear of several cases in which the adopted heir had same-sex siblings;⁶⁹ on the other hand where two cousins (MZS) had equal claims to an estate there was no adoption; the property was sold and equally divided.⁷⁰ Thirdly, however, in the alternate case where the next-of-kin was an only son, he would be unwilling to lose his patrimony or forego any other inheritance to which he might be entitled by birth (Isaïos 2. 10). Hence, in both of the two latter cases, there may have been a certain tendency not to use adoption where the chosen heir could inherit as next-of-kin under the law of intestate succession—and thus to associate adoption particularly with the selection of an heir from kin (or affines) who would not otherwise have succeeded. Such a choice would fit in well with the affective warmth associated with adoption (Isaïos 9. 78); precisely because of the structure of the jural kindred, there were more occasions for friction between agnates than between cognatic kin or affines. Plutarch, then, in stressing that adoption allowed a free choice of heir guided only by considerations of affection (*Solon* 21), may not have been too far from the viewpoint of the classical period—although in that period free choice was still only exercised within a limited circle of close kin and affines.

Conflicts in court produced by these problematic situations generated both a negative and a positive rhetorical discourse about adoption. Negatively, adoption could be presented as an inferior form of kinship, exploited by fortune-hunters

⁶⁸ Given the tendency to nucleated settlement and the bilateral structure of the kindred, there is little reason to suppose that there had ever been a pronounced patrilineal bias.

⁶⁹ Above, nos. I 2–4, IB 1, II 3, IIB 1, 3–5, 7, III 1–2, IV 3, 5, V 1, 4–5.

⁷⁰ Is. 7. 19, 31, *APF* 1395. The statement of the law in §§ 19–20 is extremely tendentious.

who lacked any real feeling for the adoptive father.⁷¹ Cases of posthumous adoption and the ‘return’ of adopted sons to their families of origin would reinforce this view, which is perhaps echoed in a debate of the late fifth century. Theozotides proposed that the sons of men who had fallen in the fighting between oligarchs and democrats should receive the same subsidies as war orphans. He specified that the subsidy was only to go to legitimate sons, and laid down a procedure for scrutiny. A client of Lysias attacked him for excluding bastards and adopted sons. Adopted sons in this case could only claim on the basis of a will or a posthumous decision by their parents to adopt them to the deceased, since the formalities of adoption *inter vivos* could only be completed at the age of eighteen, when the subsidy ceased.⁷²

On the other hand, adopted sons defended their position by stressing affection and filial devotion. Though many speakers in court had no occasion to contrast adoptive filiation with the often strained relation between natural fathers and sons (Humphreys 1983*a*/1993, 66–7, 77–8 n. 23), the comparison is made in New Comedy.⁷³ The stress in philosophical circles on friendship and the choice of like-minded associates (Humphreys, *ibid.* 65–8; 1978, 234) presumably contributed to this discussion, and adoptive or quasi-adoptive relationships seem to occur with some frequency among philosophers in the late fourth and early third centuries. Indeed, the process by which philosophical schools came to be regarded as a kind of sacred property passed from one ‘head’ to another, rather than as personal property, is a result of the need to distinguish spiritual from jural heirs.⁷⁴ Plato’s Academy, as noted above, passed to his sister’s son Speusippos, although he bequeathed the rest of his property to his next-of-kin Adeimantos II, probably the grandson (SS) of his brother Adeimantos I (*APF* 8792 X–XI). Lykon, from the Troad (c.300–226), left most of his estate to the younger of his two brothers, who had the same name, had lived with him and was ‘like a son’ to him (Diogenes Laertios 5. 69ff.).⁷⁵ Aristotle, as already mentioned (#II B 12), adopted by will his sister’s son Nikanor, who was also his younger foster-brother. Nikanor was to

⁷¹ It is interesting that Plato, for his own rhetorical ends, assumes in the *Republic* (537c–538c) that a foster-child (*hypobolimaïos*) reared in ignorance of his origins will lose all attachment to his foster-parents when he discovers the truth (cf. Hdt. 1. 137).

⁷² Lysias fr. VI Gernet Bizon 1926 with pp. 235–6 (LXIV Carey 2007). Theozotides’ decree—which may have been modified in response to the objections raised by Lysias’ client—is partially preserved: Stroud 1971, *SEG* 28. 46/32. 37/33. 67. Scrutiny of war orphans was not new, but Theozotides may have suggested some modifications in the procedure of scrutiny and/or payment (Stroud, *ibid.*). There is no need to suppose that illegitimate sons (*nothoi*) had previously had an openly recognized right to subsidy.

⁷³ Terence’s *Adelphoe*, based on Menander; Menander’s *Samia*. See Fantham 1971; Keuls 1973; Lord 1977; Lape 2004; above, at n. 40.

⁷⁴ Ismard 2010, 186–204. Wills usually name a group of heirs to the school, rather than a single successor, but the practice of regulating succession to a school by will implies that the testator has been acting as head of the school.

⁷⁵ I take it that Pylades, heir of Arkesilas of Pitane (316/5–241/0; D. L. 4. 28–9) was his full brother.

marry Aristotle's daughter Pythias, and both were to act as guardians to Aristotle's son by Herpyllis, Nikomachos. Herpyllis may have been a freedwoman; her social status was certainly lower than that of Pythias' mother, although Aristotle's frequent changes of residence make it difficult to speak conclusively of legitimate or illegitimate filiation. Nikomachos was named after Aristotle's father and his paternity must have been recognized, but Pythias seems to be being treated like an epikleros. Since philosophers made a point of relying on the moral sense of their kin and friends rather than on law (Plato *Phaedo* 115b–c, *Krito* 54a–b), the question of Nikomachos' legal standing could be left vague (cf. n. 51 above).

Where the philosophers had led, Hellenistic cities were to follow. The resemblance is partly due to the fact that philosophers provide unusually well-documented early examples of the life of the travelling professional man (cf. Isocrates 19), which was to become a widespread phenomenon in the Hellenistic period. But the philosophers also represent a tendency to assert the rights of the individual to dispose of his private affairs according to his own moral judgment, rather than by strict rule of law, which appears to gain ground in the Hellenistic period. Status boundaries between citizens and foreigners, legitimate and illegitimate children seem to become less rigidly defined and more permeable, and adoption is used in new ways.⁷⁶

In Hellenistic Athens adoptions involving a change of deme continued, but kinship with the adopted son's family of origin is publicly acknowledged. In 183/2 BCE Aristokles of Perithoidai is recorded as paying *epidosis* contributions for himself, his son Eukles, and his (natural) brother Amynomachos son of Eukles of Halai. Both Aristokles and Amynomachos held office in the genos Eumolpidai as hierophant of the Mysteries.⁷⁷ Presumably Aristokles was born son of Eukles of Halai and adopted out into a family in Perithoidai.

Elsewhere, men are regularly identified in public documents by the name of both pater and genitor;⁷⁸ in Rhodes, where adoption seems especially common, more than one person may be adopted and there is one known case in which two

⁷⁶ Grants of citizenship: *Milet* I iii nos. 41, 45–6, 51, 64–5, 67, 70, 72, 74, 76–9, 87, 89; see Brulé 1990a. Cf. Van Bremen 1983, 230–3 on the use of the rhetoric of private relationships in the Hellenistic city (mixed marriages; see Diller 1935; *IG* ix 2. 1228). The evidence here comes from cities that may never have drawn the boundary between public and private spheres as sharply as classical Athens. But we still know too little about the influence of Athenian law on the cities of the empire (Gofas 1979 and D. M. Lewis 1984a have made a small beginning on this topic, but much remains to be done). *IErythrae* I 2 appears to be the remains of a citizenship law similar to that of Perikles, and approximately contemporary.

⁷⁷ Ch. 20 n. 116, *IG* ii² 2332/*SEG* 32. 218. 49–52. On the tendency to disregard strict rules of agnatic succession in Hellenistic and Roman genè see also ch. 20 n. 133.

⁷⁸ Either pater or genitor may be named first. See Wentzel 1930 (arguing that the practice begins c.200 BCE, perhaps under Roman influence); M. S. Smith 1967; Rubinstein a. o. 1991. For an early 3rd c. example from Erythrai, *SEG* 32. 1243, (*LSAM* no. 25, *IErythrae* II no. 201. 7–8; a highly probable restoration). For evidence from papyri see M. Kuryłowicz 1983.

brothers seem to adopt each other.⁷⁹ Hellenistic fathers also ask cities to grant citizenship to their illegitimate sons and daughters (*nothoi* and *nothai*), and grants of citizenship or partial citizenship to the sons of citizens by foreign mothers (*matroxenoi*), either individually or collectively, are not uncommon (cf. Ogden 1996). All these phenomena seem to imply an increasing readiness to recognize ties of 'natural' kinship where the law would earlier have imposed barriers (Humphreys 1988). Ultimately—by a development which is not yet well understood—adoption came to be assimilated to fosterage. The ideal of the single heir seems to be entirely forgotten; fictive kinship—if foster-relations can be so described—is used to widen the circle of close associates, and often to cover inequalities of status.⁸⁰ In Christianity the fictive ties of god-parenthood created the same bar to marriage as ties of biological kinship—a new imposition of strict legal rules with a quite different orientation.

The structure of the Greek kindred lent itself to such developments because of its bilateral extension and the possibilities it offered of free choice of associates and helpers within the ego-centred kin network. The absence of a clear hierarchy of differentiation distinguishing relations with patrikin from those with matrikin, or agnates from cognatic kin, meant that the slight preference for agnatic relations in law was easily counterbalanced by complementary ties with non-agnatic kin, which might well be strengthened by the search for allies in cases of conflict with agnates. The structure of the system does not predict the functions which adoption and other forms of fictive kinship will assume in different periods and circumstances, but it generates the underlying contradictions and tendencies to instability which help to create new institutions and new attitudes towards, or uses of, old ones.

⁷⁹ Rhodes: Poma 1972, 175, 180. Naming patterns repeat names from both pater's and genitor's families (Bresson 1981). In Bresson's no. 4 (Blinkenberg 1941, Stemma 13) it is unclear whether Lysistratos is adopted by MF or FB. See ch. 4 nn. 21–2 on the later epiklerate. Rhodian adoption badly needs studying. Can the mutual adoption of brothers (*Lindos* I, nos 229, 338) be a rite of reconciliation? In the third of the Entella decrees (Nakone, 3rd c. BCE: SEG 30. 1119/43. 619/51. 1185; Alessandri 1982, Ampolo a. o. 2001) a ritual of adoption into brotherhood (*adelphothetia*) is devised to promote concord after an episode of *stasis*. Cf. Wilhelm 1947, 20–5 for incorporation into a clan (*syngeneia*) at Sinuri as adoptive brotherhood. I do not think it is particularly necessary or helpful to look for Italic or Phoenician cultural roots (Amiotti 1985). An adelphic adoption in Pantikapaion, Christophilopoulos 1979, 77.

⁸⁰ A. Cameron 1939 is still useful; see also Nani 1943; Sacco 1980, Riel 2009. *Threptoí* occur already in Boeotian manumissions of the late 3rd c. BCE, Roesch and Fossey 1978. If systems of adoption and fosterage are mapped onto a scale of distribution of parenting functions (E. N. Goody 1982) running from total retention by biological parents to total transfer, Greek adoption is in any case closer to what we call fosterage than modern (but perhaps not postmodern) western adoption (for later periods see Sant Cassia and Bada 1992).

Guardianship

As we have seen, *threptos* and cognate terms, with the relationships they denote, are widespread in texts from later periods and other areas. In classical Athens, however, foster-relationships are not institutionalized to the same extent. Foundlings reared as dependants occur in New Comedy,¹ and orphans who did not live with their guardians were often brought up in the household of a stepfather,² but the legal bias in the sources means that we hear much more about guardians than about foster-parents.

A woman, in Attika, was under guardianship throughout her life. A law quoted in [Demosthenes] 46. 18 lists, as possible guardians: father, brother by the same father, grandfather (FF), or next-of-kin. A married woman came under the guardianship of her husband; a widow under that of her son, once he came of age. Women are discussed below only when under the guardianship of someone other than father, brother, husband, or son.³

A man threatened with death while he had children who were still minors would normally appoint guardians to take care of the estate. A woman could not

¹ Men. *Epitrep.*, *Hero*; strictly speaking they are probably always of slave status, but in Men. *Perikeir.* Glykera is ‘married as a freewoman’ (Moschion passes as a legitimate son of his foster-mother).

² In *POxy* 664, a philosophical dialogue on tyranny, the narrator is represented as guardian of young Thrasyboulos son of Philomelos, who has fallen in love with the daughter of the tyrant Peisistratos. Thrasyboulos has been brought up by his grandfather (MF?) Hagnotheos. The other attested speakers in the dialogue are called Ariphton and Adeimantos; this suggests that the text belongs to the literature on Alkibiades of the late 5th or early 4th c. Cf. *APF* 14667, 14670 for bearers of the name Philomelos at this time; 11793 V proposes a 4th c. date for the story. On fosterage in Homer and in myth see Gernet 1932. Hyp. *Against Timandros* claims that guardians were obliged by law to bring up siblings in the same household, but see Rubinstein 2009*b*.

³ For further discussion of widows see V. J. Hunter 1989; Cudjoe 2010; ch. 5 n. 33. I have not systematically collected evidence for brothers as guardians, but see Is. 2, 3–6, Dem. 57. 41 (marriages arranged by brothers); *IG* i³ 1136, *horos sēmatos Glykēs Marathōnothen en astei oikósēs, adelphē Eschatiōnos Kalliō;* *IG* ii² 2765 = Finley 1952 no. 176, *horos oikias kai choriō Timostratēs Anakainthen tēs Boōnos adelphēs Anakaiōs, mētro[s de —]Kēphi[seōs]*, marked land attributed to a widow, who may or may not have been remarrying (cf. Schaps 1979, 113 n. 20). In [Dem.] 59. 58 the wife of Phrastor of Aigilia is identified by the names of both her father and her brother. Sons as guardians: ch. 20 n. 101, dedication by priestess of Demeter, before c.350, identified by reference to her son, *IG* ii³ 1002. For non-Attic data see E. Weiss 1908*a*, 86–8; Christophilopoulos 1977, ch. 4; Babakos 1962; Vial 1984, 80–4 (Delos); useful material in *IG* xii 5. 872 (Tenos).

act as guardian,⁴ and though a widow could apparently stay in her ex-husband's house with her children it seems commoner for the widow to remarry. If she did, her children might be reared in the house of her new husband, but he would not be their guardian unless the father had arranged both marriage and guardianship by will. The banker Pasion of Acharnai arranged that his widow should marry his ex-slave Phormion, who was to be one of the guardians of his younger son Pasikles; Demosthenes' father directed in his will that his children's guardians Aphobos and Demophon should marry his widow and (when she came of age) his daughter, although the guardians in this case did not respect his wishes. Diogenes Laertios' statement (1. 56) that Solon forbade marriage between a guardian and the mother of his ward is completely erroneous.⁵

There are, however, other signs in Attic culture of suspicion of guardians. Plato in the *Laws* (924b) prescribes that if a man dies without appointing guardians by will, the state is to appoint the orphans' two nearest patrikin, their two nearest matrikin, and a friend of the deceased to act as guardians. A law ascribed to the legendary Charondas of Katane (Diodorus Siculus 12. 15) rules that the next-of-kin on the father's side are to look after the property—being next in line to inherit if the orphan dies, they will take good care of it—and the next-of-kin on the mother's side, who have no interest in the estate, are to take care of the orphans.⁶ Of the twenty-eight cases of guardianship attested in Athens, ten wards sued their guardians and another three complained without suing. Of course the evidence comes mainly from forensic speeches and therefore includes a disproportionate number of controversial cases. Procedures for protecting the ward's interests during minority seem not to have been very effective. In theory anyone could bring an *eisangelia* for 'ill-treatment of an orphan', or declare that an orphan's estate had been misappropriated (*phasis*), but there is little solid evidence.⁷

Testators as well as philosophers realized that the best protection lay in numbers. Xenopeithes II and Nausimachos of Paiania ([Demosthenes] 38, *APF* 11263) were left in the care of their FB Xenopeithes II and another (?) kinsman,

⁴ On women as guardians in Greco-Roman Egypt see Taubenschlag 1955, 157–62; Montevecchi 1981; cf. also below, n. 26.

⁵ Cf. Jolowicz 1947; Wyse 1904, 499. The alleged marriage of Euktemon of Kephisia to a ward born on Lemnos (Is. 6. 13) was however probably fictitious (*APF* 15164; cf. ch. 7 n. 23).

⁶ Cf. the law code of Gortyn VIII 50ff., XII 25ff. A Tswana parallel is provided by Comaroff and Roberts 1981, 74. P. J. Rhodes' suggestion (1981*a*, 632) that all appointments of guardians had to be approved by the archon eponymos is unwarranted; however, *POxy* 2464 may show that there could be assembly debate on the topic in association with an *epidikasia* (see Appendix 5). Saller 1994, ch. 8 deals with the law and practice of guardianship in Rome, emphasizing demographic arguments for its frequency.

⁷ See Humphreys forthcoming *a* n. 14; Thür 2008.

Aristaichmos of Cholleidai.⁸ Demosthenes and his sister had three guardians: their FBS Demophon, their FZS Aphobos, and a friend, business associate, and fellow-demesman of their father, Therippides of Paiania.⁹ Pasikles son of Pasion of Acharnai had a second guardian, Nikokles (of whom nothing else is known), in addition to his stepfather Phormion.

The range of kin identified as such, when guardianship is discussed, is narrow; it does not extend beyond parents' siblings and their children. Therippides of Paiania may have been a distant kinsman of Demosthenes' family, but if so the fact was not considered relevant. In the only case where we can see a distant kinsman being preferred to closer kin, the motivation seems to have been at least partly political. Alkibiades' father Kleinias left him and his brother in the care of Perikles rather than of their FB Axiochos or their MB Megakles V; the result was certainly that Alkibiades got an excellent start in political life. The uncles may have been too young or too frivolous in their interests; or Kleinias, like Perikles himself, may have preferred to concentrate his attention on relationships useful in the public sphere of politics.¹⁰

As with adoption, in looking at guardianships we will follow the order in which *oikoi* and their members were ranked in the law of intestate succession (Table 1.1). Possible guardians whose relationship to the orphan derived from membership of his father's *oikos* are the father himself, in cases where the tie between father and child had been broken by adoption, or an older brother or patrilineal half-brother. The son of a brother or sister was not likely to be old enough to act as guardian, but a sister's husband, though not strictly kin, might be called upon to do so (Table 3.1).

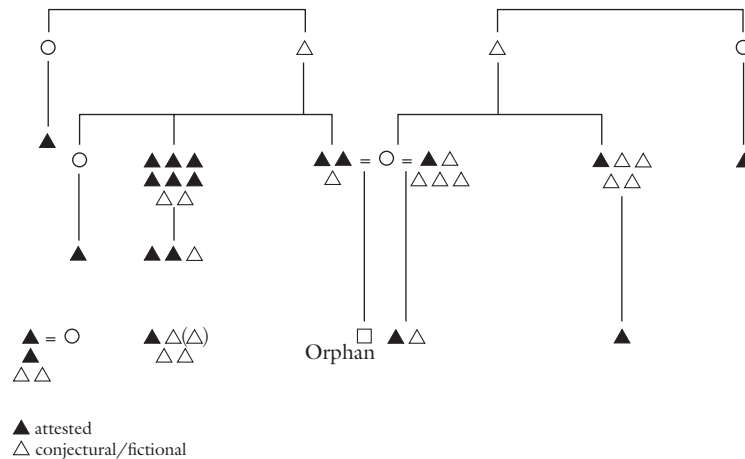
A natural father (*genitor*) was not a kinsman, at law, but a child who was adopted by will when a minor would presumably remain under the guardianship of his or her natural father until old enough to claim the estate of the adoptive

⁸ [Dem.] 38. 23 rules out the view of *APF* 11263 that Aristaichmos became guardian only after the death of Xenopeithes I. It is unlikely that Aristaichmos was the wards' MB (Humphreys forthcoming *a*); we know only that he belonged to another deme and therefore was not an agnate.

⁹ Therippides is perhaps now attested as a mine lessee, *SEG* 29. 155.

¹⁰ Plut. *Alk.* 1 says that Perikles and his brother Ariphron were both appointed guardians, but may be misrepresenting Plato *Alk.* I 122a, where we are only told that Perikles sent Kleinias IV to the house of Ariphron to detach him from his brother's influence. Perikles was the boys' first cousin once removed (MFZS; *APF* 600 VII, cf. W. Thompson 1970*b*); conceivably there may have been a closer affinal relationship through his wife, an unidentified kinswoman, but by 447/6 she must have been divorced (see ch. 4 n. 52). The boys' FB Axiochos was involved in the profanation of the Mysteries in 415 and is generally represented as companion in his nephew's escapades (*APF* 600 VI, Lys. F V 4 Thalheim 1913, V 8 Carey 2007); Megakles V is known mainly as a racehorse owner. It has been suggested that their father Kleinias II proposed the decree on tribute-collecting procedures assigned to 448/7 (*IG* i³ 34 = M/L 46) and was a close political associate of Perikles, but the decree is now dated in 426 (Papazarkadas 2009*b*, 72–3), after his death.

TABLE 3.1.
Guardianship of orphans



father.¹¹ One of the four daughters of Stratokles of the Bouselid family (*APF* 2921) adopted by her MB Theophon, returned to her father's *oikos* and guardianship when Theophon died (Isaios 11. 41–2). Sositheos, father of the speaker of [Demosthenes] 43, wishing to emphasize the legality of the adoption, arranges for Sosias II, his eldest son, to act in court as *kyrios* of his second son, still a minor, who has been presented to the phratry as posthumously adopted son of his MF Euboulides II.

Sosias II was presumably being presented in court—if the situation had been thought out in such detail—as the matrilineal half-brother of Euboulides III. Matrilineal half-brothers however derived their relationship from the *oikos* of their mother's father. Guardianship by brothers is more commonly found where both (or all) have the same father and thus share property interests. One brother speaks for all in the courts in *Lysias* 18, *Isaios* 1 and 8, probably in the first speech in the case for which *Isaios* 4 was written, and in [Demosthenes] 38; but we cannot tell whether more extensive duties as guardian were involved. *Lysias* seems to have been under the guardianship of his eldest brother after their F's death (*APF C* 9). Diogeiton, the wicked guardian of *Lysias* 32, took the sons of his deceased brother into his own household when their mother (Diogeiton's daughter) remarried, but as soon as the oldest came of age he told him to leave with his younger brother and take responsibility for him.¹² Guardianship by an older brother is also mentioned in *Lysias* 10. 5 (perhaps a

¹¹ This would be the situation of the niece of Hagnias II (*APF* 2921, Table 7.9), who was adopted by his will and died before reaching the age of marriage. Natural rather than adoptive relationships seem also to determine the choice of Aristomenes as guardian of his nephew (BS) Kyronides, who had been adopted into the *oikos* of his MF Xenainetos (*Is.* 10. 4–5; Table 7.5).

¹² *Lys.* 32. 8–9, *APF* 3885. Their sister was presumably married by this time.

patrilateral half-brother) and possibly in *POxy* 2537.¹³ In both these cases the relationship led to conflict.

The known cases of guardianship by a sister's husband led to conflict only in two cases, one of these in peculiar circumstances; normally one would expect the relationship to be a supportive one (cf. Humphreys 1986*a*, 76–8). Kallias III son of Hipponikos of Alopeke was married to the sister of his wards, the sons of Ischomachos, before he married their mother Chrysilla (*APF* 7826 XI–XIV); how far, if at all, these arrangements had been authorized by Ischomachos is unclear.¹⁴ A guardian who is ZH to his wards, son of a Hippokrates, is mentioned in Lysias F LXXI Carey 2007, LXII/43 Thalheim 1913; (*APF* p. 457; D. H. *Isaios* 8. 3; Wyse 1904, p. 599); the wards sued him. Phrasikles, guardian of Themistokles' daughter Asia, was married to her sister and was also a cousin (FBS or FZS).¹⁵ As we have seen (ch. 2, II B 12; cf. Table 4.3), Aristotle left directions in his will that his foster-brother and adopted son Nikanor should marry his daughter Pythias and they should look after Aristotle's son by Herpyllis, Nikomachos II. Aristotle himself had been brought up by his elder sister and her husband, Nikanor's parents.

In the *oikos* of the orphan's paternal grandfather the next-of-kin was his father's brother, and this is in fact the most frequently attested relationship between guardian and ward.¹⁶ Xenopeithes I died before his wards came of age, but was apparently still alive when Nikides—whose relationship to the orphans, if any, is unknown—unsuccessfully denounced the guardians for failing to lease the orphans' estate ([Demosthenes] 38. 23). Deinias, guardian of the speaker of *Isaios* 1 and of his siblings, was their FB; he was allegedly on bad terms with their MB Kleonymos, who took them in after Deinias' death, but no other complaint is made against him (ch. 7 Case 11, Table 7.10). In general, however, the father's brother gets a bad

¹³ See *Agora* XXI, 15 no. C 31 for the possibility that the guardian of Lys. 10. 5, Pantaleon, became notorious for his slipperiness and gave his name to pantaloons. On *POxy* 2537 see p. 103. Elder brother as guardian in Boiotia, Plut. *Mor.* 484a; elder patrilineal half-brother in Pitane, late 4th c. (on bad terms), D. L. 4. 28–9, 43, an elder full brother de facto taking charge.

¹⁴ *APF*, loc. cit., suggests that Kallias married Ischomachos' daughter before her father's death, and divorced her to marry her mother when Ischomachos died (cf. ch. 4 n. 8 and Table 4.2). References to an Ischomachos who was a prey to flatterers and parasites (*APF* 7826 XIII E–F) may belong to Kallias' father-in-law and to the friend of Sokrates (Sokrates himself would have been classed as a parasite by some Athenians). Vanity is an ingredient in Xenophon's portrait (*Econ.*); his Ischomachos should not be interpreted too naively as a Greek Benjamin Franklin.

¹⁵ See ch. 4 at n. 35; *APF* 6669 VI.

¹⁶ Table 3.2: 6 certain cases, 1 conjectured, 1 fictional. If the paternal grandfather (FF) was still alive control of the orphans and their property would at law automatically revert to him (ch. 1 at n. 95); but it would be rare for a father to outlive a son who left orphan children, and no cases are known in Athens. FF as guardian of a nubile girl in Mykonos, *Syll*³ 1215. 25–8. I have assumed above (n. 2) that the *pappos* in *POxy* 664 was MF.

press.¹⁷ Diogeiton (*APF* 3885, Lysias 32, ch. 7 Case 6, Table 7.6), who was his wards' FB and MF, allegedly diverted much of their property to the children of his second marriage. Eupolis son of Apollodoros I of Leukonoion was successfully sued for depriving his BS and ward Apollodoros II of half the estate of Mneson, brother of Eupolis and FB of the ward, which should have been shared between them (Table 2.1). Aristomenes of Sypalettos is alleged to have diverted the estate of his brother Aristarchos from his ward, mother of the speaker of Isaios 10, to her brother, his son-in-law Kyronides, who had been adopted out of Aristarchos' *oikos* into that of his MF.¹⁸ Theopompos, the speaker of Isaios 11 (*APF* 2921; ch. 7 Case 9, Table 7.9), is defending himself against a charge that he has defrauded his BS and ward of the share of the estate of Hagnias to which the boy was entitled.¹⁹ The suit was brought by a fellow-guardian. In Isaios F 22–3 Thalheim 1903 wards sue a guardian who is either FB or MB.²⁰

Guardianship by the son of a paternal uncle (FBS) is seldom attested in Athenian sources. Kritias' relationship with his cousin and ward Charmides son of Glaukon is portrayed as affectionate by Plato (*Charm.* 155a, 156a) and developed into close political association; when Kritias was playing a leading role in the Thirty in 404/3 Charmides was one of the commission of ten in charge of Peiraios (*APF* 8792 IX). It is not clear whether Kritias was also for a time guardian of Charmides' sister Periktione, the mother of Plato, or whether she was already married when her father died. The siblings' maternal uncle (MB) presumably remained on close terms with them, since he married Periktione c.425.²¹ For once, owing to Plato's connection with the family, we catch a glimpse of guardianship working amicably.

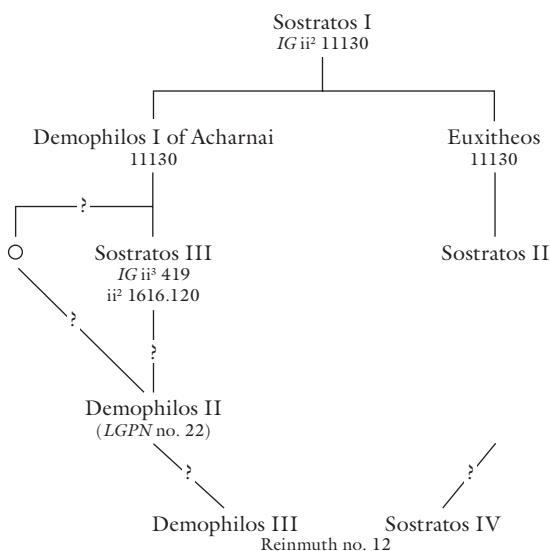
¹⁷ See ch. 5 n. 69 for the possibility that in [Dem.] 38 (Table 8.4) the wards' father and his brother had not definitively divided their inheritance. We do not know whether Sopolis son of Smikythos of Kydathenaion paid his brother's debts as guardian of his children or as his heir (*IG* ii² 1631. 350–403, *APF* 15380; Table 5.6, ch. 14 n. 42, 25 n. 11). *IG* ii² 5768 is probably the tombstone of a boy and his FB; guardianship is a possible but not imperative explanation (Humphreys 1983a/1993, 112). A generous FB/guardian in Men. *Aspis*, who plans to dower his niece from his own estate while her brother is away on military service; in Sparta (where fraternal indivision may have been commoner) Lykourgos is represented as the FB and guardian of Leobotes (Hdt. 1. 65) or of Charilaos (Plut. *Lyk.* 3).

¹⁸ However, the ward may have been adequately dowered and it appears that resentment did not develop until well after the end of Aristomenes' guardianship; see ch. 2 I 3; ch. 7 Case 5, Table 7.5.

¹⁹ In my view the law should have been interpreted in the ward's favour (ch. 1 at nn. 100–1), but the court may well have found for Theopompos.

²⁰ A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 97–8 n. 1. The guardian in *POxy* 2537 may also have been FB. Ps-Deinarchos XCV Conomis 1975 (dated 341/0) was the defence of a guardian named Satyros sued by a ward named Charidemos. A Charidemos son of Satyros of Lakiada appears in a probably ephebic tribal list of c.330 (*IEleus* 82. 9). If this is the same family, the ward was perhaps a homonymous cousin (FBS; see ch. 8 at n. 35) of the ephebe, about 10 years older, suing the ephebe's father, his FB.

²¹ See ch. 4 n. 27. As already noted, Phrasikles, guardian of Themistokles' daughter Asia, was her FBS or MBS as well as her ZH.



Note: The Demophilos A. of Ziebarth 1934 no. 1 is now Phylasios, *SEG* 58.265 B 93.

TABLE 3.2. Sostratos of Acharnai

Sostratos II son of Euxitheos of Acharnai paid the trierarchic debts of his uncle (FB) Demophilos I in the 350s; since we know that Demophilos had a son, Sostratos was probably acting as guardian of this boy, his FBS (Table 3.2).²²

Demosthenes' relationship with his FBS and guardian Demophon, as is well known, was a different matter. Probably the youngest of the three guardians and about 25 when appointed (*APF* 3597 III), he was expected to marry Demosthenes' younger sister when she reached the age of 15 but instead found himself in court, being sued by Demosthenes. Demophon's father Demon was still alive when he was appointed guardian, and Demomeles II may have been the

²² The reconstruction of this family in *APF* 13346 needs modification to take account of S. G. Brandon's attribution to it of *IG* ii² 11130 (*LGN*). This tombstone, dated *c.* mid 4th c., represents a seated Sostratos (I) with two standing men, Demophilos (I) and Euxitheos, presumably his sons. Sostratos II, the guardian, will be the son of Euxitheos. Kirchhoff's conjecture that the son of Demophilos I who proposed *IG* ii³ 419 in the 320s was also called Demophilos has little basis; he might well have been Sostratos (III), attested as trierarch later in the 350s (*IG* ii² 1616. 120). Demophilos II, attested (without patronymic) as councillor in 329/8 and politician in the 320s (*LGN* 22) could be a son of Sostratos III, who as an orphan was in a position to marry young (ch. 5 at nn. 49–50), or of a daughter of Demophilos I who married within the deme (the frequent transmission of names from MF to DS should be more seriously considered in prosopographical reconstructions). Demophilos III and Sostratos IV, who appear together on an ephebic list of *c.* 330 (Reinmuth no. 12), cannot be precisely placed and need not have been brothers. The Lysikles of Acharnai cursed in *SEG* 58. 265 A 4 is perhaps unlikely to be Lysikles son of Euxitheos, whose tombstone *IG* ii² 5812 is dated to mid-century.

older brother; it seems to have been the decision to combine guardianship with marriage which led Demosthenes' father to select Demophon as a guardian.²³

The leading villain among the guardians, by Demosthenes' account, was the oldest (Humphreys forthcoming *a*), another cousin, his FZS Aphobos. According to the will of Demosthenes senior he was to marry the dying man's widow; presumably it was hoped that this would give her more influence over her children's affairs. But with the brazenness suggested by his name he disregarded this stipulation.

Speusippos was probably the FFZS of Plato's heir Adeimantos II and acted as his guardian by virtue of his membership of a board of *epitropoi* appointed to look after the Academy as well as the boy and his property. Eurymedon (II) of Myrrhinous, another member of the board, may have been Speusippos' brother.²⁴

On the mother's side the nearest kinsman would have been a matrilinear half-brother; in this relationship Apollodoros of Leukonoion acted as guardian to his half-sister, daughter of Archedamos of Oion. Apollodoros had been brought up in his stepfather's oikos and eventually adopted his half-sister's son (Isaios 7, *APF* 1395). Diokles of Phlya (Isaios 8. 41f., *APF* 8443) claimed to have been adopted by his mother's second husband and took it upon himself to act as guardian of his half-sisters whose husbands, after they married, made various attempts to dispute his possession of his stepfather's estate.²⁵

In some cases where a boy was apparently under the sole care of his mother's second husband we do not know whether the marriage and guardianship were arranged by the will of the first husband, nor whether the guardian was also a

²³ *Pace* *APF* 3597 III, if Demomeles II was old enough and independent enough to borrow 1600 dr. from Demosthenes' father (his FB) before the latter's death (Dem. 27. 11) he may well have been the elder brother, as his name suggests, perhaps already married when Demosthenes senior died (cf. Humphreys forthcoming *a*. The statements in [Dem.] 29 that Demon, father of Demomeles and Demophon, helped Aphobos to misappropriate the orphans' estate and yet appeared as a witness for Demosthenes in 366 should be ignored: cf. Humphreys *ibid.*). Demosthenes' MF Gylon may have been alive but still in debt to the state when the boy's father died; he does not seem to have had sons. The husband of Gylon's other daughter, Demochares of Leukonoion (Demosthenes' MZH) supported Demosthenes in his suits against his guardians but had no official standing vis-à-vis the orphans. His son Laches eventually married Demosthenes' sister (below, ch. 4 with Table 4.7). On *POxy* 2464 see Appendix 5.

²⁴ Table 5.3. *APF* 8792 XI D has Eurymedon as 'son or brother' of Speusippos, but son seems to me less likely. Lucian *Navicula* 1. 10 has an Adeimantos of Myrrhinous. We do not know at what stage a female descendant of Speusippos married into the family of Amphichares of Azenia (Habicht 1982, 185–8). Philosophers move towards a more public conception of guardianship: Aristotle (D. L. 5. 11–12) names Antipater as *epitropos* of his will.

²⁵ Ch. 7 Case 3, Table 7.3. The situation is not unlike that of Dikaiogenes III in Is. 5 (ch. 7 Case 2, Table 7.2), and Diokles' half-sisters may have been well dowered.

kinsman.²⁶ Astyphilos (Isaios 9, *APF* 7252) appears to have had no guardian other than his stepfather. The boy's father had allegedly been killed in a brawl with his brother Thoudippos, so it is understandable that patrikin were not involved, but Astyphilos' father's sister and her husband were friendly to him and his mother had a brother (ch. 7 Case 8, Table 7.8). Kallias III son of Hipponikos of Alopeke, as we have seen, married first the daughter and then the widow of Ischomachos, and acted as guardian to Ischomachos' sons (*APF* 7826 XI–XIV). *POxy* 2537 verso 8–11 preserves the hypothesis of a speech by Lysias concerning the orphans' estate, but there seems to be no suggestion in this text that Kallias was at fault (Lysias F 89 cf. 308. 10–11 Carey 2007, F XXXVI/32, XXXVII? Thalheim 1913).

The mother's brother, representing MF's oikos, had a more secure claim to consideration as a potential guardian, from the legal point of view, and in fact guardianship by MB is relatively frequent.²⁷ Kleonymos (Isaios 1) took in his sister's sons after the death of their FB and guardian Deinias, but left his property to more distant heirs.²⁸ Leogoras II son of Andokides III of Kydathenaion brought up his sister's son Charmides son of Aristoteles with his own children and was presumably the boy's guardian; relations were good (*APF* 828 VI). The speaker of Lysias 19 describes himself as 'compelled' to bring up his sister's children after the death of their father Aristophanes (§ 9); she had returned to her own father's oikos shortly before the death of the latter. Her brother was defending himself on a charge of being in control of property left by Aristophanes, which should have been confiscated (*APF* 5951).

In Terence's *Adelphoe* Hegio has been made guardian of Sostrata's daughter by her dying father (455–7), with whom he had served on campaign (495–6).

²⁶ In Hellenistic cities a woman could act as guardian in her own right (by *c.*277/6 in Erythrai, *SEG* 32. 1144 = *IErythrae* 201 d 10); see Van Bremen 1996, 228–30; above, nn. 3–4. Guardianship by the woman's husband is the nearest Attic equivalent. Isokrates presumably acted as guardian to his stepsons, adopting the youngest (*APF* 7716); Phormion was guardian to his stepson Pasikles, son of Pasion of Acharnai, who was so loyal to his stepfather that his brother Apollodoros accused him of being Phormion's son ([Dem.] 45. 83–4, *APF* 11672; cf. Humphreys 1986*a*; Table 4.4). On Polyuktos and Charidemios ([Dem.] 58. 31–2) cf. above, ch. 2 n. 30. We do not know if Polyuktos was officially the boy's guardian. Cf. chs. 4 n. 15, 5 n. 50 on Lys. F XXIII Gernet/Bizos 1926, XXXIII Carey 2007.

²⁷ For arguments against the view that Aristaichmos ([Dem.] 38) was his wards' MB, see Humphreys forthcoming *a*. I cannot discuss the arguments of Bremmer 1983 on the MB/ZS relationship (cf. also Bremmer 1996*a*) in detail here, but hope that this book will convince classicists of the need to look at the whole range of interactions between kindred instead of singling out one relationship a priori. In Is. F. 22–3 Thal. 1903 we do not know whether the guardian, Kalydon of (?) Steiria, sued by his wards, was FB or MB.

²⁸ Ch. 7 Case 11, Table 7.10. As Jolowicz 1947 points out, he may not have been officially appointed as guardian.

Donatus (on line 351) says that in the Menandrian original of Terence's play Hegio was the girl's MB, but in Terence he is her father's *cognatus proximus*.²⁹

Guardianship by more remote matrikin is rare. Dikaiogenes III of Kydathenaion was by adoption the MBS of Kephisodotos son of Theopompos, and seems to have acted as his guardian. Perikles' distant matrilinear relationship to his wards Alkibiades and Kleinias IV (MFZS) has already been discussed. According to some Arabic versions of Aristotle's will Theophrastos, who became guardian of Aristotle's son Nikomachos after Nikanor's death in 317, was the boy's FMZS (Chroust 1973, 205).³⁰

Leodikos of Siphnos, guardian in 324/3 of the heirs of Stesileides of Siphnos, living in Attika, was presumably a kinsman, but the relationship cannot be reconstructed.³¹ The speaker of Isaios 11, co-guardian with Theopompos of Oion Kerameikon to the son of Theopompos' brother Stratokles, may have been a matrikinsman of the boy.³² Alternatively he may have been a family friend, like Demosthenes' guardian Therippides of Paiania and Pasikles' guardian Nikokles. Lysias F 279 Carey 2007, 75 Thalheim 1913, refers to a guardian and ward (male) who were lovers; this of course does not preclude kinship. In the wills of the philosophers the number of *epitropoi* and the proportion of non-kin among them increase. *Epitropoi* become more like trustees of a will than substitute parents; a king may be asked to ensure that the provisions of a will are carried out. The use of fellow-philosophers as executors is in part a function of the general tendency of philosophers to gather groups of like-minded friends around them and invest them with the functions performed for others by kin; but the multiplication of guardians and the inclusion of non-kin among them are found elsewhere, though perhaps in smaller numbers.³³

²⁹ *Ad.* 947; see Scafuro 1997, 461–3. Fantham's suggestion, 1975 n. 30, that Hegio was entitled to marry the girl himself would probably be incorrect for Attic law if Donatus were right, since calculations of genealogical proximity were based on kinship to the father and not to the girl herself—though many Athenians may have been unclear on this point. Gaiser (*ap.* Rieth 1964, 72–3, 145) suggests that in Menander Hegio was the girl's FB.

³⁰ Is. 5. 9–10; ch. 7 Case 2, Table 7.2. The speaker of Is. 5, to whom Dikaiogenes III was also MBS by adoption, uses the term *epitropos* rather loosely, probably covering some women who had living husbands or brothers (*APF* 3773 C–D), but Theopompos' children do seem to have been fatherless. Relations were very bad. Aristotle brought up Kallisthenes son of Demonikos of Olynthos, whose mother was a female cousin (*anepsia*, Plut. *Alex.* 55) of the philosopher, but we do not know the exact relationship. On a possible case of guardianship by MFB in *POxy* 2464 see Appendix 5.

³¹ Table 5.4. *IG* ii² 1631. 430–41, *APFC* 12. For arguments against *APF*'s view that Stesileides' oldest son was of age by ? 338/7 and had died by 323/2 see ch. 5 n. 39.

³² *APF* 2921. The boy's MB Theophon had died childless, having adopted one of his nieces (ZS, sister of Theopompos' ward).

³³ Note also the assumption of guardianship by a tribe in *IG* ii² 1165 (300–250 BCE; ch. 21 n. 84), and the use of a priestess as temporary guardian in Men. *Sikyoniios*.

Roughly half the known cases of guardianship are known to us because they provoked lawsuits or informal complaints that the ward had been ill treated.³⁴ This bias means that warm relations between wards and their guardians figure rather rarely in our sources. Wards often did not live with their guardians; some remained with their mothers in property that they would later inherit, others moved with mothers who remarried, and grew up in the households of their stepfathers. More rarely, an orphan might perhaps return with his or her mother to the mother's family of origin. The case of Charmides, son of Glaukon, whose cousin (FBS) and guardian Kritias was still of an age to frequent the same palaistra³⁵ and play the role of father-substitute in the homosocial milieu of young upper-class males that in other cases was part of the function of the *erastês*, seems to have been unusual. As children, wards will have been strongly influenced by the attitude to their guardian(s) of their mothers, which may often have been one of suspicion, since Greek men were under no obligation to explain financial affairs to women. Orphans would turn for help to the men their mothers trusted: their stepfathers, half-brothers, sisters' husbands, or matrikin.

The cases are too few for any very firm conclusions, but such details as we have suggest that widows and orphans in a position of relative isolation were particularly vulnerable. Diogeiton was the father of Diodotos' widow as well as the FB of her orphan children; her second husband, presumably selected by Diogeiton, took no steps to protect her sons' interests. When the boys eventually came of age their main supporter was their sister's husband. Demosthenes' mother had one sister and their father had been condemned for treason; anyone connected with him had to act circumspectly for fear of having old scandals raked up or being accused of holding property belonging to the state (*APF* 3597 VII–VIII). The mother of the speaker of *POxy* 2464 (not formally a ward?) was probably a widowed epikleros (see Appendix 5). Apollodoros of Leukonoion seems to have had no active matrikin; Theophon, the mother's brother of Theopompos' ward, the son of Stratokles, was dead. The wards of Deinias (Isaios 1) had been kept away from their mother's brother Kleonymos during Deinias' lifetime by the bad relations between the two men. Dikaiogenes III came into a family of four sisters, whose husbands seem to have been incapable of combining against him; one had apparently been involved with the oligarchy of 404/3, another was dead by 399. The confused circumstances of the later stages of the Peloponnesian War and its immediate aftermath may have discouraged any early attempt at a showdown. Diokles of Phlya had three half-sisters; by the time we hear of the family's

³⁴ The proportion of delinquent guardians would be higher if all lost forensic speeches were taken into account. Plato tells us in the *Theaitetos* (144c) that Theaitetos' guardians had dissipated his property; their relationship to him is not stated.

³⁵ Plat. *Charm.*, dated c.430 by the reference to fighting in Potidaia, 153a–c. *APF* 8792 suggests that Kritias was about 10 years older than his ward.

affairs from Isaios 8 two were widowed and the husband of the third was *atimos* and unable to plead in court. In the family with which Isaios 10 is concerned the guardian, Aristomenes, had married his daughter to one of his wards, Kyronides, by birth his nephew (BS) but adopted out of the family; Kyronides' sister felt that she had been ill-used. Her other brother had died in childhood, and her mother's father had adopted Kyronides and presumably took his side, if still alive (ch. 2 at nn. 27, 34–5; 7 Case 5, Table 7.5). In such cases the kindred was not large or close-knit enough to offer any protection. Women and orphans who did not even have property to attract attention from rapacious kin must have been still more isolated.³⁶ The money supplied by the state for the support of war orphans must in some cases have been badly needed.

³⁶ Cf. V. J. Hunter 1989. In texts from Egypt (e.g. *POxy* 2133, late 3rd c. CE) women complain of kinsmen who have constituted themselves guardians without authority and appropriated the inheritance of their 'wards'. The guardian is FFZH in one case, FB in the other though, as the petitioner says, hardly deserving the name.

Marriage with Kin

Like adoption and the choice of a guardian, marriage could be used to strengthen links in an Athenian's kin network (cf. Isaios 7. 12). From the point of view of the bride's father, to marry a daughter to a kinsman might give him more claim on the estates of kin, or permit more flexible arrangements over the payment of dowry; from the groom's point of view, a wife who already had a position of her own in his kindred could play a valuable role in familial negotiations (cf. Humphreys 1986*a*, 90). On the other hand, endogamous marriage meant giving up the chance of a new alliance.

An Athenian could marry any kinswoman except a direct ascendant, a direct descendant, a full sibling, or a matrilinear half-sibling. Plato in the *Republic*, having abolished family life for the Guardian class, devises a Hawaiian kinship terminology to ensure that no one can be involved in a collective mating ceremony with a parent or child; mating between classificatory siblings (who might be biological siblings) is to be allowed, subject to the approval of the Delphic oracle.¹ There was no strong belief that the incest taboo was universal (Xenophon *Mem.* 4. 4. 19–23; Humphreys 1988). The Athenian rule against marriage between matrilinear half-siblings should not therefore be interpreted strictly as an incest taboo and thus as evidence for a matrilinear bias in folk theories of procreation; these seem to have tended to favour the male contribution, although there was some disagreement (Lloyd 1983, 86–94, but see ch. 1 n. 97–8). It seems to have been intended to prevent the marriage of girls with claims on property to matrilinear half-brothers rather than to patrikin (a different view in Wilgaux 2000). Since divorce was easy and since women married considerably earlier than men—women from fourteen or fifteen, men between thirty and forty—it was quite common for a woman to bring up the children of two husbands together, and ties between matrilinear half-siblings were close and affectionate.²

¹ *Rep.* 461d–e. All those participating in the mating ceremony preceding Ego's birth are called father or mother; all those born a result of this ceremony are called brother or sister; all born after ceremonies in which Ego participates are called son or daughter. Cf. Sissa 1990. Mating partners are to be assigned by lot; for lot-drawing in athletic contests, perhaps Plato's model, see Gaebler 1929; warriors in Aesch. *Sept.* paired by lot, Demont 2000. See also Ponetti 2001.

² Age of marriage: girls, Ingalls 2007; young men, ch. 5 at nn. 48–59. Marriage with a matrilinear half-sister was allowed at Sparta, perhaps because fraternal polyandry and wife-lending were also practised

Marriages within the kindred were in some cases dictated by the law governing the disposal of brotherless girls, *epikleroi*, who were not yet married or betrothed at the time of their father's death; marriages of brotherless girls during the father's lifetime were also likely to be influenced by these rules. In other cases, choice of a spouse might be determined by the wish to keep family estates together, to provide reliable guardians for orphans (in the case of widow remarriage), to re-establish ties of kinship broken in law by adoption, to cultivate close relations with kin whose support was needed in legal or other disputes, or by discrepancies between a family's own assessment of its status and its standing in the eyes of others, which might make it difficult to find acceptable brides outside the kin group.

Such considerations weighed more with fathers than with sons or daughters; but it should be noted that sons who hoped to find their own brides had very few opportunities of seeing eligible girls except in the houses of kin.

There were, of course, countervailing influences. Quarrels with kin were frequent enough.³ Ambitious men might wish to use marriage to cement new political alliances, although the use of this strategy had its drawbacks (ch. 14). During and after the Peloponnesian War Athenians moved from villages into the city in large numbers, and also (more rarely) from one rural area to another; such moves split kindreds and may have favoured marriages with new neighbours.

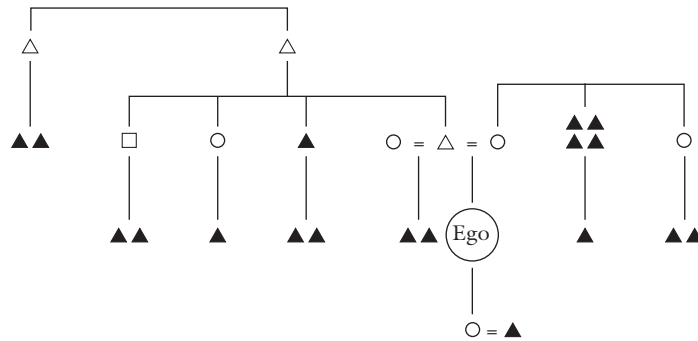
Much of the evidence, as usual, is doubtful or controversial; data on relationships are incomplete or have to be inferred from names, we do not always know whether a girl was brotherless, or whether her marriage took place before or after her father's death. A few references to proposed marriages which for one reason or another never took place, to claims on *epikleroi* which might have been made but were not, to marriages of non-Athenians and of characters in drama, have been added to round out the picture of the range of unions that in some circumstances could be considered acceptable or proper; these will be clearly distinguished from marriages that actually took place between Athenian citizens.

In Table 4.1 marriages with kin are tabulated according to the structure of the kindred. In the text below, however, the data will be grouped into four broad categories defined by motive: marriages of actual or potential *epikleroi*, marriages probably motivated by considerations of property or kin solidarity, marriages that can be ascribed to anomalies of status, and unions in which prior familiarity

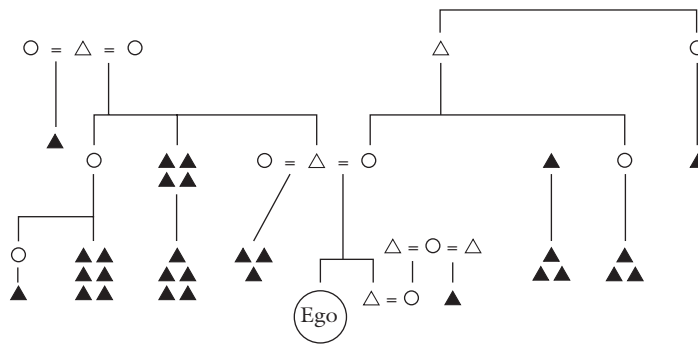
there; cf. Hodkinson 1986, 393; 2000, 123, 406–7; Perentidis 2006, 135. It is not necessary to believe that Sparta prohibited marriage between patrilineal half-siblings. Dream interpretation (Konstan 1997*b*) classes mother/father with brother's wife/sister's husband as sinister intercourse partners; mother's sister is also inauspicious.

³ In Is. 7. 11–12 the fact that Eupolis of Leukonoion did not marry either of his two daughters to his nephew (BS) Apollodoros is cited as evidence of bad relations (Apollodoros had sued Eupolis for misconduct as his guardian; the girls were not *epikleroi*).

TABLE 4.1. (a) Firmly attested marriages
Marriage frequencies



(b) Hypothetical references, plans, conjectured marriages, etc.



with a prospective spouse seems particularly likely to have played a part. This separation of motives is of course purely analytical; in practice, actors might well prefer to think of a marriage as combining duty, advantage, and affection.

EPIKLEROI

A brotherless girl, or girls, whose father died leaving them unmarried could be claimed at the age of fourteen (*A.P.* 56. 7) through the *epidikasia* process by the father's next-of-kin as defined by Solon's law of intestate succession, starting with the father's brother. Rights extended *per stirpes*, so the actual claimant might well be a cousin of suitable age rather than a man of an older generation; however, we do hear of men divorcing their wives in order to marry epikleroi.⁴

⁴ Dem. 57. 41; *hyp.* Dem. 30 asserts that Timokrates divorced Onetor's sister to claim an epikleros. The information does not come from the text of the speech, but might have been given in a lost witness testimony, e.g. in § 9. Cf. also Cohn-Haft 1995. On epikleroi see A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 132–8. The order of succession (in terms of the relation of the prospective husband to the girl) is FB, FZS, FFB,

A will made by the father that provided for marriage of the epikleros to someone other than the next-of-kin was legally valid but would very possibly have been contested in court, as wills often were.⁵ According to two passages in Isaïos (3. 64, 10. 19) an epikleros married during her father's lifetime could still be claimed at his death by her next-of-kin; it is generally agreed that this applied, if at all, only to epikleroi who had no living children, and there are no firmly attested cases (cf. ch. 1 n. 116). The epikleros' (eldest) son succeeded to her father's estate at eighteen (Hyperides fr. LXIII Jensen 1917, 192 Blass 1894), her husband managing it only while he was a minor.⁶ If a man died leaving two or more daughters but no sons, at law they all became epikleroi and should be claimed by their next-of-kin in order of age, the oldest going to the closest kinsman and so on, and divided their father's estate equally; in practice however this situation was likely to give rise to complications.⁷

We do not have many attested cases of the claiming of epikleroi by epidikasia; many daughters will have married and produced children during their father's lifetime. The two daughters of Epilykos son of Teisandros, perhaps orphaned in infancy, were claimed in 399/8 by their father's sisters' sons (FZS) Leagros son of Glaukon of Kerameis and the orator Andokides, who seem to have been their next-of-kin (Table 4.2).⁸ Phylomache II of the Bouselidai (Table 7.9)

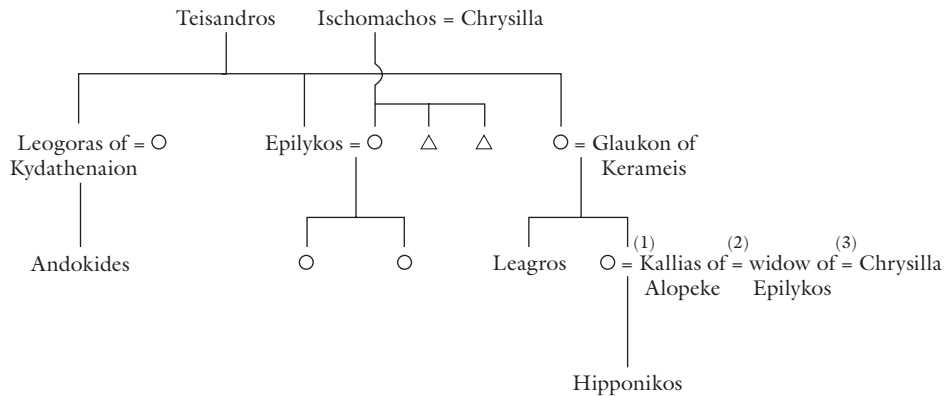
FFZS, FMB, FMZS, FMBZ, FMFZS, *per stirpes* in each case, Table 1.1. The calculation started from the epikleros' father, not from the girl herself; this makes a considerable difference when the claims of matrikin are considered, but in practice it must have been rare to have no claimant from the patrilateral side. Plato considers the rights of half-brothers; he still does not permit the epikleros' matrilinear half-brother to marry her (though in his inheritance law a matrilinear half-sibling ranked before collateral patrikin), but ranks the father's matrilinear half-brother after his full brothers (and so before FZS), *Laws* 924e. He thus calculates from *d.c.* Note that a girl whose FF was alive would not, strictly speaking, become an epikleros on the death of her F. Cf. ch. 1 at n. 112.

⁵ Cf. Ar. *Wasps* 583–6. Gernet 1918 stresses that a father leaving unmarried daughters would usually attempt to provide for them by will. Demosthenes' father, who died when his daughter was about five, directed in his will that she should be married to her cousin (FBS) Demophon. Plat. *Laws* 923e expects a husband for the epikleros to be adopted by will. But no cases are historically attested and, as we have seen, adoption might be used precisely in the case where marriage was prohibited, between uterine half-siblings (ch. 2 #IV 1–3, V 2–3).

⁶ By the 4th c. the practice was to adopt one son to his MF's estate and leave other sons to inherit from their F; whether Solon's law provided for this or regarded all sons as successors of their MF is controversial (cf. chs. 1 n. 110; 2 n. 23). Married epikleros: A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 11–12, 309–11; Karabelias 1970, 383; Schaps 1979, 28–9. The rule that the epikleros' son succeeded to her father's property at 18 would lend point to Nausistrata's appeal to her son to arbitrate between his parents in Terence's *Phormio*, if Scafuro (1997, 463–5) is right in suggesting that in the Greek original she was an epikleros (cf. R. Maltby 2012).

⁷ Cf. below, at n. 20. Harrison 1968, 23 suggests that a father with more than one daughter and no sons could adopt a son to marry each of his daughters, but this view is speculative and not supported by the evidence on practice. If a young man died after his father, leaving sisters but no other heirs, the estate would be treated as the father's (ibid. 137–8).

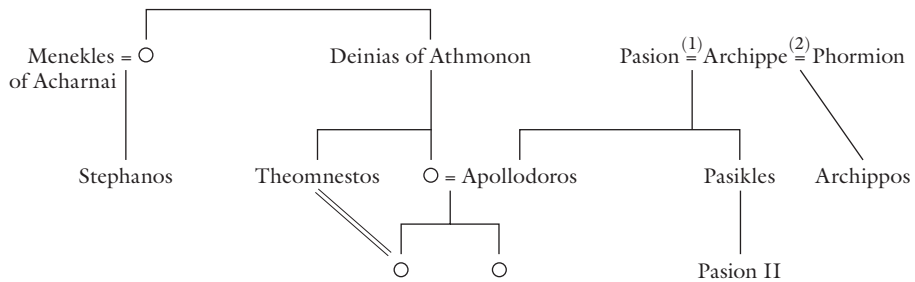
⁸ *APF* 8429 IV. Claims to both girls were presumably put in when the elder reached marriageable age; Andokides' girl died before the marriage could take place. Leagros then agreed to cede the second girl to (a son of?) Kallias III of Alopeke (*APF* 7826 X–XI). Kallias had married the widowed mother of the

TABLE 4.2. Daughters of Epilykos *APF* 8429

was claimed through *epidikasia* by her second cousin (FFBDS) Sositheos, probably a valid claim unless her father's half-brother Menestheus was still alive ([Demosthenes] 43. 13; *APF* 2921 VI B).

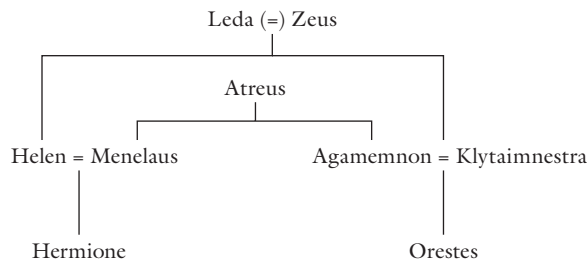
A father could also adopt a son and marry him to an *epikleros*. Polyeuktos of Teithras (Demosthenes 41) adopted his brother-in-law (WB) and married him to one of two daughters; the marriage later broke up, and both daughters eventually seem to have married non-kin. Aristotle, a citizen of Stageira in the northern Aegean who lived for some time in Athens and died in Chalkis, left a will directing that his only daughter Pythias should marry her cousin (FZS) Nikanor, whom Aristotle may already have adopted (Table 4.3). Aristotle had been brought up by his sister and her husband, Nikanor's parents, and evidently felt very close to them. He also left an illegitimate son, Nikomachos, whom Nikanor and Pythias were requested to look after (ch. 2 at n. 51).

epikleroi and subsequently, by c.412, their grandmother (MM) Chrysilla. Andokides (1. 117–127) alleges that Kallias claimed this *epikleros* for his son by Chrysilla (ch. 7 Case 7), who must have been a year or two younger than the girl, and whose links to her father Epilykos were solely affinal (the boy's father Kallias was Epilykos' ZDH, his mother Chrysilla was Epilykos' mother-in-law, WM). It is commonly assumed (e.g. MacDowell 1962, *APF*) that Andokides is here lying and that Kallias planned to marry the girl to Hipponikos III, Epilykos' ZDS. However, the procedural situation is unclear: apparently Andokides, before the formal *epidikasia* (to be announced at a *kyria ekklēsia*, the main assembly meeting of the prytany: *A.P.* 43. 4 with P. J. Rhodes 1981a ad loc.), filed a request for a *diadikasia* (?) between himself and Leagros to settle which of them should claim the surviving girl, whereupon Kallias, on Boedromion 10, put in a counter-claim on behalf of his son (also for *diadikasia*? the term used in both cases is *lanthanein* and not *epidikazesthai*; see A. R. W. Harrison 1971, 79–80 on *diadikasiai*). Kallias' claim was not necessarily based on kinship; he may have intended to argue that Leagros was entitled to dispose of the girl as they had agreed. In any case (still according to Andokides) he hoped to avoid a court hearing. W. Thompson 1971a doubts the identification of Leagros' father with the general Glaukon son of Leagros of Kerameis (*APF* 3027), and suggests that he may have been a brother of Epilykos. However, the assumption that the general married in his late 40s or his 50s is not really problematic (ch. 5 at nn. 60–5), and Andokides' language in 1. 117–21 seems to imply that he and Leagros stood on an equal footing. *Epidikasia* in Lys. F XII Carey 2007, see Carey 2004, but the details are unclear (ch. 14 n. 39).

TABLE 4.4. Apollodoros of Acharnai (*APF* 11672)

Apollodoros son of Pasion of Acharnai had two daughters who might have been claimed by their FB Pasikles, but as far as we know were not; one of them married her MB Theomnestos III son of Deinias of Athmonon, an example of repeated alliance in a situation of status anomaly (Table 4.4).¹² Pasikles and Apollodoros were not on good terms, and being the sons of a freedman will have had no citizen kin. Mantitheos son of Mantias of Thorikos had a single daughter and by 347 was perhaps under some pressure to marry her to one of his patrilateral half-brothers; it seems unlikely that he did so ([Demosthenes] 40. 57; Humphreys 1989). Philostratos son of Dionysios I of Kolonai, whose daughter was his only child, may have had a brother, Dionysios II, to whom he did not marry her (*APF* 14734).

Despite Athenian tolerance of a considerable age gap between husband and wife, one might expect that a father's brother would cede his rights to his son, FBS to the epikleros, if the boy was old enough. There is however no attested historical case of such an epikleric marriage. It is mentioned as a hypothetical possibility, together with marriage to FB, in *Isaios* 8. 31 and 10. 5, 12, 19; possible case in *Halai Aixonides*, *APF* 5791 with *SEMA* 76. At the end of Euripides' *Orestes* Apollo announces that Hermione, Menelaos' only legitimate child, is to marry Orestes, who was both FBS and MZS to her (1653–4; Table 4.5).

TABLE 4.5.
Euripides, *Orestes*

¹² [Dem.] 59. 2–3, 8; *APF* 11672 X. Pasikles had a son, Pasion II. Pasikles was born in 380, his nieces before 362. Apollodoros also had matrilinear half-brothers, born probably in the early 360s ([Dem.] 45. 75, *APF* 11672 IX); here too relations were bad. On the status of their mother see Whitehead 1986*b* in preference to Carey 1991. The attempt of Cox 1988*b* to connect Apollodoros' marriage with that of his WFZ to Menekles of Acharnai is not persuasive. Cf. ch. 5 n. 29 for another epikleros who apparently did not marry her FB.

A father's sister's son (FZS) would be more likely to be of appropriate age to claim an epikleros, but here too we have only hypothetical references or conjectural cases. The speaker of Isaios 3 argues that if Pyrrhos' daughter Phile had been legitimate her kin should have seen to it that she was married by her FZS Endios, Pyrrhos' adopted son (§§ 69–70; ch. 7 Case 4). Aristarchos of Sypalettos, who married the epikleros daughter of Xenainetos I of Acharnai (Isaios 10; Table 7. 5), could have been her FZS, but the relationship is not stated in the speech. Kleombrotos son of Deinokrates of Acharnai, who married Kallisto daughter of Lykophron II of Boutadai, may have been her FZS (Table 4.6).¹³

Kallistratos of Oion Kerameikon, one of the descendants of Bouselos, married a first cousin once removed, being the FBS of one of her parents; since she has no recorded siblings the marriage may well have been epikleric, although as we shall see intermarriage was rather common among the 'Bouselidai' (Table 7.9).¹⁴

There seems to be no certain historical case in which an epikleros was claimed by a matrilateral kinsman of her father, and matrilateral kin of the girl herself were not entitled to claim.¹⁵ In Sophocles' *Antigone* the heroine is betrothed to her MBS Haimon. In tragedy the question whether Oedipus had remote patrikin with a better claim could of course be shelved; and the betrothal took place before the deaths of Antigone's brothers (ch. 1 n. 112).

For an understanding of Athenian feelings about epikleric marriage in the classical period it is more rewarding to turn to Aeschylus' *Suppliants*. Danaos and his fifty daughters are being pursued, in this play, by the fifty sons of Danaos' brother Aigyptos, who want to marry their cousins. The girls view the prospect with horror, and their father supports them. Commentators have been perplexed; the claim of Aigyptos' sons would have been valid in Athenian law if Danaos had been dead, while FBS/FBD marriage was quite

¹³ *APF* 9251; cf. ch. 2 n. 24. This suggestion is based partly on the prominence of the family in the Lykourgan era—Kleombrotos' father Deinokrates was probably general in 338/7 and 336/5 and was voted honours by the demos (ch. 28 n. 54)—and partly on a feeling that a son of Lykourgos would not blatantly disregard the law. Lykophron's brothers Habron and Lykourgos V may have been dead by the time Kallisto reached marriageable age—we do not hear of Habron after 307/6—or may have waived their claims. Kleombrotos, if he was Lykophron's ZS, had a better claim than the descendants of Lykeias I. For the epikleric marriage and adoption in the Eteoboutadai suggested in *APF* 4549 with Humphreys 1994, 38 see now ch. 20 n. 132, Table 20.4.

¹⁴ [Dem.] 43. 73, *APF* 2921 VI ('niece' is inaccurate); Table 7.9.

¹⁵ In Lys. F XXIII Gernet/Bizos 1926 (23–4, ?29–31 Thalheim 1913, XXXIII Carey 2007) the speaker(s) may have claimed the estate and the daughters of their matrilateral half-brother Dikaiogenes, perhaps on the basis of a will (ch. 5 n. 50). A similar claim would no doubt have been made by one of the half-brothers of Hagnias of the Bouselidai if his adopted daughter had lived long enough. If in the Menandrian original of Ter. *Adelphoe* the heroine's MB (Donatus on line 351, cf. ch. 3 n. 29) was said to be claiming her in marriage for himself, the legal grounds for this move were shaky.

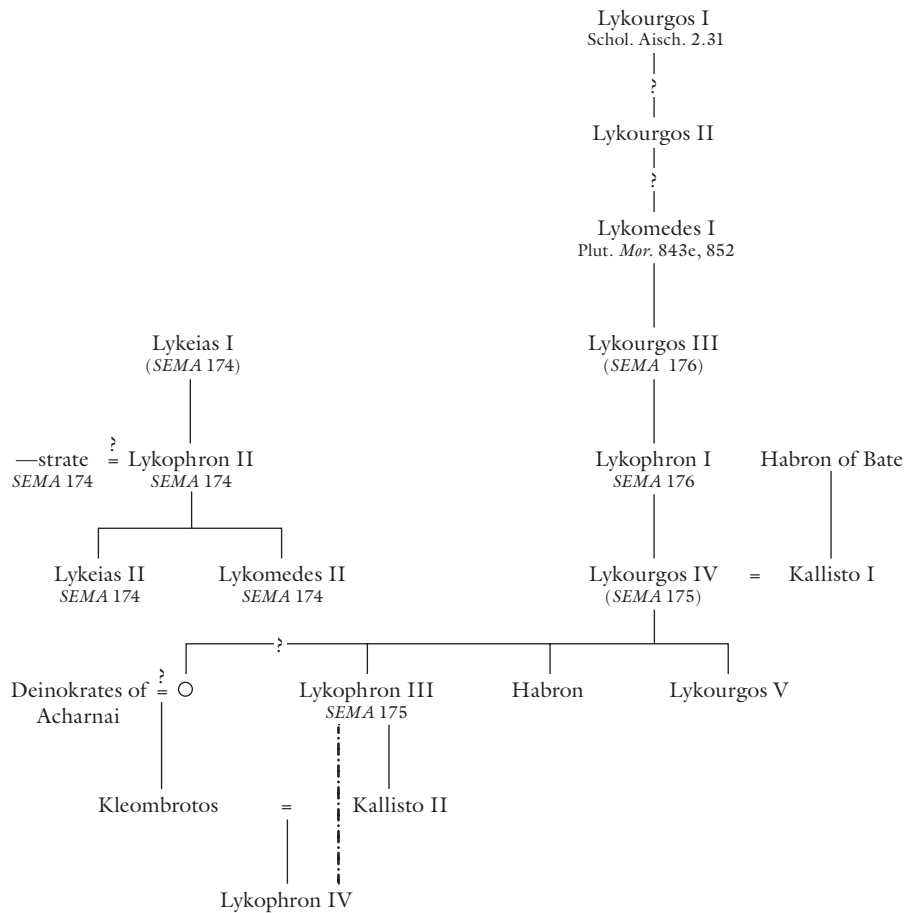


TABLE 4.6. Lykourgos of Boutadai APF9246

common in Athens and was certainly not considered incestuous either in Greece or in Egypt. The claim that the myth preserves a memory of prehistoric rules of clan exogamy would be far-fetched even if we had any reason to suppose that Indo-Europeans had once had exogamous patrilines (Humphreys 2017a). When asked if their cousins have a valid legal claim on them, the girls avoid any explicit denial (*Suppliants* 387–96). Yet according to the rules of the Athenian epiklerate they are not yet technically epikleroi, because their father is still alive. Aigyptos' sons are acting hubristically, presuming on a legal right which they do not yet have: *thèreuontes ou thérasisimous gamous* (*Prometheus* 858–9), hunting out of season. The situation must have been a common one in Athens. Any father with daughters and no sons—and with property—would find himself under pressure, as the girls neared marriageable age, to betroth them to their next-of-kin. It is understandable that such pressure might irritate a father who felt that his right to choose a son-in-law was being pre-empted, and might also resent the implication that he was no longer capable of begetting a son. In such circumstances relations with kin could easily become soured; girls of thirteen or fourteen, for whom marriage might be an alarming

prospect, would be upset and tearful; a vicious circle would develop in which each attempt by the suitor to press his case made him appear more clearly an enemy. Tensions which were liable to be felt at every betrothal and wedding—the girl reluctant or nervous, her mother's sympathies divided, the groom appearing impatient or, if he distracted himself with bachelor pleasures, uncaring—could in this situation, where the groom was designated by law and not chosen by the father, find more open expression. It could be conceded that a girl should have some right to refuse a marriage distasteful to her.¹⁶ A girl's fear of marriage could be fostered, instead of being discounted. The contrast between persuasion and force, which was perhaps never far from the surface in Greek thoughts about sex, could be rhetorically elaborated. Only in the situation of a claim to a potential epikleros could women's resentment of arranged marriage be fully released with the support of the male head of the household.

This dramatic incarnation of emotional pressures which in an ordinary marriage one hoped to disregard—the fifty hysterical girls describing their suitors as violent hunters—did not carry the main weight of the trilogy. To violence, hysteria, and an appeal to religious sanctions which is sheer blackmail Aeschylus counterposes the citizens of Argos deciding by due process in their assembly; deciding under timid and ineffectual leadership, and taking a decision which will prove disastrous for them. If there is a reference here to the parallel between the public and private roles of Aphrodite, goddess of persuasion, there is no guarantee that her guidance will always be beneficial. Since the second and third plays of the trilogy are lost, we cannot be sure where Aeschylus was leading his audience. It is clear, however, that they were expected to feel some emotional sympathy with the situation of the Danaidai. There is distance: the girls are foreigners, their lack of emotional control is patterned by song and dance, and if one's own daughter threatened to hang herself one might have little patience with her; but in the theatre one expected to have one's imagination and sympathies engaged at many levels.¹⁷

As David Asheri (1977) astutely pointed out, Greek historians tell stories of collective quasi-epiklerate marriage which reflect some of the other tensions that the epiklerate generated. In these tales a whole city loses its male citizen

¹⁶ The law code of Gortyn (VII 52–VIII 7) allowed the epikleros to refuse the next-of-kin if he was not yet of age or the relationship was distant; it is not certain that she had a right of refusal in all cases, and it must be remembered that in practice the decision would have depended more on her guardians than on her own feelings.

¹⁷ Friis Johansen and Whittle 1980 give a good survey of earlier interpretations of the marital situation in *Suppl.*; cf. also Ferrari 1977, Sissa 1987, 147–98. Seaford 1987, 110–19 stresses that every young Greek girl was expected to be reluctant to marry (cf. Zeitlin 1996, ch. 4; Avagiannou 1991); on the political aspects of the play see Chr. Meier 1988; for the emphasis on formal process Humphreys 1988, n. 35. The representation of the suitors as barbarians (Calame 2000) does not imply ethnographic knowledge. The Danaidai incidentally make the point (336–9) that a woman married within her own kindred might find no one to support her if the marriage went badly; this is interesting (cf. Plut. *Q.R.* 108) but does not seem to have had much effect on Athenian practice. I hope it is no longer necessary to argue that Attic tragedians did not slavishly follow early versions of myth in details that had no meaning for their audience. Note that the murder of 49 of the grooms by their brides transforms Hypermestra, the surviving Danaid, into a sole epikleros.

population, and in order to preserve the polis the women of citizen descent must mate with outsiders—slaves or foreigners. These husbands are of lower status than their wives, and when their sons grow up they repudiate and expel their fathers. There are analogies here both with the uxorilocal son-in-law (*sôgambros*) who may have been found in some early peasant households (ch. 1 at n. 109–10) and with the husband of the epikleros. The latter, as a kinsman, of course had the same social status as his wife, but economically he merely acted as curator of the estate of his wife's father until his sons came of age, whereupon they took possession. In the classical period, at least, the husband would almost invariably also have some property of his own which he could pass to the sons left to him after one had been adopted into the oikos of the maternal grandfather. Nevertheless, a feeling persisted that a rich epikleros had too much ascendancy over her husband (cf. n. 9); it must be remembered also that in many cases a potential epikleros would be married during her father's lifetime, so that the husband would be subject to pressures from his father-in-law as well as his wife.¹⁸

Societies in which marriage with kin is imposed and regulated by law in specific circumstances, while in all other cases there is a free choice of partners, have not figured prominently in the anthropological literature on endogamy. It is hard to find a close parallel to the Greek¹⁹ epiklerate. Hindu law permits daughters to inherit in the absence of sons, and pass the estate to their own heirs, but as far as I am aware there are no special rules governing the marriage of daughters in these circumstances. The closest structural parallel to the epiklerate is perhaps to be found in rules for widow inheritance and the levirate, which are widely distributed. There are however significant differences: the widow has already been given to her husband's group as a wife, is residing with them, in most cases has children who belong to the group, and is not bringing in new property by her remarriage. Detailed case studies of the working of widow inheritance seem to be rare.

Anomalous in the praxis of Athenian relations with kin, the epiklerate was also inherently problematic in several ways from a more formal point of view. It combined two solutions to the problem of the absence of male heirs which more commonly appear as alternatives: inheritance by the next-of-kin, found in the

¹⁸ This is perhaps a cause of the break-up of the marriage and adoption of Leokrates in Dem. 41 (ch. 2 no. V 5). It is also possible that Leokrates was trying to use his adoption as a basis for reducing his sister-in-law's share of her father's estate.

¹⁹ The detailed rules are known only from Athens and Gortyn, but there were special procedures for claiming epikleroi in Sparta (Hodkinson 1986, 394–8; 2000, 94–8), Mytilene, and Phokis (Ar. *Pol.* 1304a 4–13; cf. Schaps 1979, 42–7); it seems that the institution was widely distributed in archaic and classical Greece. However, use of *epiklêros* and related terms does not necessarily imply special rules for marriage. The absence of any reference from Ptolemaic Egypt (Karabelias 1982) may indicate that the norms governing the marriage of epikleroi had in many societies never achieved the status of written law.

Attic rules on intestate succession and adoption, and inheritance by the sons of an in-marrying son-in-law. Furthermore, a girl did not become an epikleros until her father died, and he was under no obligation to recognize the presumptive rights of the next-of-kin during his lifetime. Monogamy, small families, and the discrepancy in age of marriage between men and women might quite frequently produce a situation in which the next-of-kin was either markedly older than the epikleros and already married, or under marriageable age. Finally, while the epiklerate became closely associated with the practice of adopting the epikleros' son posthumously to his MF, it was far from clear what should be done in cases where a father left more than one epikleric daughter, since it was not normal to adopt more than one son.²⁰

Despite these drawbacks it may be premature to conclude (with Karabelias 1982) that the epiklerate disappeared in the Hellenistic period. Strict adherence to the legal rules governing the epiklerate was already rare in Athens in the fourth century and may indeed always have been so, while we do not know how many other Greek cities had ever codified their legal norms on this point. Apart from New Comedy, which often based its plots on unusual situations, our evidence for the epiklerate comes only from forensic speeches, a type of evidence which dies out in the late fourth century. Hellenistic family law is still largely terra incognita, except in Egypt. There is some scattered evidence that epikleric adoption continued.²¹ It is likely enough that men with epikleric daughters would have tried to settle the question of their marriage by will; to claim that the epiklerate disappeared implies either formal changes in family law, or an increasing readiness on the part of courts to uphold wills that ran counter to written law, and either of these assumptions would be rash in the present state of knowledge.²²

²⁰ A variety of solutions to this problem is attested: to divide the estate between the epikleroi with no adoption (Is. 7. 31, and eventually Dem. 41); to adopt the husband of one of the epikleroi (Dem. 41); to adopt an heir who did not marry any of the epikleroi (Is. 5); for the next-of-kin to dower the epikleroi and marry them to others (Dein. F LX Conomis 1975). On *POxy* 2464 see Appendix 5.

²¹ In *IG* ii² 1165 (early 3rd c.) the tribe Erechtheis undertakes to watch over the interests of the epikleros daughter of Antisthenes son of Nikandros of Lamptraí, an elderly benefactor (ch. 21 n. 84). See also Maier 1959, no. 51. 6–10 (Chios, ? 201 BCE); *IG* xii 5. 199 (Paros, from Melos?, 1st c. CE); Calder 1930 (Galatia, Roman). The testament of Epikteta, *IG* xii 3. 330 (Thera, 3rd c. BCE; cf. Van Bremen 1996, 214–15) classes descendants of epikleroi with patrilineal descendants. *IKnidos* I 627 (*CEG* 2. 703) is an early Hellenistic epitaph from the territory of Knidos set up by the DSs of the deceased. Epikleric adoption does not seem to have been practised on Delos (Vial 1984, 63). In *IOrop.* 424–5 a woman dedicates statues of her father Theodoros son of Archilochos and her son Theodoros son of Demainetos to Amphiaraios at Oropos (late 3rd c. BCE); she may have been an epikleros, but there is no adoption.

²² *IG* ii² 4513, epikleric adoption of DH in the Roman period. On the absence of discourse and practice directed towards modifying family law in Greece see Humphreys 1988, 479.

KEEPING THE KINDRED TOGETHER

When fathers could choose freely, several motives might prompt the choice of a kinsman or affine as son-in-law. The distinctions made here between marriages motivated by the wish to knit kindred closer together or consolidate property, marriages that solved problems of status anomaly, and marriages based on ties of affection between the potential spouses created by association with kin, are artificial; in discourse they would not be clearly distinguished, and problems of status anomaly might not be openly acknowledged. There may also be some instances in the material presented below of epikleroi or potential epikleroi who are not identified as such by the sources. Nevertheless, the cases presented here can be taken as typifying in a simplified way—since we are never able to reconstruct the circumstances of choice completely enough to perceive all the factors involved—some of the main considerations that generated marriages within the kindred.

Although it seems likely that interests in property may sometimes have been the motive for marriages within the kindred, there is no definite evidence on this point from Athens.²³ In some families there seems to have been something of a tradition of kin marriage; other cases seem to be connected with the wish to provide guardianship for women and children, or to reassert ties of kinship broken by adoption; there are some conjectural instances in which considerations of political alliance may have been at work.²⁴ In several cases no motive can be suggested.

The descendants of the five sons of Bouselos of Oion Kerameikon (Table 7.9) are particularly well known to us from the genealogical information given in speeches by Isaïos and [Demosthenes] written for lawsuits concerning the estate of Bouselos' great-grandson (SSS) Hagnias II.²⁵

²³ Cox 1988*b* (1998, 25–6) is mistaken about the marriage of Plato's sister, which must have taken place well before Plato acquired land adjoining that of her husband (ch. 5 n. 27). Hopkins 1980 discusses the role of property interests in brother–sister marriage in Roman Egypt, but even in this case it is hard to get precise evidence. He suggests a connection with the dynamics of the extended household, which fits in also with the late age of marriage (?) for women in Roman Egypt (no evidence for the Hellenistic period, Clarysse and Thompson 2006 II, 293–300). Hobson 1985 suggests that in Roman Egypt in some cases brother–sister marriages allowed couples to consolidate shares in houses. See also Scheidel 1995, arguing that the groom in such marriages tends to be relatively young; Gonis 2000; Bussi 2002; Ager 2005; Remijns and Clarysse 2008; Rowlandson and Takahashi 2009. Marriage with sister or patrilineal half-sister in Cyprus, 3rd c. BCE, Masson 1972*a*, no. 2. Hellenistic Rhodes, Rice 1986; Hellenistic Anatolia, Van Bremen 1996, 257–9.

²⁴ The use of marriage as a way of affirming a political alliance is discussed more fully in ch. 14. Here we are only concerned with politically motivated marriages to women who were already kin. Dionysodoros, a victim of the Thirty, married a cousin (Lys. 13 .1, 40), whose brother took an active role in pursuing his killer after the restoration of democracy. Since the wife was pregnant when Dionysodoros died, the marriage may have been influenced by shared anxieties during the junta period.

²⁵ Is. 11, [Dem.] 43, *APF* 2921, Humphreys 1983*d*, 1986*a*.

Sositheos, the speaker of [Demosthenes] 43, seems to have made great efforts to get support from as many of his kinsmen as possible in his claim for Hagnias' estate, and it is no surprise to find that he had married his daughter to his nephew (her FBS). His sons were still unmarried when the speech was delivered; we should like to have known what brides he found for them. Endogamy, in any case, was an established pattern in the family before the competition for Hagnias' estate started. Sositheos himself had married an epikleros, his second cousin (FFBDS/MFBSD), by epidikasia. The wife of Kallistratos, his maternal grandfather, was apparently also an epikleros, a first cousin once removed (MFBS/FBDD). Hagnias' father Polemon stood in a similar relationship (FFBS/FBSD) to his wife, the daughter of Phanostratos I, although in this case the marriage was not epikleric. Phylomache I, alleged by her descendants to be the sister of Polemon, father of Hagnias, had if their story was correct married her first cousin (FBS/FBD). This makes five endogamous marriages in a kindred of twenty-nine attested males spread over six generations.²⁶

Demosthenes' father, dying when his son and daughter were aged about seven and five, tried to secure generous treatment for them from their guardians by providing in his will that Aphobos, his nephew (ZS), should marry his widow and that Demophon (BS) should marry the daughter when she came of age (Table 4.7). Neither of the guardians respected his wishes, and Demosthenes' sister eventually married a different cousin, her MZS Laches son of Demochares of Leukonoë (*APF* 3716); this marriage will be discussed below under the heading of status anomaly.

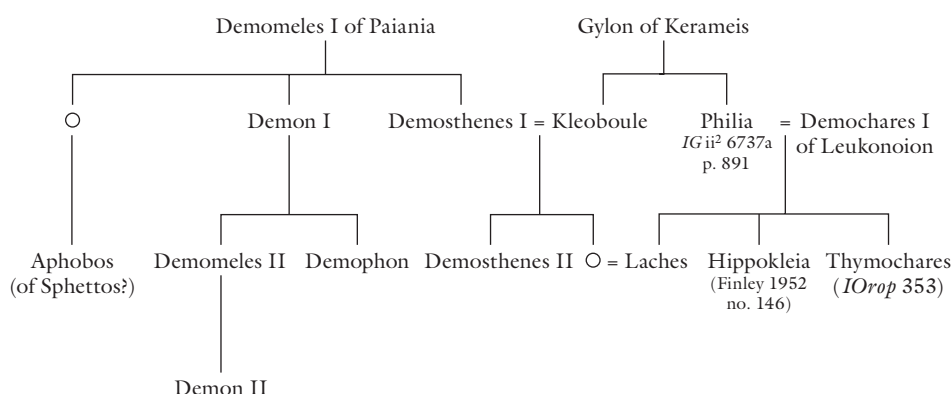


TABLE 4.7. Demosthenes (*APF* 3597)

²⁶ I omit Hagnias II, who died unmarried, and the sons of Sositheos, unmarried when [Dem.] 43 was delivered. Sositheos' opponents seem to have argued that Phylomache was an illegitimate daughter or a stepdaughter of Hagnias I, an allegation to which he does not produce any convincing reply; cf. Humphreys 1986*a*; ch. 7 Case 9. Sositheos was presumably younger than his brother, to judge from the ages of their sons.

Plato's mother Periktione married her uncle (MB) Pylilampes, the second marriage for both partners. Plato's father Ariston according to Diogenes Laertios (3. 3) had settled on Aigina as a kleruch, and he either died there or returned to Athens only in 404. Plato seems to have been on friendly terms with his half-brother Antiphon son of Pylilampes, and there cannot have been a large gap in age between them; it appears that Periktione was divorced or widowed when her children were still small and returned to her own family with them, Pylilampes taking charge of the whole household.²⁷ In the same family, one of the letters attributed to Plato (361e) says that his nephew (ZS) Speusippos is about to marry his own niece (ZD), but it is impossible to say whether this assertion is based on solid evidence.

An Alkmeonid woman named Agariste married Alkmeonides of Aphidnai, who from his name should have been some form of kinsman, after an earlier marriage to a Damon, probably the friend of Perikles who was ostracized in the 440s.²⁸ Since a widow or divorcée needed a male guardian and was expected to remarry, at least if she was still able to bear children, one might perhaps have expected a higher incidence of second marriages among endogamous unions and of endogamy in second marriages. It may be, however, that endogamous second marriages were less likely to generate disputes than remarriage to non-kin.²⁹

The analysis of adoption (ch. 2) has already shown that adopted sons continued to feel themselves linked to their families of origin; these ties were in some cases reinforced and reasserted by marriage. Kyronides son of Aristarchos I of Sypalettos, who was adopted into the oikos of his maternal grandfather Xenainetos I of Acharnai, married the daughter of his genitor's brother Aristomenes. This marriage put his sons in a strong position for claiming two estates, those of Xenainetos I and Aristarchos I. Their attempts to do so form the subject of Isaios 10.³⁰

Fathers may sometimes have tried to secure citizen marriages for daughters whose legitimacy was dubious by marrying them to kin who were prepared to accept them without question; in Terence's *Phormio* Chremes plans to marry the daughter of his bigamous Lemnian marriage to the son of his brother.³¹ Conceivably

²⁷ APF 8792 VIII, IX B. It is usually assumed (e.g. by Walcot 1987) that Periktione remarried as a widow, but though Ariston seems to have been dead by the time of Sokrates' trial in 399 (Plat. *Apol.* 33d–34a), we do not know that he died before 404 (Proklos' statement that Periktione remarried as a widow, comm. Plat. *Parm.* 126b, col. 668 Cousin 1864, was presumably mere conjecture); cf. ch. 24 n. 4. We hear nothing of Ariston's kin.

²⁸ APF 9688 XIII C; Andoc. 1. 16. Ch. 13 n. 34.

²⁹ Evidence for second and third marriages is collected by W. Thompson 1972; see Stavrianopoulou 1994 on Kos; Table 7.7. For widows and divorcées living with their children and not remarried see V. J. Hunter 1989; ch. 5 n. 33; Clarysse and Thompson 2006 II 296, 304–7.

³⁰ Ch. 7 Case 5, Table 7.5. Aristomenes' estate is not mentioned; he had a son, Apollodoros I.

³¹ Lemnians were always suspect (on the history of the kleruchy see Salomon 1997; Faraguna 1999a; ASAA 88, 2010; Clinton 2014): cf. Is. 6. 13 and [Dem.] 25. 79. Athens lost control of Lemnos between 318 and 307, from 301 to 281, and from the beginning of the Chremonidean War c.268, but Salomon

the marriage of Phylomache I of the Bouselidai, discussed above, came into this category; another possible case is the marriage of Thoukritides of Halimous to his patrilateral half-sister Lysarete (Demosthenes 57. 20, *APF* 3126; ch. 7 Case 14, Table 7.12). In the latter case, however, since Thoukritides had two or three brothers, their father may have wanted to save the expense of a dowry.

In other cases no explanation of the endogamous marriage can be offered. Kiron, whose estate was the subject of dispute in Isaios 8 (*APF* 8443), according to the speaker married his cousin (MZD). The speaker of [Demosthenes] 48 conspired with his brother-in-law (WB) Olympiodoros to claim an estate to which both of them (and the speaker's patrilateral half-brother) had rights; he must therefore have married a kinswoman, but the relationship cannot be reconstructed. The speaker of Lysias 13 was a cousin (*anepsios*) of the man whose death he was avenging, who was also his brother-in-law (WB). The poet Euripides may have married a kinswoman (FBD??), since his father was Mnesarchides (I) of Phlya and his wife's father was Mnesilochos (I) of Phlya. A surprising fourth-century tombstone appears to record the marriages of a father and his son to a pair of sisters, but it is perhaps more likely that the son married his MBD.³²

is clearly right to argue that its Athenian settlers need not have returned to Athens on that account. The *Epidikazomenos* of Apollodoros of Karystos, original of Terence's *Phormio*, in which Antipho marries an FBD of questionable legitimacy, fruit of a Lemnian union, may belong to the 270s or 260s (Lefèvre 1978; R. Maltby 2012). Konstan's discussion of the legal situation of Phanium in the *Phormio* (1983, 123 n. 10; cf. 106 n. 15) is confused, as is that of Ogden (1996, 176–9); provided her father was willing to establish her legitimacy, her citizen status was not in doubt. (Scafuro 1997, 463–5, suggests that in Apollodoros' play Chremes' Athenian wife Nausistrata, whose property on Lemnos was the excuse for Chremes' travels, was a rich epikleros.) In Menander's *Synaristôsai*, original of Plautus' *Cistellaria*, Demipho disappeared to Lemnos after raping Phanostrata, and reappeared to marry her and legitimize her daughter after a childless marriage on Lemnos had ended with the wife's death; presumably Menander's play was set in Athens and not, as *Cist.*, in Sikyon. Lemnos is also a place to which respectable rentiers may disappear on non-professional business travel, e.g. Men. *Heros*. Marriages of this type could also be regarded as cases of status anomaly. The same situation occurs in Plaut. *Epidicus*; cf. n. 37 below. *PSI* 1176. 28–9 (C. Austin 1972, no. 255) has been thought to refer to a similar situation, but in my view a father is here complaining to his friend Laches that he cannot offer his daughter in marriage to Laches' son unless Laches is present.

³² For a possible case of FZS/MBD marriage in Acharnai see Table 28.9. *IG* ii² 5811 (Bergemann 1997, 217 no. 49): trapeza, second half of 4th c., listing Kleostrate daughter of Deximenes of Acharnai, wife of Sostratos of Daidalidai; Sostratos son of Eratokles of Daidalidai; Sostrate daughter of Deximenes of Acharnai, wife of Eratokles of Daidalidai; Eratokles son of Sostratos of Daidalidai. *PA* 13348, followed by Cox 1988*a* and *LGP*N, suggests that Eratokles II and Sostratos were cousins (FBS), sons of a pair of brothers also called Eratokles and Sostratos, but this is not the most economical solution. It is not unthinkable that a father's second wife could be the sister of his son's wife; it is also possible that Deximenes I of Acharnai, father of Kleostrate, had a homonymous son Deximenes II, who called his daughter Sostrate in reference to the names of his sister and her husband (names in -strate may also have run in the family), and married her to her FZS. Whoever drafted the inscription clearly took pleasure in setting readers a puzzle. A later [Sos]tratos of Daidalidai, perhaps son of Eratokles II, *Agora* XVIII C 163 (*Hesp.* page number in *LGP*N needs correction). Cf. *IG* ii² 7188–9 (Table 30.1, ch. 30 n. 62), where if [Acherdousios] is restored in 7188 (*LGP*N Chairedemos 13–14) a father (Sophilos, *LGP*N 23) and son

Cases where endogamous marriage may have been associated with political alliance are rare, and there is a danger of circular argument. According to one reconstruction Oloros, father of the historian Thucydides, may have married his cousin (MZD) Hegesipyle, daughter of the politician Thoukydides son of Melesias (*APF* 7268 III–IV). Thoukydides might already have been showing signs of promise as a political leader at the time of the marriage, and *ex hypothesi* the two families shared interests in Thrace. It has also been proposed that in marrying Agariste, daughter of Megakles IV, Perikles' father Xanthippos was reinforcing an existing alliance by marrying his FZD.³³ However, it should be pointed out that FZD marriage implies either abnormal ages of marriage or a very long interval between the births of the groom's father and his sister, the bride's mother. Where practicable such a marriage would have been an ideal means of reinforcing alliances between families after a rather short interval of fifteen or twenty years; but the demographic odds are against it. Marriage between FZS and MBD after an interval of thirty to thirty-five years was much more likely to be feasible.

STATUS ANOMALY

Close kin marriage is found in royal families in many cultures, the brother–sister marriages of the Ptolemies being the obvious Greek case.³⁴ The assumption

(Sostratos) from Peiraios might appear to have married two sisters. However, 7188 (*CAT* 187) is lost, and Fourmont read Chairedemos' demotic as Eupogo...os (ii² 7188 restored <X>yp<etaion>os; the name is not so far attested in X, but is common). In *IG* ii² 6351 (1st c. CE) a woman appears to have married her (adoptive?) father.

³³ *APF* 11811 I with p. 600; the suggestion is based on a single ostrakon naming Xanthippos son of Hippokrates, Brenne 2001 no. 267, which may be a spoiled vote. On T. L. Shear Jr's theory (1963, cf. Bicknell 1972*a*; rejected in *APF* 9688 X) that Megakles IV married his FBD, a daughter of Kleisthenes called Koisyra (III), cf. ch. 15 n. 18. Age may explain the failure of Endios (Is. 3) to marry his FZD Phile, if she was legitimate (see ch. 2 n. 41; below, ch. 7 Case 4, Table 7.4). Hiller von Gaertringen restored *IG* i³ 1324 (c.450, Piraeus) as the tombstone of a woman who had married her MBS, but the restorations are highly questionable. For an FZD marriage in Phaleron (*CAT* 4. 330) see ch. 31 with Table 31.1.

³⁴ Schapera 1950, 1963; Kuper 1975; on Hellenistic dynastic marriages in general see Seibert 1967. Ptolemaic brother–sister marriage perhaps provided a model for commoners, but the frequency of BZ marriage among commoners in the Roman period is hard to explain (see n. 23 above). Endogamy in the Persian royal family (e.g. Cambyses and his sister, Hdt. 3. 89) may have been largely responsible for Greek belief in the classical period that some peoples married their mothers and daughters (Xen. *Mem.* 4. 4. 19–23), though they may also have heard of Zoroastrian doctrine (cf. Nörr 1974, 44 n. 209; see also Herrenschildt 1994, which supersedes Herrenschildt 1987). Epikleric BD marriage Hdt. 7. 224; repeated alliances with same affines, D. M. Lewis 1985. See now Briant 1996, 606–7 on royal endogamy and exchange marriages in Persia. For Sicilian tyrants see Gernet 1953*b*; for Sparta, Hodkinson 2000 s.v. *close-kin marriage*. Arkesilas of Kyrene married the daughter of his *pentheros* (WB? Hdt. 4. 164). Hornblower 1982*a*, Appendix 2 discussed brother–sister marriage in the Hekatomnid dynasty in Caria

behind such marriages is that inferiors who marry royal women will consider their status enhanced by the marriage and may become dangerous competitors for power, or produce sons who will compete. Hence royal women should marry only equals or superiors. Qualified husbands may be found in the royal families of other states; but some dynasties may be unwilling to recognize others as their peers. These, like the Ptolemies, have to provide husbands for their daughters and sisters from within their own ranks.

Similar pressures can be seen at work in several prominent Athenian families. Themistokles had five sons and five daughters by two or three wives, Mnesiptolema (Remember-war) being presumably born in the 480s when her father was urging the Athenians to prepare for a new Persian attack and Nikomache (Battle-victory) shortly after the victories of 480 that marked the climax of her father's political career. Ten years later he was in exile and in disgrace. It is no surprise to learn that Mnesiptolema married her half-brother Archeptolis (perhaps born in or soon after her father's tenure of the office of eponymous archon in 493/2), and that Nikomache married a patrilateral cousin (FBS or FZS), Phrasikles, who fostered and presumably acted as guardian to her younger sister Asia.³⁵ Phrasikles had presumably maintained close contact with Themistokles in the early period of his exile, and may well have followed him to Anatolia; he may have been one of those who preserved some of Themistokles' property for him and sent funds to him at Ephesos. Whenever a man was condemned to exile and confiscation of property his kin or friends would try to preserve some of it by claiming that it was their own; if they were unlucky accusers might argue that some of their property should be confiscated as belonging to the exile.³⁶ Condemnation of a kinsman threatened dangers which it might be hard to avoid; there might be little to lose by loyal support, and perhaps something to gain.

Although marriage between patrilateral half-siblings was permitted at Athens, it may not have been common.³⁷ The only other firmly attested case is the marriage

and comparative data from other ancient near eastern societies, citing Frazer as anthropological authority for the view that such marriages are associated with 'matriarchy'. Anthropologists' ideas have changed. Cf. Lévi-Strauss 1983*b*, 107–10 on endogamy and status anomaly. I do not know of any satisfactory comparative study of patterns of endogamy in royal families; my concern here is not with royalty but with pointing out that the factors that generate royal endogamy also operate, *mutatis mutandis*, among commoners. Cf. Stavrianopoulou 1994 on Hellenistic Kos; Brulé 1990*a*; Burguière 1997 on 18th c. France.

³⁵ APF 6669 III, VI. *Tritos apogonos* in Paus. 1. 37. 1 probably means great-grandson, Poliarchos perhaps being the son of Archeptolis (cf. ch. 8 pp. 276–9 on name variation).

³⁶ Money sent to Ephesos: Thuc. 1. 137. 3. The chronology is discussed by Milton 1979. On manoeuvres to salvage the property of condemned kin and accusations that this had been done (Lys. 17–18) see ch. 14 at nn. 38–9.

³⁷ The father of the hero in Menander's *Farmer* (*Georgos*) plans to marry his son to his daughter but the hero, who is in love with another girl, ultimately avoids this. The surviving fragments of the *Georgos* give no indication that objection was made to the closeness of the relationship. Diggle 1970, 155–60 suggests that in Eur. *Phaethon* the hero's supposed father Merops planned to marry him to a daughter of

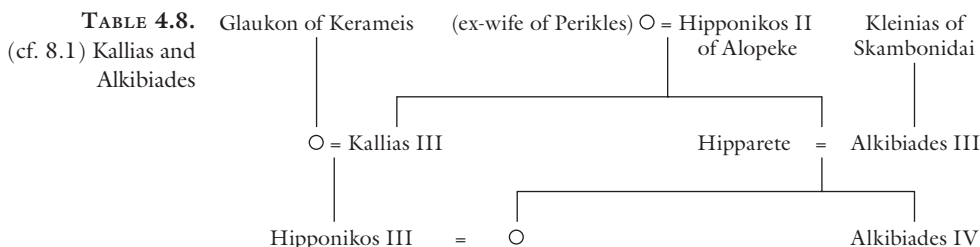
of Thoukритides of Halimous, discussed above (Demosthenes 57. 20). Some sources say that Kimon son of Miltiades married his sister Elpinike, and it has been suggested that she was a patrilateral half-sister; other sources however accuse the pair of committing incest. In any case there was gossip about them; an ostrakon in the large find from the Kerameikos tells Kimon to 'Get out and take your sister with you!' Their father Miltiades, hero of the victory at Marathon in 490, had been condemned shortly after the battle for 'misleading the people' and had died leaving his heirs burdened with debt. In these circumstances Kimon would have found it hard to betroth his sister to a husband worthy of her in the family's eyes; gossip about this dilemma, jokes that he would have to keep her satisfied himself, are enough to account for the traditions in the sources.³⁸ Eventually, probably in the late 480s, when it was clear that Persia was planning another attack and the political climate had changed, Elpinike married Kallias of Alopeke, a man whose reputation had its own shadows but who came of good aristocratic lineage, being a member of the Eleusinian *genos* Kerykes, and was rich enough to clear any outstanding debts.³⁹ He made a good investment; in the 470s Kimon rose rapidly to become Athens' most popular and successful general.

Other cases of marriage in which status anomaly probably played a role come from the circle of Sokrates. Phaidros of Myrrhinous, eponym of Plato's *Phaidros*, married a cousin (FBD or MBD), probably after his condemnation in 415 for mutilating statues of Hermes and parodying the Eleusinian Mysteries, which resulted in exile and confiscation of property. The bride's father, who perhaps belonged to the same social circle, may have helped Phaidros to preserve some of his assets; the marriage shows sympathy with a plight which might have made

Helios, who would have been a patrilateral half-sister. Phaethon objects to the high status of the bride, and perhaps to marriage in general (158f. = F 775 *TGF*). Presumably at this point he does not know his true parentage. There were also plays in which marriage between full siblings was narrowly averted (Men. *Epitrep.* 341–2). Fantham 1975, n. 40 suggests that the Greek original of Plaut. *Epidicus* may have ended with a marriage between half-siblings (cf. Pierce 1997, 168–9 on Men. *Heros*; Arnott 1998 on *Phasma*); see however Keyes 1940. Ogden 1996, 179–80 argues that half-sibling marriage is never carried out in comedy.

³⁸ Marriage: Plut. *Kim.* 4. 7, Nepos *Cim.* 1. 2; incest, Plut. *Kim.* 4. 5; ostrakon, Brenne 2002, T 1/67; Table 2.4. There is still a joke about the incest in Eupolis' *Cities* (*PCG* 5 F 221) in 422. Davies (*APF* 8429 X) points out that Miltiades' second marriage seems to take place before 513 (Hdt. 6. 39. 2–40. 1); Elpinike can scarcely have been born so early.

³⁹ *APF* 7826 IV–VII, 8429 X. The marriage is probably to be dated c.482. Stories circulated that Kallias had acquired vast wealth in a mysterious way just after Marathon, and Herakleides (F 58 Wehrli, 42 Schütrumpf 2008) links the family with Eretria, which may imply suspicions of treachery (*APF* 7826 VII C). Plut. *Arist.* 25. 4–8 has a story that Kallias was on trial in the 480s. Even if the family nickname *Lakkoploutoi* ('pit-rich'; Plut. *Arist.* 5. 7–8) originally referred to mining, as *APF* suggests, it still implies resentment of Kallias' riches. Kimon himself married an Alkmeonid; that family was also in difficulties in the 480s, but the marriage probably took place in the early 470s. I doubt if it is useful to speak of 'deme endogamy' (Cox 1988b, 1998) in the case of the marriages of prominent politicians, who presumably had town houses.



a non-kinsman hesitate to link himself with the victim (*APF* 5951). The point that a man in such a position can only marry a kinswoman is made in Euripides *Andromache* 972–6.

Hipponikos III son of Kallias III of Alopeke married his FZD, daughter of the famous Alkibiades (Table 4.8). Since Hipponikos was probably born *c.*416, this marriage must have taken place after Alkibiades' death *c.*404. It did not last; by *c.*395 Hipponikos had divorced his cousin, accusing her of incest with her brother Alkibiades IV. When they married, both bride and groom must have been in their late teens or early twenties.⁴⁰ Hipponikos' father Kallias took his sister, Alkibiades' wife Hipparete I, back into his own household when she left her husband (Plut. *Alk.* 8), and presumably looked after her children after her death and Alkibiades' exile (Isokrates 16. 45–6); earlier quarrels with Alkibiades over the dowry and over his flagrant infidelities gave all the more reason for securing any property that could be salvaged, and Alkibiades' own kin were in no position to make counter-claims.⁴¹ Hipponikos may have become

⁴⁰ *APF* 600 VIII, 7826 XV; ch. 5 n. 51. *Pace APF*, I suspect that Hipparete II was younger than her brother Alkibiades IV, being born perhaps *c.*416 after Alkibiades III had forced her mother to return to him. If this is so, Hipponikos III must have been younger than A. IV, since A. III's attempt to extort a further dowry payment after the birth of his first child prompted Kallias III (Hipponikos' father) to make a will leaving his property to the state if he died childless (if he had died intestate A. IV, as his sister's son, would have inherited). A. IV may have been born *c.*419; the statement in Isokr. 16. 45–6 that he was orphaned 'at birth' by his father's exile and his mother's death is not to be trusted, and the more precise notice that his life was in danger when he was four should refer to Athenian reaction to the news that his father had gone to Sparta. According to the gossip reported in Lys. 14. 25–6, by the time his father summoned him to Thrace (*c.*407/6), the boy was nearing puberty. Hipponikos III and Hipparete II may thus have been almost the same age, both born *c.*416. Kallias may have claimed an epikleros *c.*399 on behalf of Hipponikos, which might imply that H. was not yet 18 (*A.P.* 42. 1: Andok. 1. 118–21; above, n. 8, Table 4.2). The second speaker in Eupolis *Kolakes* F 171 *PCG* 5 cannot have been addressing Kallias, who was clearly still unmarried at the date of the play (422).

⁴¹ Plut. *Alk.* 8 implies that Hipparete died before Alkibiades' departure for Sicily. Note that accusations of incest are again made against a brother and sister whose father had fallen abruptly from glory into disgrace. Alkibiades' brother was worse than A. as an adolescent (Plat. *Protag.* 320a; the assertion in *Alk.* 1118e that he was crazy, *mainomenos*, can hardly be taken as a medical diagnosis), and we do not hear of him as an adult; their uncle (FB) Axiochos had been condemned with A. for parodying the Mysteries. Euryptolemos III, a cousin (see ch. 16 n. 60), was also closely associated with his fortunes.

fond of his cousin while they were under the same roof, and Kallias may have seen opportunities for profit in the marriage; few other suitors would want the girl, and to marry her to an outsider might have provoked awkward questions about her father's property.

Still in the Sokratic circle, the orator Lysias married his niece (ZD). We do not know whether the girl had any brothers; Lysias was the youngest of her three uncles. The family were metics, very wealthy in the later years of the Peloponnesian War, who associated freely with upper-class Athenians; Plato's *Republic* is set in their house. However, one of the brothers was killed during the oligarchic tyranny of the Thirty in 404, and much of their property was confiscated. Lysias acquired the privileged status of *isotelés* after the restoration of democracy, which allowed him to pay taxes at the citizen instead of the metic rate, but he was still barred from marriage with women of Athenian birth; the grant merely confirmed his isolated position in the top rank of metics. Family solidarity, intensified by the terrors and losses suffered under the Thirty, and status anomaly combined to make marriage with a kinswoman attractive.⁴²

Another orator, Demosthenes, began his career as we have seen under the handicap of a struggle against his guardians to recover his inheritance. His younger sister, born c.380, had been betrothed by her father's will to her cousin (FBS) and guardian Demophon, who had not yet married her when Demosthenes took him to court. Eventually, at some date after 364/3, she married another cousin, her MZS Laches son of Demochares of Leukonoion (Table 4.7). The orator Demochares II, who to judge by his name should have been their oldest son, was still politically active in 280/79 and died during the 270s, so she may have married rather late.⁴³ There may have been fears that Demophon would reassert his claim; in addition, the maternal grandfather of both Demosthenes and Laches, Gylon, had been condemned for losing control of an Athenian fort at Nymphaion in the Crimea, had spent some time in exile at the court of the rulers of the Crimean Bosphoros, and had been listed as a public debtor. This was a stigma shared by the two young men. Demosthenes in his early twenties had demonstrated ability as a speaker and speechwriter in his suits against his guardians and Onetor, but may well have appeared to most observers as a brash youngster who had made some powerful enemies and was heading for trouble rather than for fame. He does not seem to have made friends easily;⁴⁴ after his

⁴² *APF* p. 589, C 9 C, [Dem.] 59. 22; the marriage took place by 380 rather than in that year.

⁴³ *APF* 3716, 3597. VIII; Laches' birthdate is unknown. If the marriage had to be delayed until he reached a suitable age, this still implies that Demosthenes was unable to find other acceptable suitors. We should not automatically believe Demosthenes' accusations that Demophon was unwilling to marry his sister.

⁴⁴ One of Demosthenes' more endearing characteristics is his skilful portrayal of the character of young clients as prickly as himself (39, 54).

father's death he and his mother, when they found themselves mistreated by his patrikin, will naturally have turned to her sister and Demochares for sympathy and help (cf. Demosthenes 27. 14–15). As he grew up, Demochares' household could well have been the only place where Demosthenes felt he could be off his guard. He had powerful motives for perpetuating that secure relationship by marrying his sister to Laches.

We have already noted that another insecure Athenian, Apollodoros son of Pasion, married his only daughter to her mother's brother (*APF* 11672; Table 4.4). He exemplifies status anomaly in extreme form, being of slave descent yet one of the richest men in Athens (citizenship had been granted to his father).⁴⁵ He was also ambitious, humourless, insensitive to public opinion, and over-ostentatious in his performance of liturgies. We do not know why Deinias of Athmonon chose him as a son-in-law; once the alliance had been made, however, there was every reason to perpetuate it and ensure that Apollodoros' fortune remained in the family.

It has been suggested that Kleomedon, son of the demagogue Kleon, also married back into the family of his mother when he married the daughter of Polyaratos of Cholargos, perhaps his MBDD (Table 4.9). The reconstruction is controversial;⁴⁶ if it is correct, this marriage too would be understandable as a response to Kleomedon's difficulty in finding any other prominent family willing to be allied with him after his father's death. Kleon had aroused plenty of resentment during his political career.

A less pronounced case of status anomaly can perhaps be discerned in the record of the 'Meidonidai', a family of *manteis* (diviners) in Myrrhinous commemorated by an unusually extensive set of tomb monuments grouped in a family peribolos. Meidon's grandson (SS) Kalliteles, who followed his father's profession as mantis, married a woman called Mnesiptoleme, and his son married Mnesistrate daughter of Kallias of Myrrhinous; their names suggested that the two women were related, Mnesistrate perhaps being her husband's MBD (Table 4.10).⁴⁷

The marriages of Themistokles' daughters and of Lysias raise the question of the marriage choices open to those who had left their city of origin—voluntarily or involuntarily, temporarily or permanently. I cannot here pursue the topic of kinship among metics in Athens, for which some material exists in tomb inscriptions; data on exiles are rare before the Hellenistic period. It is, however,

⁴⁵ On the civic status of his mother see n. 12 above.

⁴⁶ *APF* 3773, 8674, 11907. Kleomedon's wife was still able to bear two children to her second husband, whom she married c.380 (Humphreys 1989), so Kleomedon must have married well after his father's death in 422. On the view that Kleon married a daughter of Dikaiogenes of Kydathenaion see ch. 8 n. 56.

⁴⁷ *SEG* 23. 137–8, 155–8, 160–1, 166; Humphreys 1983a/1993, 109–10.

TABLE 4.9.
Kleon (*APF* 8674,
11905, 3773)

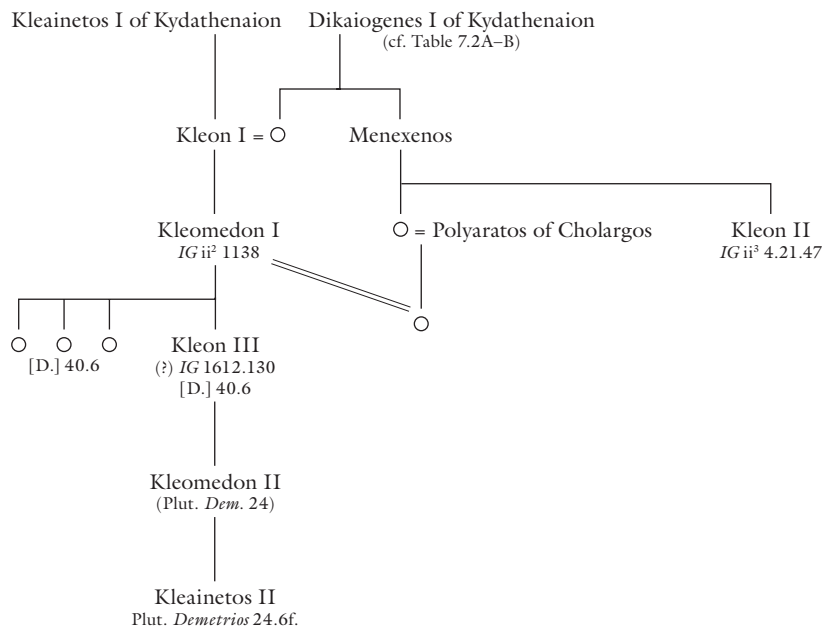
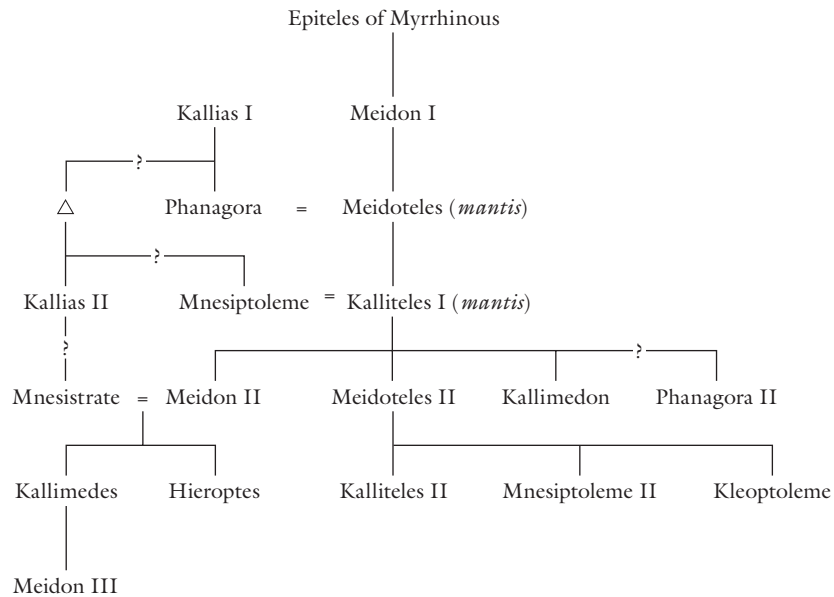


TABLE 4.10.
The ‘Meidonidai’



worth noting the information about the Siphnian diviner Thrasylos preserved in Isokrates' *Aiginetikos* (19) as evidence for the effect of travel and political exile in drawing kin close together. As a professional religious expert Thrasylos travelled widely; according to the speaker of Isokrates 19, he had fathered illegitimate children in several cities in his youth (§ 6), and at different times lived in Siphnos, Troizen, and Aigina, as well as depositing money on Paros and visiting Melos. He needed reliable kin or affines to take care of his family and affairs when he was away. He took two wives successively from the same Siphnian family, the second being a cousin (*anepsia*, §§ 7–8) of the first; the nephew (BS) of the first wife, speaker of Isokrates 19, helped the second wife and her children when they had to go into exile, and eventually married the daughter. The speech was written for his claim to inherit the estate of his brother-in-law (WB), Thrasylos' son Thrasyboulos (Table 2.8).

PROPINQUITY AND ROMANTIC LOVE

The last few cases discussed have already indicated that misfortunes might throw kin into close association and create bonds resulting in marriage. Yet even in a family without peculiarities of status arranging a marriage must have been an anxious business. The male social world was competitive, and the choice of allies who would prove reliable had to be made with care. Moreover, the question of marriage could easily provoke conflict between fathers and sons. A son in the leisured class would be dependent on his father to provide him with some financial independence before he could marry. In many cases, by the time a father had made up his mind to part with some property, and had identified a suitable bride, the son would be in his thirties, frustrated by lack of independence, and might well have his own ideas on the subject. Young men married late; they spent their twenties as playboys if they were rich and perhaps as mercenaries if they were not, in a marginal social milieu in which romantic attachments to boys or to prostitutes (*hetairai*) or camp-followers absorbed much of their attention. Some fathers may have had to urge marriage on sons who showed no inclination to settle down to the responsibilities of adult life.⁴⁸ It seems consistent with these circumstances that the idea of a marriage also founded on romantic love should become popular in drama, though it is hard to find clear evidence of such unions in real life, where citizen families kept their daughters in seclusion, and young men had few chances of seeing marriageable girls outside their own kindred.

⁴⁸ On age of marriage, sons who inherited before marriage, and neolocal residence see below, ch. 5 at nn. 31–48, 52–7. We have almost no direct evidence on the role of mothers in marriage decisions, or on the reactions of prospective brides, but see Humphreys forthcoming *a* on the advantages for women of marriage within their own kindred, and ch. 12 pp. 391–5 on women's social life. Reasons for choice of spouse are discussed in Verilhac and Vial 1998.

The young man who objects to an arranged marriage and wants to choose his own bride may already appear in the fragments of Euripides' *Phaethon*, and is a stock character in New Comedy by the end of the fourth century.⁴⁹ *POxy* 664 (cf. Raubitschek 1963), which introduces this theme into historiography, may go back to the classical period; it tells the story of a young man who fell in love with the daughter of the tyrant Peisistratos when he saw her in the ritual role of *arrhéphoros*.⁵⁰ In Menander's *Shield* Chaireas falls in love with the sister of Kleostratos because they grew up together as *syntrophoi* (262–3); she was the ward of his stepfather Chairestratos (Table 2.6). Kleostratos is in love with Chaireas' half-sister, his FBD, presumably for the same reason. Another marriage of two sibling pairs occurs in the *Dyskolos*, where at the end of the play the daughter of the eponymous 'Grumpy' marries the rich young Sostratos and her half-brother marries Sostratos' sister (Table 2.5); in the *Priestess* (*Hiereia*) the priestess's son married his foster-sister, and this girl's brother married the priestess's daughter (*POxy* 1235, Sandbach 1972 305–6, *PCG* VI 1 p. 137). No actual marriages of this type are yet attested for classical Athens; they seem to have been rather common in rural England in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods, which may suggest that they are likely to occur in societies where the young wish to choose their own spouses but have limited opportunities for meeting prospective partners except through channels of kinship and affinity.⁵¹

One Athenian who married a girl from a household to which he presumably had ready access as a boy is Alkibiades III. His wife was Hipparete, daughter of Hipponikos II of Alopeke by the mother of Alkibiades' foster-brothers Xanthippos

⁴⁹ *Phaethon*: F 775 TGF; Diggle 1970. Cf. Achilles' initial reaction to the arranged marriage in Eur. *IA* 1411; there seem to have been debates about marriage also in the *Aiolos* (F 20–2, 24) and *Andromeda* (141–2). Electra, due to marry Pylades, is in Eur. *EL* marrying her brother's best friend, but in *IT* 913–9 and *Or.* 1233 he is a cousin (FZS). Young men (25–35) are to choose their own brides in Plato's *Laws* (772d). Cf. Konstan 1983; id. 1993 on sympathy for the woman (hetaira/concubine) who makes her own choice.

⁵⁰ In Polyain. 5. 14 he becomes Peisistratos' son-in-law (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 189c).

⁵¹ See Richards and Robin 1975; M. Strathern 1981, 192–6; Davidoff 2012, ch. 9. This marriage pattern is found in my father's Yorkshire family at the same period. Strathern sees marriage with kin as especially a strategy of newcomers who need to establish themselves in the community through solidly constructed alliances; the two explanations are compatible if we assume that incomers' children had less opportunity to visit neighbours' homes. Nineteenth-century kin marriage, sibling exchange, and marriage with deceased wife's sister are discussed in several papers in Sabean, Teuscher, and Mathieu 2007, but the emphasis is mainly on socio-economic affinities; see however C. H. Johnson 2007, 275–6, on 'a kind of guided love'. Cf. also Piddlington 1965, 152–3; Sklar 1984; Stavrianopoulou 1994; Burguière 1997. Respectable Athenian girls could be sighted at religious festivals (a useful collection of references in Post 1940, cf. Fantham 1975, F. D. Harvey 1988, D. Cohen 1989; P. R. L. Brown 1981, 43 for Christian parallels), but there were few opportunities to talk to them. Cf. P. G. M. Brown 1993. Since Philokrates II son of Deinias I of Oa in 356/5 paid a debt on behalf of Deinias of Halai Aixonides (*IG* ii² 1622. 513–19), the debtor may have been his WF and his FFZS (first cousin once removed). Cf. ch. 24 n. 111; Kroll 1972, no. 62.

and Paralos, the sons of his guardian Perikles. Alkibiades' father died in 447/6 when the boy was under four years old; he seems to have moved into Perikles' household at that time, which may have been also the date of the transfer of Perikles' wife to Hipponikos.⁵² There must have been frequent comings-and-goings between the two households, which increased when Hipponikos died c.422 and the household of his son Kallias III became a centre for all the rich young men about town, including Kallias' half-brothers and Alkibiades. Hipparete would have been secluded from most of these junketings, but kin would still have penetrated to the women's quarters on some occasions. After Perikles' death in 429 Alkibiades had no one to restrain him, and Hipparete after the death of Hipponikos had only her irresponsible brother as guardian. Romance—if that was the basis of the match—did not last long.

Another case of marriage arising from propinquity, perhaps rather shocking to Athenian ideas, was the third marriage of Hipparete's brother Kallias III, who divorced his second wife, daughter of the rich Ischomachos, in order to marry her mother. Property interests may well have been involved, although it is hard to reconstruct the situation precisely.⁵³

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As elsewhere in this book, we have been dealing with problematic data: marriages in families whose status was anomalous, marriages that led to controversy, conjectural prosopographical reconstructions, stories told by litigants in

⁵² *APF* 600 VI–VIII, 7826 IX, 11811 III. *APF* puts the divorce and remarriage earlier, c.455, but Kallias III, son of the second marriage, was still young and foolish in the late 420s, and Perikles II, son of Perikles and Aspasia, need not have been born before 447/6. Hipponikos had an illegitimate son, Hermogenes; had he been forced to divorce a foreign wife in 451 (cf. Humphreys 1974)? Plutarch's statement (*Per.* 24. 8) that the marriage with Hipponikos preceded that with Perikles is defended by Cromey 1982, but the chronological difficulties are overwhelming. Since Perikles' wife is said to have been a kinswoman of her husband (we do not know how), she may have been related to Alkibiades' mother Deinomache, daughter of Megakles IV (erroneously III in *APF* 600 VI A; the relationship is correctly stated elsewhere). If not, Hipparete was Alkibiades' MFBSBDHZSD, but they are unlikely to have thought of the relationship in that way. There is nothing to be said for the suggestion in Cromey 1984 that Deinomache married Hipponikos II after the death of Alkibiades' father Kleinias, and subsequently married Perikles, which would have made Hipparete I Alkibiades' stepsister (by a second marriage of Hipponikos) and Kallias III, Xanthippos, and Paralos his half-brothers.

⁵³ *APF* 7826. XI–XIV. Cf. Heritier 1995 for comparative material on this type of union. Menedemos of Eretria and his close associate Asklepiades married a mother and her daughter; when the daughter died Menedemos passed the mother over to Asklepiades, but she continued to keep house for both of them (D. L. 2. 137; late 4th/early 3rd c.). The speaker of Lys. F.8/X Th. 1913, X Gernet/Bizos 1926, XI Carey 2007, alleges that Antigenes, who is prosecuting his wife for homicide (abortion), hopes subsequently to marry his stepdaughter. Seleukos I gave his wife Stratonike to his son Antiochos I (Plut. *Demetrios* 38).

court, dramatic plots. The problem for the interpreter, however, is not to make calculated allowances for the distance between ‘abnormal’ data and an imagined normality, but to use the abnormal as a basis for questioning her own conceptions of the normal.

This is perhaps most necessary in the case of ‘epikleric’ marriage, round which the imagination has circled both in antiquity and in modern times. I have argued above that the rules governing the allocation of epikleroi were only intended for cases in which a father had made no provision, and that epidikasia disputes will have been rather rare.⁵⁴ I have also suggested, however, that the law encouraged a certain predisposition to consider next-of-kin marriage appropriate (though not mandatory) for brotherless girls, especially those whose fathers were wealthy.⁵⁵ Hence there will have been cases of quasi-epikleric marriage, in which a brotherless girl was married to her next-of-kin during her father’s lifetime.⁵⁶ It would perhaps be useful to distinguish such marriages from epikleric marriage in the strict sense, by epidikasia (though a groom named in a father’s will would have to claim by epidikasia).

Epikleric marriage seemed anomalous in antiquity on the one hand because in it the groom’s legal right to the bride seemed to override her father’s right to dispose of her, and on the other hand because it gave the epikleros and her eighteen-year-old son rights over property that were usually held by husbands and fathers. Dramatic poets were attracted to these reversals. In modern times, epikleric marriage has seemed anomalous because ‘the law’ is identified with the state and with the public sphere, while marriage is associated with love, women, domesticity, and private life; due to this anomaly, it was thought to represent an evolutionary stage in which familial interests and identities prevailed over those of ‘the individual’.⁵⁷ Although historians are becoming less comfortable with such evolutionist stories, the cumulative effect of this history of associating kin marriage with otherness and constraint has probably encouraged us to hypothesize epikleric marriages too freely in prosopographic reconstructions.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Ch. 1 n. 124; in addition to the cases mentioned there, Lys. F CXVIII, CXLI Carey 2007, Is. F 24–5 = xxvi, xxxix Th. 1903, and Dein F. LVII–LVIII, LX Conomis 1975 may have arisen from epidikasiai for epikleroi (A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 122 n. 1). Sissa 1990 emphasizes that the law was intended to prevent the next-of-kin from taking the estate without the girl(s), and provides a valuable analysis of earlier interpretations.

⁵⁵ Cf. Humphreys 1989 / forthcoming *a*, on Dem. 39–40. Similarly, there was an expectation that adopters would choose close kin, though they were not legally required to do so.

⁵⁶ Cf. above, pp. 112, on Lys. 32 and [Dem.] 44, and ch. 2 pp. 69–72 on *inter vivos* adoption by MF. In many cases we do not know when adoption took place.

⁵⁷ See Humphreys 2002*b* for a critique of the concept of the individual in sociology.

⁵⁸ Some hypothetical marriages of this type included in Humphreys 1994 have been removed from this revised version of that article. I cannot here go into the association between kin marriage and otherness that until rather recently dominated anthropological analyses of kinship (cf. e.g. Carsten 2004, 10–15).

Historians are also, as I have suggested above, too free in attributing ‘strategies’ to actors without asking themselves how strategizing is refracted through practice. How does a particular choice of marriage partner come to seem right or even inevitable? Patterns of association shape perceptions. One does not have to be a Hindu or a Jew to feel that eating with people and marrying with them are in some ways analogous. Affines, in Greek terminology, counted as *oikeioi*, household associates; and one had to feel ‘at home’ with them even before making the affinal connection.

Marriage is a public ratification of the imagining of private communities (networks). It involves conceptions of identity and difference, the familiar and the unknown. The plots of New Comedy were about conflicting conceptions of the future and mistaken identities, and ended in marriage when the exotic stranger turned out to be, in a metaphorical if not literal sense, the girl next door, uniting romance and reassurance.⁵⁹

Outside the theatre, marriage is not an end but a beginning. In the following chapters we move from the poetry of law to the prose of practice, to law in context and in use.

⁵⁹ Under the conventions of the day, the girl living literally next door was an erotic stranger to a young man; this is neatly expressed in Menander’s *Phasma*, where the hero initially takes the heroine for a ghost. A useful discussion of the historical background to comic plots in Ogden 1996, 174–80. Cf. Lévi-Strauss 1983a, 107–10 on medieval Japanese attitudes to exoticism versus security in arranging marriages.

Property

RESIDENCE AND LANDHOLDING

Clearly the options open to Athenians in choosing their associates, among kin or others, were affected by residence. We should therefore like to know how common it was for an Athenian family to have kin as neighbours or living in the same village, street, or city quarter. In a society in which many people still derived their income from land, and inheritance was partible, we might expect to find considerable continuity in residence, and many people with kin living close to them.

Arguments can be made on the other side. It is generally assumed that during the archaic period men with political ambitions tended to acquire property in or near the city, in some cases moving from outlying demes to do so, and there is no reason to suppose that this centripetal drift ceased in the classical period.¹ The Peloponnesian War constituted, by any standards, a major upheaval; inhabitants of the area west and south of Hymettos and Pentelikon had to evacuate their villages because of frequent Spartan invasions in 431–425, and after 413/12 the whole of Attika had to be abandoned.² A daily wage could be had in the fleet for most of this period, and some at least of the refugees must have adapted to city life in Athens or Piraeus—or acquired market gardens in the five-mile corridor between city and port protected by the Long Walls—and remained at the end of the war. Xenophon's Ischomachos and his father, who bought up deserted land, brought it under cultivation and resold at a profit (Xenophon *Oikon.* 20. 24 ff.),

¹ The father of the speaker of Dem. 55 had acquired land in a hilly rural area from a previous owner who disliked the area and preferred city life. The purchase cannot be dated, but was perhaps sometime between 390 and 370. Cf. ch. 20 n. 57 for members of Eleusinian priestly genê acquiring land elsewhere in Attika before 507.

² The invasions of 430 and perhaps 427 penetrated east of Hymettos. V. D. Hanson 1983 argues that the capacity of ancient armies to cause long-term damage to farms has been overestimated (*contra*, P. D. Harvey 1986). Nevertheless some families will not have wanted to move back to a perhaps marginal rural existence after a generation in the city. Deaths in war also have to be taken into account. R. G. Osborne 1985*a*, 27–34 and Appendix A, lists isolated farmhouses; the two which have been fully excavated seem to have been occupied only for short periods (Dema house, Vari farm near cave of Pan). Osborne is probably rather too anxious to explain away all possible evidence for isolated farms, and further surveys have changed the picture somewhat (ch. 22 n. 2), but his general conclusion that many countrymen lived in villages or hamlets is well established.

should have been operating during the period of the war.³ Property was confiscated from those condemned in the courts, and sold; creditors will have taken possession of land mortgaged to them. Some of the rich shifted most of their resources into workshops in Athens, mining land, or land in the territory of subject allies. Kleruchs moved to take up holdings overseas, and we can hardly imagine that all of them were welcomed back to a share of the ancestral lands when they were expelled at the end of the war—in some cases after three or four generations of separation.⁴ Grants to privileged foreigners of the right to own land in Attika, attested from the 420s,⁵ must have meant something; and if such men usually bought houses in Athens or Piraeus, this implies that Athenians could do so too. The *novus homo* Apollodoros of Acharnai, whose father had come to Athens as a slave, had land by 362 in three demes ([Demosthenes] 50. 8), including at least one estate which could be described as ‘in the country’ (*en agrôî*, 53. 4; *APF* 11672 V).

By the fourth century, from which most of our evidence comes, Attic society was far from ‘traditional’. Any pattern of landholding that emerges from the sources must be seen as the product not of inertia but of a mixture of centrifugal and centripetal forces. The factors involved, and the scale of operations, vary with wealth, but gradations in wealth, among citizens, are likely to have been fairly continuous rather than sharply separated into different strata. Citizens were not divided into landlords and tenants, or owners and labourers. *Philotimia*—the ambition to cut a dash in the community—motivated men at many different levels (Whitehead 1983; 1986*a*).

At the highest level of wealth, the normal Athenian would probably have both a town house and at least one country estate. Xenophon advises the cavalry

³ Perhaps already before the war in the father’s case (*APF* 7826 XIII–XIV). Add to *APF*’s list of Ischomachoi I. Hippomachou Lamptreus, a kleruch buried at Potidaea (*IG* i³ 1511); the text cited under (K) and (L), identified as ephebic in Traill 1986, may be a list of epilektoi (Humphreys 2010*a*, *SEG* 36. 155/60. 142).

⁴ There is still dispute about the character of kleruchic settlements: see e.g. Faraguna 1999*a*; *ASAA* 88, 2010 (*IG* xii 8. 666, Defner 1923, must surely be a *pierre errante*); Magnetto a. o. (eds) 2010; Clinton 2014. Kleruchs who settled on the land allocated to them will often presumably have been youngish men—the system was apparently designed to provide Athenian manpower at key points in the Aegean which could be drawn on in a crisis—and in some cases may have returned to Athens to take up inherited property in later life, leaving a son behind. It may not have been easy, in some kleruchies, to distinguish kleruchic holdings from land acquired subsequently by purchase or as security for debts that were never repaid. The father of the *mantis* Euthyphron still owned land on Naxos c.399 (Plat. *Euthyphro* 4c); this did not prevent his son from taking up a professional career in the city. Some kleruchic families therefore may have become sufficiently integrated into local society to retain their land and place at the end of the war. Many however will have returned to Athens under the immunity (*asphaleia*) promised by Lysander in 405 (Xen. *Hell.* 2. 2. 2). The whole subject of the return of propertyless citizens—well attested in later decrees from other cities covering regulations for the return of exiles—needs study. Cf. ch. 2 no. II B 9 for a Samian kleruch buried in Athens; ch. 24 n. 7.

⁵ *IG* i³ 227 II 19–22 (424/3?), 81. 23 (421/0); cf. Henry 1983, ch. V.

commander regularly to put his horse through its paces while riding out from the city to his rural property (*Hipparchikos* 18: *hotan eis chōran elauñōsi*). In addition, a rich man might well have non-agricultural property of some kind: an apartment block (*synoikia*) in town, land in the mining district, a slave-staffed workshop, or capital lent out at interest. He or his ancestors might have acquired rural property in more than one area, through dowry, inheritance from collaterals,⁶ or by possessing land given as security for loans. If his main residence was in town, there was no compelling reason to try to consolidate his rural properties in a single area. Small slave labour teams might be easier to control than larger ones,⁷ variety in making visits of inspection could be agreeable, different estates might have their own particular excellences; the ambitious could display their generosity over a wider front, while the mean hoped to avoid taxation by concealing the extent of their wealth.

Analogous considerations operated at a lower level. *Philotimia*, the desire for company, and the wish to have a say in local affairs drew most men to live in villages rather than isolated farms. Variations in micro-climate can make it advantageous, in such circumstances, to have holdings scattered over the neighbourhood in small plots, rather than concentrated in a single block (Mira-Smith 1985 Part I 2; Forbes 1989; Rowlandson 1996, 124–38, 171–5).

So much for general considerations. Kleisthenes' registration of citizens in the demes where they had their principal residence in 507 provides a fixed point from which we can try to measure mobility, both backwards and forwards in time.

⁶ Scattered holdings: Forbes 1989; J. K. Davies 1981, 52–5; 55–60 on 5th c. holdings overseas. We do not hear of dowries in land in the sources we have, but it is hard to believe that no father had ever had to give his daughter land as her dowry (cf. Foxhall 1989, n. 58). Two women are listed as owners of adjacent holdings in the mining area (*Agora XIX P* 5. 67–71; 'the wife of Charmylos' seems to be a widow, but 'the wife of Alypetos' is not, cf. l. 48); they may be sisters who acquired the land either as *epiklēroi* or because their father had divided it between them as dowry (n. 83). 'The daughter of [Ais]chylos' is named also as an owner (*Agora XIX P* 7. 13); either she is an *epikleros* or the land is her dowry, or security for it. In a few cases a woman is named as owner on a *horos* which does not explicitly state that the property is security (*apotimēma*) for her dowry: among these Finley 1952/1985 nos. 146, 146A, 175 mention dowry, nos. 174 and 176 do not (nos. 179–80 come from Syros; no. 10, from Lemnos, 3rd. c., records hypothecation to a woman, cf. *IG* xii 7. 412). I see no obstacle to believing that all the classical stones from Athens derive from agreements about dowry, which could be of three kinds: (1) designation of land as *apotimēma* for a cash dowry (the commonest proceeding); (2) *horos* on land which had itself been transferred as dowry (cf. Wolff 1954, 306); and perhaps (3) *horos* on land designated by will to serve as dowry for an unmarried daughter (cf. *Syll.*³ 364, *IEph.* Ia 4 A 55–9, early 3rd c. BCE). On Solon's law on *phernē* and its implications for the use of land as dowry in the archaic period see ch. 1 at nn. 120–3. The question whether a woman's dowry was her own property or was owned by her husband or her family of origin was not very clearly answered in Attic law (cf. Foxhall 1989); some variation of wording on *horoi* is to be expected. In *Is.* 5. 26–7 a house is given to a woman on marriage, but the standing of the transaction is obscure in the speech, and may always have been so.

⁷ Free farm labourers are rarely mentioned, but see Men. *Georg.* 46–7; the labourer is a young unmarried man, the owner lives on the farm.

It is generally assumed that the family of Miltiades and Kimon, registered in Lakiadai on the western side of the city, had a connection in pre-Kleisthenic times with the deme Philaidai, since Pherekydes and Hellanikos trace Miltiades back to Philaios son of Ajax, and it is hard to explain the introduction of this piece of implausible etymology on any other grounds.⁸ However, the family seems to show no interest in the area of Philaidai later; if there was ever a priestly *genos* Philaidai it seems to have lapsed into obscurity already in the archaic period.

More conjecturally it has been claimed that the *kouros* of c.540 from the Anavyssos area (ancient Anaphlystos) with the name Kroisos on its base (*IG* i³ 1240, *CEG* 27; cf. Thonemann 2016) must belong to a member of the Alkmeonid family, which is said to have derived its wealth from Lydia—although most known Alkmeonidai belonged to city demes. Since the story about Alkmeon I and his Lydian gold-dust, if true, must refer to Alyattes and not Kroisos (*APF* 9688 II, Herodotus 6. 125. 5), and since other sixth-century Athenians may well have had contacts with Kroisos of Lydia, this conjecture will not bear much weight. We do not know on what basis *A.P.* 13. 4 states that in the 560s Lykourgos (descendants in Boutadai) led the faction of the ‘plain’ (*Pedion*), the Alkmeonid Megakles (descendants in Alopeke) that of the ‘shore’ (*Paralia*) and Peisistratos (descendants in exile) that of the people from (beyond?) the hills (*Diakrrioi/Hyperakrrioi*). However, since Lykourgos’ family were prominent in the *genos* Eteoboutadai which held the two major Akropolis priesthoods, and both the other two had ancestors who were archons before Solon’s reforms, all three families should have had bases in or near the city well before 560.

D. M. Lewis (1963*a*) argued from the way in which demes were grouped in trittyes and tribes, in the Kleisthenic system, that a conscious effort had been made to split up the constituent communities of long-established cultic units such as the Marathonian Tetrapolis in order to weaken the grass-roots community support on which some powerful political families relied in elections. My own view reduces the scope for manipulation from the centre, but recognizes that wealthy families will have influenced registration patterns. However, local grass-roots power may have been a phenomenon of quite recent origin. In the period before Solon, if candidature for office was restricted to Eupatridai, popular support may have been much less important. By opening office to a wider group defined by wealth rather than birth Solon made elections more competitive; by defining the concept of citizen and attaching citizenship to phratry membership, he may well have ‘enfranchised’ large groups of rural Athenians who had not

⁸ Philaios: *FGH* 3 F 2, 4 F 22. On the question whether the Miltiades of the genealogy should be III or IV see *APF* 8429 I. Men with houses in more than one deme were presumably allowed to choose where to register, a point that should be kept in mind when discussing Kleisthenes’ motives. Descent from Ajax was also claimed by the Salaminioi, based in Sounion.

previously asked themselves whether they had the right to vote in elections—and who had now been politicized by the revolutionary situation in which Solon's laws were framed and passed. I am inclined to think that there was a sudden upsurge of the manipulation of local ties and local cults by ambitious politicians after Solon's reforms; this situation was remembered in Kleisthenes' day—even though Peisistratid rule from c.546 to 511/10 will have offered less scope for such initiatives—and steps were taken to prevent or at least delay its recurrence.

DEME AFFILIATION AND RESIDENCE

When we turn to the post-Kleisthenic period, four types of evidence are available. Literary sources give some details of residence and property holdings; gravestones in rural areas indicate that either those named on them, their kin, or their recent ancestors lived in the area; some leases and sale records identify property by the names and demotics of neighbouring landowners; leases and sales also tell us where the lessors or purchasers were acquiring new land; mortgage *horoi* identify owners and/or creditors.⁹ All this evidence of course comes from the wealthier layers of Attic society and tells us nothing about the poorest citizens, let alone slaves.¹⁰ However, poverty is more likely to have been a stimulus than a bar to mobility. One of the informers who claimed to have witnessed preparations for the mutilation of the Hermes statues in 415 said that he was setting out in the small hours to walk to Sounion and collect the week's takings from a single slave employed in the mines (Andokides 1. 38). Poor Athenians rowed in the fleet, and most landless men probably moved to the city to pick up a living as best they could.

The extent of mobility must not be exaggerated. A large number of rural deme sites have been confidently identified on the basis of a solid cluster of demesmen's tombstones found in the area (Traill 1975*a*, 37–54; see chs. 23–32 for details). Of the rural demes which sent eight or more councillors to the *boulê*, Acharnai, Aixone, Eleusis, Kephale, Paiania, and Rhamnous all show a solid cluster of demesmen's tombstones from the deme site even on the basis of the evidence in *IG* ii². Lamptrai and Phaleron, however, have only a few, while Anaphlystos, Aphidnai, Marathon, and Phrearrhioi have none in the classical period. Rhamnous is the only

⁹ Much richer documentation is available from other areas. From the archive of Mibtaniah daughter of Mahseiah, from Elephantine in Egypt (5th c. BCE), we can see that her father bought a house adjoining land owned by her husband and then ceded it to her (Cowley 1923, nos. 6 and 8); a later document (Cowley 25) implies that her husband's land adjoined a plot owned by his brother Hosea. See also Rowlandson 1981; E. C. Stone 1987, 17.

¹⁰ Metics and slaves in any case could not own land. We do not seem to have any recent study of the evidence on metic residence (Whitehead 1977, 72–4 deals only with the legal aspects). On the evidence for slave families see ch. 6 at nn. 14–16.

rural deme which in *IG* ii² has more stones for demesmen buried in the deme (6) than for those buried in Athens and Piraeus (4).¹¹ Allowance must be made for the tendency of stones to drift to Athens and Piraeus in modern times, but it is clear that people drifted in antiquity also.

Osborne (1985*a*, 128–40) suggests that marriage patterns may be associated with residence, and therefore that marriage between two members of the same deme is likely to result, in a significant proportion of cases, from co-residence. The situation however is more complicated than he admits. Marriage between kin may not reveal itself in the evidence from gravestones that he uses, and there is little doubt that demesmen continued to associate with each other and form friendships even when they no longer lived in the ancestral deme. Among the stelai which give demotics and provenance in *IG* ii², analysing only the cases where both husband's and wife's ancestors came from rural demes, I find little sign that continued residence in the deme of origin influenced the rate of deme endogamy (Table 5.1).

It should be noted that not all burials in the city imply total severance from the ancestral deme. Burial in the cemeteries outside the city gates, especially in the Kerameikos area, was prestigious and a family that had both a town house and a rural estate might well choose it, even if the rural estate had been handed down from pre-Kleisthenic times. The kin of Lykourgos, who were buried near the Academy (ch. 20 n. 132), perhaps compromised by siting their tombs in a prestigious area along the road from the city to their deme Boutadai. Rhamnous had its own Appian Way of monumental *periboloi* lining the road which led to the temple of Nemesis and down from it to the deme centre and fortress, and similar phenomena, perhaps on a smaller scale, may have characterized other Attic deme sites.¹²

¹¹ Two Rhamnousian stones in *IG* were also found at nearby sites, Vrana and Kato Souli; the remaining two were found on Salamis and at Kephisia (*SEMA* 589 has no provenance). Discoveries over the last fifty years, especially at Rhamnous, have substantially increased the number of stones securely attributed to rural sites. We are not told whether the figures for grave stelai as evidence for in-deme marriage in R. G. Osborne 1985*a*, 130–4 are based on *IG* or include other stones; he is far too apt to write as if a demotic were evidence of residence in the deme. I have not made a systematic study of stones not in *IG*, but note among recent discoveries *SEMA* 50, Lysis of Aixone and son buried c.350 at Moschato (Xypete); *SEMA* 255, in-deme marriage and burial at Thorikos, 350–300; *SEMA* 527 (*CEG* 594), Diognetos son of Euadetos of Paionidai at Brauron (Philaidai). It would be useful to have a rigorous study of the quality and probable expense of funerary monuments known to have come from rural sites, comparing the archaic and classical periods.

¹² See e.g. ch. 29 n. 129 on Halai Aixonides. Timarchos' mother, who presumably lived in the city, according to Aisch. 1. 99 wanted to be buried at Alopeke; the statement was intended to be plausible, though not necessarily true. It would be rash to assume that all those buried in family plots lived nearby; Meidoteles II of Myrrhinous and his son Kalliteles II, buried in the deme, may have carried on their activities as *manteis* in the city. However, family plots did not continue in use for long, and may always have been tied to local residence by some members of the group (Humphreys 1983*a*/1993, ch. 5).

TABLE 5.1.

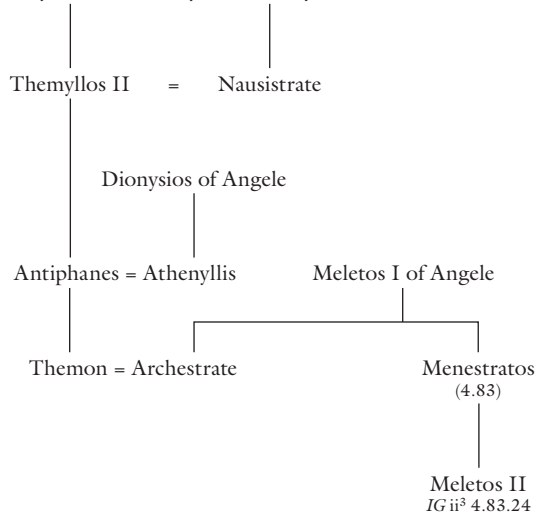
A. i.	Same deme, burial in deme: 10 stones
ii.	Same deme, stone from nearby site: 3
iii.	Same deme, stone from Athens: 6 + ?
iv.	Same deme, stone from Piraeus: 4
v.	(Same deme, location of stone unknown: 7 rather problematic references)
vi.	Same deme, stone from different rural deme: 3
vii.	I note that a husband and wife from Koile (city: <i>IG</i> ii ² 6491) were buried on Salamis.
B. i.	Different demes, stone from husband's deme: 23
ii.	Different demes, stone from wife's deme: 4
iii.	Different demes, stone from a third rural deme: 12
iv.	Different demes, stone from Athens: 19
v.	Different demes, stone from Piraeus: 2
vi.	Different demes, stone from Salamis: 1
vii.	Three Peiraios husbands were buried, with their wives, in the wife's deme, and one Peiraios wife with her husband; there are no endogamous burials in Peiraios.

While examples of in-deme marriage by couples living in a rural deme different from that of their ancestors may well be due to kinship, a closer look at some of the evidence from tombstones suggests patterns of residence which do not reach back to Kleisthenes but have nevertheless remained stable over several generations. A stone from Markopoulo, *SEMA* 469, published by Etienne (1975, cf. Humphreys 1983*a*/1993, 116) records the marriage of four generations of the same family, Themyllos of Oe and his descendants. Either Themyllos or his son Antiphanes seems to have moved into the Markopoulo area, since Antiphanes married the daughter of a demesman of Angele (Angelisi, near Markopoulo) and his son and, probably, grandson married into the same deme (Table 5.2).¹³

Most of our evidence for leases and sale of rural property concerns land owned by sanctuaries, tribes, demes, and other small corporate groups concerned with cult (phratryes, *orgeônes*, see Papazarkadas 2011). There is hardly any evidence for leasing of private land, with the exception of estates belonging to orphans.¹⁴

¹³ Cf. R. G. Osborne 1985*a*, 131. Ties of kinship between the wives are conceivable but cannot be reconstructed. The other inter-deme marriages discussed *ibid.*, 132–3, are not particularly likely to have arisen from residence in the same area: on *IG* ii² 5867 and 6569 see ch. 24 n. 79. Deme residence in Erchia may account for the marriage of Phrasisthenes son of Eualkides of Erchia (*APF* 10807) to the daughter of Hierokles of Erchia, and for the marriage or betrothal of Antikrates son of Kallikrates of Erchia to Aristaichme daughter of Lysis of Erchia.

¹⁴ R. G. Osborne 1988 argues that private leasing was common, but can only cite two examples of private leasing of rural land in Attika, Is. 11. 42 (Thria), where the land was at the time of report part of an orphan's estate (we do not know how long the lease had run), and Lys. 7. 4, 9. In the latter case, the land had been confiscated from the oligarch Peisander in 410 and when the *polêtai* had been unable to find a buyer for three years (§ 6) was bestowed on Apollodoros of Megara, one of the assassins of

TABLE 5.2. *SEMA* 469 Themyllos I of Oe Lykiskos of Hybadai

Demes presumably acquired land either through donation by generous demesmen or by taking possession of property owned by debtors, the debt arising either from a lease or loan made by the deme or a fine imposed by it.¹⁵ Leases in perpetuity were not uncommon, and rents were not always collected with great regularity; Euxitheos of Halimous made himself unpopular by dunning his fellow-demesmen for arrears of rent when he was demarch (Demosthenes 57. 63), and the deme Teithras in about the middle of the fourth century decided to make a record on stone of property leased in perpetuity (*kathapax*), to ensure that the deme's rights would be well known and respected (*SEG* 24. 151). Lessees of deme property were taking on an obligation to provide the deme with regular revenue and thus acting as public benefactors. Similarly, when in the late fourth century a number of demes and similar bodies decided to sell off plots of

Phrynichos (*HCT* V 309–10); he sold it to an Antikles just before the rise of the Thirty; the speaker (*APF* D 15) bought it from Antikles after the restoration of democracy. He has bad relations with some of his neighbours (§ 18), and his accusers are probably claiming that he was associated with the oligarchs (§ 27). Two of his tenants were sufficiently under his influence to testify for him (§§ 9–10); one (another man's freedman) was dead. It seems to me likely that both Antikles and the speaker had connections with Peisander and were trying to keep his property in friendly hands in case he returned to Attika; if they were acting *de facto* as trustees leasing made the accounting position clear, as well as enabling them to avoid direct confrontations with neighbours hostile to Peisander and his friends. It should also be noted that it was in the speaker's interest in the circumstances to describe as 'leasing' an arrangement which if freedmen and/or clients were involved might well in other contexts have been presented in less formal terms. Other evidence cited by Osborne relates to private leasing of houses, a well-attested practice, and of land outside Attika. One would think that at more modest social levels hoplites and rowers must sometimes have had to get their land worked in their absence; but 'leasing' may be too formal a term for such arrangements. See Foxhall 1990 for later periods.

¹⁵ Security and loans: Whitehead 1986*a*, 130, 158–60; fines, *ibid.* 150. See now Papazarkadas 2011, 131–2.

publicly owned land, apparently with some prompting by the state, purchasers were providing capital for the selling bodies and were no doubt expected to pay a fair or even generous price. It is not surprising that in both cases the majority of purchasers were members of the deme or other body concerned. Deme leases in any case seem to have been granted at deme assemblies, when outsiders would not be present—though they might possibly sometimes pass by inheritance to heirs outside the deme.¹⁶

The only non-demesman who leases deme property alone is Eukrates of Aphidnai, leasing three buildings in Peiraios from the deme Kytherros.¹⁷ Kytherros is an unlocated inland deme (cf. ch. 25 at n. 63) and there may not have been a demesman living in Peiraios interested in taking on this substantial obligation. The theatre in Peiraios is leased to two demesmen with two partners from outside the deme (*IG* ii² 1176+, 324/3; *Agora* XVI 93, XIX L13, *SEG* 57. 130); we can hardly be surprised by this. Euthynos of Oa leases land jointly with a demesman from the deme of Teithras, about the middle of the fourth century (*SEG* 24. 152, Whitehead 1986a, 390 no. 124); both demes are in the Mesogaia and there may have been an affinal connection between the two men.

In contrast, in the leases of sacred property by the city in (?) 343/2 and 333/2, *Agora* XIX L 6, L 9–12, only one lease definitely goes to a tenant from the deme in which the property is sited (Phaleron). However, most of the property that can be located lies in the area in and around the city and Piraeus.¹⁸

In the *hekatostê* sale records, the demotic of the purchaser and location of the property are preserved for 52 sales; 31 purchasers come from the deme in which the property is located, five belong to neighbouring or nearby demes and 16 to more distant ones. Demes for which only in-deme purchasers are attested are Kydantidai and Thorikos (3 each); Athmonon, Kothokidai, Oenoe, Pallene and Rhamnous (2 each); Cholargos (?), Halai Aixonides, and Xypete (1 each). The Halai purchaser was the demarch and one purchaser from Kothokidai was acting as deme *epimélêtes*; these posts are perhaps more likely to have been held by demesmen resident in the deme. Purchasers of land in Aphidnai come from the deme or, in one case, the neighbouring deme Kolonos.¹⁹

¹⁶ On leasing by demes and other corporate bodies see Papazarkadas 2011; ch. 22 n. 115. Such leasing anticipates the practice which becomes common in the Hellenistic period, both for states and for individuals (Laum 1914), of designating plots of land as endowments, the revenue from which is to be used for specified purposes. Maier 1959, no. 51 is a particularly interesting text which deserves further study. On the *hekatostai* texts see Appendix 2.

¹⁷ *IG* ii² 2496; Papazarkadas 2011, 124–5.

¹⁸ See also A. Williams 2011. Walbank 1983 thinks some of the property is located in NE Attika, but his assumption that lessees and guarantors are likely to be concerned with land near their ancestral demes is far from secure, and in the present context would involve a *petitio principii*.

¹⁹ The only men in Whitehead's list of demarchs who may come from families known to have been active politically at the state level (excluding Council membership, on which see ch. 17) are Gnathis son of Timokedes (no. 11) and Euthydemos son of Moirokles (no. 10; see Table 30.4) in Eleusis, Euboulides

In a list recording sales of property confiscated from members of the oligarchic junta of thirty who ruled Athens in 404/3 (*Agora XIX* P 2) only a few lots are sufficiently well preserved to provide useful data. The son of Euthymachos of Agryle bought land in the deme, adjacent to his father's holding, a rare example of the consolidation of estates;²⁰ the previous owner, however, was a demesman of Sphettos. Property at Sphettos was bought by a demesman (owner's name lost). But property at Thria, owned by a demesman of Daidalidai, was bought by a man of Euonymon. Property at Phaleron was owned by a demesman, but the purchaser's name is lost. From another record of the sale of confiscated property we see that Philokrates of Hagnous (*Agora XIX* P 26) owned land in his own deme and perhaps in Myrrhinous (P 26. 372; cf. ch. 27 n. 41), but he also had *ergastéria* in the city; to describe his property as 'an estate made up largely of fragmented holdings within a small area' (R. G. Osborne 1985*a*, 61) is going beyond what the evidence will allow us to say.

Mortgage markers (*horoi*) might also provide evidence of landowning by demesmen, or loans made to deme residents (*horoi* record the name of the creditor, but not normally of the owner of the land; no stone gives an owner's demotic). *Horoi* were set up to record three main types of transaction: provision of security by a man to his father-in-law for the return of the wife's dowry if the marriage broke up or she died childless, registration of security with the eponymous archon by lessees of the estates of orphans, and 'conditional sale' (*prasis epi lysei*) in which a man borrowed money against land, normally continuing to work the land himself and paying interest on the loan. There may be a bias in the evidence here; it seems likely that non-local creditors would be more likely to insist on a marker than locals. I can find only two cases, out of 30, in which both stone and creditor can confidently be assigned to the same rural deme. *Apotiméma* *horoi*, recording land put up as security for dowry or the leasing of orphans' estates, are mainly found at a considerable distance from the deme of the creditor. It must be remembered however that the creditor's deme was not necessarily where he resided.

Most of the evidence on ownership that comes from identifications of plots by reference to neighbours' holdings concerns land in the mining area, which almost certainly passed into the hands of non-demesmen more frequently than land in

(no. 19) in Halimous, and perhaps Euthydomos (no. 34) in Melite. It is not certain that Euxitheos of Halimous (no. 20) lived in the deme, but he certainly owned property there. No. 6 was buried in his deme (Aixone), as was the son of no. 42 (Rhamnous); the identification of no. 15 (Halai Aixonides) with a man buried at Spata is very conjectural. The *epimelētai* mentioned in the *hekatostē* texts may have been special commissioners, for whom residence in the deme would have been less essential, but men with no interests in questions of land ownership in the deme would hardly be appointed.

²⁰ IG ii² 1579; *Agora XIX* P 2 d 5f. The identification of this Euthymachos with the secretary of the Council in 402/1, perhaps the year of sale, is far from certain.

other rural areas.²¹ One confiscation record gives evidence of a group of neighbours in Peiraios all from the deme Myrrhinous (below, at n. 87). In another, property in Aphidnai, owned by a demesman of Oenoe, was bordered on one side by the holding of a local demesman, on the other side by an owner from Euonymon; it was denounced by a demesman of Aphidnai but bought by a Rhamnousian (*Agora* XIX P 26. 498–530). Philippos of Agryle owned land in Alopeke, near the city.²²

Plato, whose father belonged to the city deme Kollytos but had moved to Aigina as a kleruch, owned land in Iphistiadai, in the plain north of Athens, bordered by the holdings of Philippos of Cholleidai and Archestratos of Phrearrhioi; he had bought another plot at Eiresidai, probably nearer the city, bordered on two sides by the estate of Eurymedon of Myrrhinous, who may have been his nephew (ZS) (Table 5.3). The other neighbour was Demonstratos of Xypete.²³

Timarchos of Sphettos had, and sold, property in his deme, but also owned an *agros* at Amphitrope, *chória* at Alopeke and Kephisia, two mining *ergastéria* at Laureion, and a house in the city (Aischines I. 97f.).

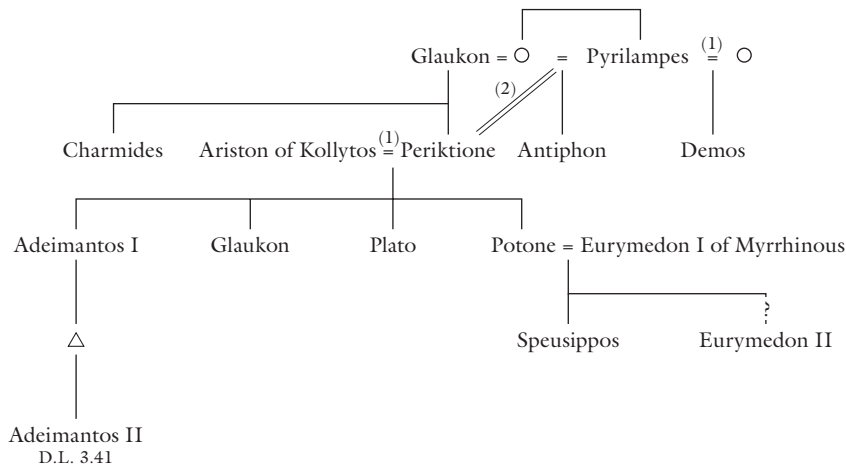
More complete records would surely show that some areas were more open to new settlement, or more apt to send out migrants, than others, and might perhaps reveal a stabler class of small farmers between the city-focused political elite and the mobile poor. But military service took all able-bodied men away from

²¹ Cases where kin own adjacent plots in the mining area are discussed below (at section ‘Kin as neighbours’). Land in this region may not all have been appropriated before intensive exploitation of the mines started in the later 6th c.; the description of Nikias of Kydantidai (*APF* 10808), heavily involved in mining, in Ar. *Knights* 132–9 as a sheep-seller perhaps suggests that parts were also used for pasture. Landowners installed ore-washing facilities which they presumably leased to mine lessees; see Kakavogiannes 2001 for excavation of washeries. R. G. Osborne’s statement (1985a p. 113) that there is no case where different owners appear on all four sides of a plot is somewhat misleading, since mines are normally identified as bordered by a road on at least one side. See Kalcyk 1982, Kakavogianne 2009, on road locations. A high proportion of the owners of property in the mining area who belong to local demes are Sounians; Sounion (ch. 26) seems to have attracted the registration of the inhabitants of a number of scattered hamlets near the end of the promontory.

²² Philippos: *Agora* XIX P 5. 12–13, 22–23, 367/6 BCE. In the record of property confiscated from the Thirty (*Agora* XIX P 2) a house at Ph[aleron] belonging to Eumathes of Phaleron is adjacent to land owned by a Boethos. A Boethos of Phaleron is attested as councillor c.330 (*Agora* XV 46. 35), but the name is also attested in a different tribe at about the same date (*AO* no. 538). The Hermokopidai (*IG* i³ 421–430), perhaps atypical due to wartime conditions, had much of their property either in the city or abroad. Euphiletos son of Timotheos of Kydathenaion, however, had property in four rural demes (Aphidnai and Semachidai in the north, Gargettos and Myrrhinous in the Mesogaia); Polystratos son of Diodoros of Ankyle had a *chôrion* in his deme, with other property in the city and Peiraios; Phaidros of Myrrhinous had land in the deme (*APF* 5951); Alkibiades (Skambonidai, *APF* 600) had property in Thria and Athmonon.

²³ Plato would have been little if at all over 18 when his sister married (*APF* 8792 XI C–D) and (*pace* Cox 1988b) must have bought the land considerably later. It is unlikely that her husband Eurymedon I of Myrrhinous outlived Plato; the property owner Eurymedon II, also named as a trustee of Plato’s will, would have been either a son or grandson of Eurymedon I, brother, son, or nephew (BS) to Speusippos.

TABLE 5.3. Plato
(cf. 13.1) *APF* 8792
IX–XI



home at some time, service in the Council gave many an experience of city life at least once;²⁴ no area of Attika was isolated.

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

With the type of evidence we have, however, general considerations about the mobility of Athenians are not going to tell us very much about the likelihood that Athenians had kin living near them. An alternative approach is to look at what we know about patterns of residence and the process of division of property among heirs, which was often gradual and complex in practice. Essentially we should like to know whether, in a situation where almost every family would have had scattered holdings—in both city and country if rich, in different parts of their locality if more modest—division perpetuated fragmentation by further subdividing each holding so that each heir got a share of every kind of property, or whether an attempt was made to diminish fragmentation by assigning different pieces of property to different heirs. We shall not be able to get any very definite answer to this question, and practice may well have lain somewhere between the two extremes: but it is useful to formulate the alternatives clearly.²⁵

²⁴ In my view all 60-year-olds were also expected to serve as *diaitētai*.

²⁵ In some modern Greek villages plots are exchanged, when women bring land as dowry, to produce more concentrated holdings; but there is considerable variation in practice (Friedl 1962; Herzfeld 1980). In Dem. 55. 32 exchange is offered in a quarrel over land, in a case where the speaker's neighbours seem anxious to add his plot to theirs. Fractions of houses are exchanged in Roman Egypt: Hobson 1985, 224. There is also a reference to exchange in the early Lokrian colony (?) law M/L 13, B 4–5; it must be carried out in the presence of a magistrate. This may be a provision peculiar to recently divided land (*pace* Vatin 1963, 15, I do not think it proves that lots were inalienable. I do not understand Asheri's reference, 1971, 80 n. 13, to exchange in *Staatsverträge* II no. 297). In other periods and areas cadastral listings could be used for work on this problem; there are some relevant data in *IJurid.* VII (*IG* xii 5. 872,

A father was by law entitled to retain control of his estate until he died.²⁶ De facto divisions of property were sometimes made earlier, as we shall see, but sons did not achieve complete independence while their fathers were alive. The process of division might indeed drag on for a good many years after the father's death. It was rare, however, for indivision between brothers to be regarded as a permanent arrangement.

Unmarried sons often lived with their fathers; this was perhaps even the norm, although there are exceptions. In the opening scene of Aristophanes' *Clouds*, father and son are sleeping in the same room; presumably this was a conceivable arrangement in the eyes of the audience (cf. Plato *Symposium* 219d). Father and son also live together in the *Wasps*. In Plato's *Republic* the sons of Kephalos, all unmarried, live with their father; the two elder sons, Polemarchos and Euthydemos, are probably thought of as being in their twenties. Lysias, the youngest, lived with his eldest brother in Thourioi after their father's death (*APFC* 9). Andokides was still living with his father in 415, aged 25 and unmarried (*APF* 828). From Lysias 20. 35 it seems possible, though far from certain, that three adult sons are living with Polystratos, who is over seventy; the eldest, Philopolis, must have been married.²⁷ Apollodoros son of Pasion of Acharnai went to live in the country (*en agrôî*, [Demosthenes] 53. 4) when his father died, being presumably unwilling to live with his stepfather Phormion; he did not marry until some six years later (*APF* 11672). His younger brother Pasikles, not yet of age at the time of their father's death, stayed with his mother and Phormion.

Friction between fathers and sons is regarded as natural; it is the basis of the plot in many New Comedy plays (cf. also [Demosthenes] 40. 47). No money-lender will lend to a son whose father is alive (Terence, *Phormio* 302–3). Plutarch preserves gossip about quarrels between Perikles and his sons.²⁸ A Hellenistic epitaph (*GVII* 1815, Naxos, 2nd c. BCE) tells us that twenty-three is an early age for a young man to leave his father's *oikos* to earn a living.

Tenos). See M. G. Smith 1962 for an anthropological example; Bowman 1985 for references to evidence from Roman Egypt; Champlin 1981.

²⁶ The Gortyn lawcode (IV 25ff.) states this explicitly. If a son incurs a debt to the state he should be given his share of the inheritance to pay it. A daughter may get her share (half that of a son), but not more, when she marries. A son during his father's life only owns what he has personally acquired. (The mother owns and divides her own property.)

²⁷ *APF* 12076; ch. 11 n. 16. Philopolis had a son, Polystratos III, who died in the early 4th c., perhaps in the Corinthian War (*IG* ii² 12967, 12658). Polystratos I's younger sons were perhaps in their late 20s in 410/9, the date of Lys. 20 (§§ 4, 28–9). Kirchner suggests that one of these younger sons was another Polystratos, commemorated on *IG* ii² 12499, but this may be a posthumous commemoration of Polystratos I with Philopolis (both men are bearded). See Bergemann 1997, V 4; ch. 26 n. 110. There is no serious case for attributing *CAT* 3. 364c to this family.

²⁸ Plut. *Per.* 16. 4–6, 36. 2–13. It is implied that Xanthippos remained economically dependent on his father even after marriage; co-residence seems likely, although this is not explicitly stated. Cf. Strauss 1993, 68–71.

There are however some young bachelors who live on their own. Philostratos of Kolonai, living alone and unmarried (*éitheos*) c.380 when he was probably about twenty, may have been an orphan.²⁹ But Theophemos of Euonymon, the chief offender in the affair which gave rise to [Demosthenes] 47, was living alone and unmarried although his parents were still alive, his brother Euergos living with them.³⁰ Kallikles, opponent of the speaker of Demosthenes 55, is said to have lived in the city while his father was alive, returning only after the father's death to their hill farm (§ 11); we are not told where his brother had been living. In Menander's *Kitharistes* father and son play Box and Cox, son moving to the country when father comes to the city and vice versa.³¹

Not every son left his father's *oikos* when he married. Philoktemon son of Euktemon of Kephisia continued to live in his parents' home even after marriage (Isaios 6. 5). Friction between his parents, his father's frequent absences from home and claim to have sired other heirs by a second wife, the deaths of two brothers, and Philoktemon's own frequent departures on military service (*ibid.*) may all have contributed to this choice. Any formal division of property would only have left Euktemon more freedom to dispose as he wished of what he had kept for his own use. The fact that Philoktemon was serving as trierarch is no proof that property had been formally ceded to him; since Athenians could contract with strangers to perform trierarchies for them, an elderly man could surely send his son in his place.³² The speaker of Isaios 2 continued to live with his adoptive father after marrying (§§ 18, 36).

²⁹ APF 14734, [Dem.] 59. 22. Philostratos had a daughter born c.370. The Dionysios of Kolone who was a member of the same naval symmory between 356 and 346 is probably a brother; note that Philostratos' daughter, his only known child, did not marry her FB.

³⁰ [Dem.] 47. 38, 80. APF 7094 fails to note that Theophemos was unmarried; his *kédēstes* Mnesiboulos must be his ZH. He had become liable for service as trierarch, but there was probably some exaggeration in the claim made to his creditor (47. 34–5)—useful in the circumstances—that the brothers had divided the family estate. See Dixon 1988, ch. 7 for Roman data.

³¹ Men. *Kitharistes* 53–5 OCT (cf. C. Austin 2013). Similar arrangements are portrayed in Terence's *Eunuch* (187, 611, 629–33, 967) and *Hecyra* (175, cf. 216–26); in the latter play the son is married, his father stays on the farm but his mother lives in town with the young couple and gets on badly with her daughter-in-law, until at the end of the play she is persuaded to retire to the country with her husband (184, 201, 586–8). The son was earlier sent off to Lemnos to collect an inheritance from an elderly kinsman (171–5; on Lemnos in comedy see ch. 4 n. 31). In Plato's *Laws* (745e, 776a) each citizen is to have two houses, one of which will be occupied by the son when he marries. Similar arrangements in the Roman world are discussed in Saller 1986, 17; cf. Dixon 1988, ch.7. In Terence's *Adelphoe* Demea lives on the farm, his brother Micio in town. Cf. *Heaut.* 144–6: Menedemos leases his town house and buys a farm. In Menander's *Hydria* (Gaiser 1977) the brothers Kephalos and Nikophemos lived in town in adjacent houses, a third brother Demeas lived in the country. When Kephalos married Nikophemos' widow he moved in with her, leaving his house free for the unmarried Kleinias, son of his first marriage.

³² It seems that the ideal arrangement for a young couple, if the groom's father was still alive, was for him to provide them with a house of their own. We have no way of assessing how many marriages conformed to this ideal. Some brides may have brought a house as dowry; the terminology of *apotimēma*

These cases however may well be unusual. Multiple households much more commonly consisted of a single adult male with his wife and children and various female or minor dependants. Widows often live with their sons, married or unmarried. Lysias' mother was living with him and his wife (her granddaughter, DD) in 380 (*APFC* 9); the widowed mother of the speaker of Lysias 7 lived with her son (*APFD* 15); the disabled speaker of Lysias 24 had supported his widowed mother for three years after his father's death, presumably in a single household (§ 6); Ariston, the unmarried speaker of Demosthenes 54, lived with his mother (§§ 9, 20). In Plautus' *Aulularia* Lykonides' mother Eunomia is a widow living with her unmarried son, who is presumably in his twenties.³³ The speaker of Demosthenes 55 and his opponent both lived with their widowed mothers (§§ 23–4),³⁴ and the same is true of the two parties in [Demosthenes] 42 (§ 27).

Multiple households might include a variety of female dependants. The bachelor speaker of Lysias 3 lived with his widowed sister and her daughters (§ 6); the speaker of Lysias 19 also lived with a widowed sister and her three children, who had returned to her father's house (§§ 8, 33). Pantainetos, opponent of the speaker of Demosthenes 37, had his mother and some *epikleroi*, presumably his wards, living in his house (§ 45).³⁵ Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2. 7, tells us that Sokrates'

(above, n. 6) makes it hard to tell. Philoktemon (*APF* 15164) need not have been married long; W. Thompson 1970*e* has shown that the events narrated in Is. 6, beginning with the confrontation between Euktemon and Philoktemon in their phratry, only took about two years. Cf. ch. 7 Case 1. On sons' trierarchies during their fathers' lifetime see n. 47 below.

³³ Eunomia has a bachelor brother, Megadorus, whom she is urging to marry; on the basis of the normal Greek age of marriage for women he need not be more than about 40. In Men. *Dyskolos* Gorgias lives with his divorced mother and has probably done so since childhood. A widow with children could choose to live with them, whereas a childless widow was expected to take her dowry and return to her family of origin (A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 38–9). It is not clear how many widows with young children, in the propertied classes, remained unmarried; it was presumably commoner for a widow of childbearing age to remarry and bring up the children of her first marriage in the *oikos* of her second husband (cf. V. J. Hunter 1989; Foxhall 1989). Aisch. 1. 170 implies that widows living with youthful sons in rich households were not uncommon. Bremmer 1985 collects evidence for the 'freedom of movement' of elderly women in Greece, but does not consider the question of residence; many poor widows may have had no male relative able to shelter them. In [Dem.] 47. 55–6 a widowed freedwoman returns to quasi-slavery in the *oikos* of her former owner. Respectable but poor widows with daughters live alone in Terence *Adelphoe* (with male slave and nurse, 288–354), and *Heauton* (96–7, cf. 276–91), but this may be a question of plot. Hetairai (in comedy) live alone. Cf. ch. 26, section 'Potamos' for the possibility that Euphrosyne, sister of Eubios son of Phainippos of Potamos, brought up his children after their mother's death; ch. 27, Table 27.6C on *IG* ii² 6218, which may suggest that after the death of Demochares (II) of Thorikos his widow Myrte and her children lived with (or close to) his two sisters (one widowed, with children, the other apparently unmarried) and Myrte's widowed father. For Roman widows see Treggiari 1991, 498–502; Pudsey 2012.

³⁴ R. G. Osborne 1985*a*, 17–18 thinks that the speaker and his opponent in this case did not live on their holdings, the opponent's building being only a grain store, but § 24 seems to prove residence; it is understandable that damage to stored grain was the most serious complaint for a rural householder.

³⁵ In Eur. *Phoinissai* we are told that Kreon's son Menestheus was suckled by the boy's FZ Jokasta, Kreon's wife and Jokasta's husband Laios both being dead. Some information on residence in other parts of Greece could be gleaned from the Hippocratic corpus. Hobson 1985 discusses household size in

friend Aristarchos (*APF* 1663?) took in so many sisters, nieces, and female cousins whose husbands had fled from the city during the rule of the Thirty in 404/3 that he had fourteen free persons in his household; the story however implies that a household of this size was exceptional. The speaker of [Demosthenes] 47 had taken in a widowed freedwoman, his old nurse (§§ 55–6).

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF SONS DURING THE FATHER'S LIFETIME

If sons normally set up separate establishments when they married, this should imply that at least the use of some property was ceded to them at this time. It is very doubtful, however, whether any formal recognition of this practice existed in law. The absence of any reference to fathers or grandfathers in the law of intestate succession implies, to my mind, that if a son died during the lifetime of his father or grandfather (FF) any property he had controlled would revert automatically to them; his children would succeed in his place when their grandfather died. There is no attested example of a collateral inheriting immediately from a son who died during his father's lifetime.³⁶

We have only two explicit references to division of property during the lifetime of the father. The speaker of [Demosthenes] 43 asserts that his ancestor Bouselos had divided his property among his five sons while still alive (§ 19; *APF* 2921); he seems to present this as admirable behaviour, but it is extremely doubtful whether he had any evidence to go on. The speaker of Lysias 19, referring to two cases in which fathers who had acquired property abroad, and were living outside Attika, had ceded property in the city to their sons, remarks that fathers who divide property among their sons during their lifetime always keep plenty for themselves, 'for all fathers want to have their sons tied to them, because they have money, rather than being dependent on their sons, because they are poor' (§§ 36–7).³⁷ Fathers did help their sons economically in various ways, as we shall

Roman Egypt, but not household composition, on which see Calderini 1925; Bagnall and Frier 1994, 57–74; Pomeroy 1997*a*; Clarysse and Thompson 2006 II, ch. 7 for Hellenistic data (below, n. 61). L.-M. Günther 1993 uses Hellenistic listings of new citizens from Miletos and Ilion (cf. Brulé 1990*a*) as evidence for household composition. See Netting *a. o.* 1984 for the problematic character of the concept 'household'; Nevett 2010 on domestic space.

³⁶ Cf. ch. 1 at n. 95. The main text is Is. 6 (*APF* 15164 ch. 7 Case 1). In *SEG* 24. 197 the deme Athmonon seems to treat two grandsons (SS) of Thougeiton Theodoro(u) as financially independent during his lifetime, their father being presumably dead: see Whitehead 1986*a*, 425 nos. 147–8; Table 29.8.

³⁷ Solon's provisions for the prosecution of sons who neglect their parents (by *kakôsis goneôn*) comes from a period when elderly fathers were normally dependent on their sons for farm labour; there is no reason to assume that Solon envisaged formal cession of property.

see, but apparently without making any very clear legal distinction between gifts made in anticipation of inheritance, loans, and other forms of joint enterprise.

In a few cases sons are named as property owners in official documents³⁸ during the lifetime of the father. A mine lease records Stesileides (III) of Siphnos as owning a washery or similar installation, and a plot of land, adjacent to a mine in land owned by his father Kallaischros II (Table 5.4).³⁹ In another lease Lysikrates son of Lysitheides of Kikynna is recorded ‘about the middle of the fourth century’ as owning land at Laureion, although his father was still recorded as a landowner in 339/8. Autokles son of Chairippos of Pithos and Chairippos son of Autokles of Pithos—we cannot tell which was father and which son—separately freed slaves (a potter and a woman) about 330.⁴⁰ Chairippos had been married for some 25 years at this point; his son Autokles II was an ephebe in 334/3/2 (*IG* ii² 1156. 25). Euthymachos of Agryle buys land in his father’s lifetime.⁴¹

In other cases we see a son leasing land or mines during his father’s lifetime, backed on at least one occasion by a guarantee from the father; this suggests some degree of economic independence. Nausias son of Nikostratos leases sacred land in 343/2, his father acting as guarantor; another lot of sacred land is leased by a young man whose father, Mys of Phaleron, was still active *c.*333/2 (?) as a building contractor. A son of Tlepolemos of Euonymon buys confiscated land in

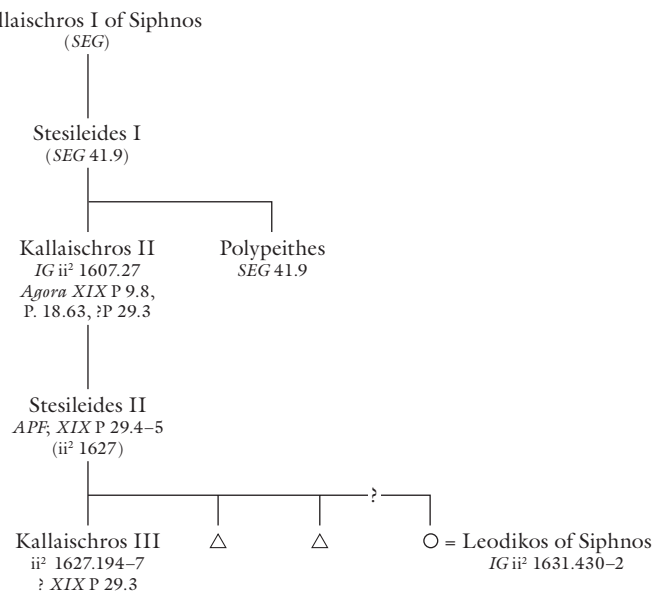
³⁸ These texts have no legal force as proof of ownership; they merely show acceptance by the community of private arrangements between father and son. Cf. n. 6 above on texts naming women as owners.

³⁹ *Agora* XIX P 29. 3–5, *c.*340/39. *APFC* 12 takes the Kallaischros named in this text to be Stesileides’ son, but since we have earlier references to the father as landowner (P 9. 8, P 18. 63) it seems to me more likely that the father has the tract of (unworked?) *edaphé* and the son has the *chôrion* and *ergastêrion*. The family’s ties with Athens apparently went back to the Persian wars or the early years of the Delian league; Polypeithes son of Stesileides I was honoured in 422/1 (*SEG* 41. 9, *IG* i³ 227 *bis*), with reference to honours previously given to his F and FF. Their mining interests in Attika may well go back to the 5th c.; Siphnos had mines, although the island’s nine-talent tribute assessment in 425/4 (*IG* i³ 71) does not suggest a very high level of production (cf. Hopper 1979, 169–70). Kallaischros III (?) need not have been more than 66 in 338/7 and may be the Kallaischros son of Stesileides (II) who paid Stesileides (III)’s debts as heir (*kléronomos*) in 330/29 (*IG* ii² 1627. 194–9), his son having predeceased him. Further debts were paid in 324/3 by Leodikos of Siphnos (their FB?) as guardian of Stesileides’ orphan children (*IG* ii² 1631. 430–41). *APF* loc.cit. has a different reconstruction.

⁴⁰ Lysitheides as owner, *Agora* XIX P 28. 6–7, 339/8; Lysikrates as owner, P 13. 47 (cf. Tracy 1995, 100–1 on the date of this text) and perhaps P 15. 11 (*APF* 9461). References to the children (*paides*) of Lysitheides as owners in P 27. 98–9 and (restored) 102–3, dated 341/0, and perhaps in P 35. 4, 7 (*c.*330/29), should imply that Lysitheides was dead by the date of these texts (possibly the terminology in P 28 was loose). Heirs can be described as *paides* (sons) even when adult—the language of these texts is not formal—and it is possible that part of Lysitheides’ estate was still held in indivision by some of his sons at this point. Autokles and Chairippos: ch. 29 n. 46. D. M. Lewis (1968) thought Autokles’ manumission earlier than that of Chairippos, but the latter’s father Autokles I should have been born *c.*410.

⁴¹ *Agora* XIX P 2d 5f., *c.*403/2. *APF* 7826 XV (followed by R. G. Osborne 1985a, 53) takes the Hipponikos son of Kallias of Alopeke who buys two workshops in Melite in 342/1 (*Agora* XIX P 26. 455) to be Hipponikos III, aged about 80, but he could be Hipponikos IV son of Kallias IV (*Agora* XV 55. 44) in his 20s; see Appendix 1.

TABLE 5.4. Kallaischros of Siphnos, *APF* C 12 (revised)



402/1, and his father appears in a diadikasia list of c.381.⁴² Aisimides son of Diophanes of Gargettos registered and leased a mine in a year in which his father is probably still attested as owner of a workshop in the mining area; he was re-opening an old working, which only required an investment of dr. 20.⁴³ Diodoros son of Pherekles of Themakos leases a mine in land owned by his father (*Agora* XIX P 28. 13–18). Meidias' brother Thrasylochos son of Kephisodoros of Anagyrous leased two working mines in 367/6, when his father was probably still alive; the son is thought to have been born before 400, lived into the 330s (*APF* 9719), and may have been renewing the lease, in which case he would have been engaged in mining already for at least three years. His capital outlay for the two mines was 1700 dr. (*Agora* XIX P 5. 49, 51–2). Simos son of Diodoros I of Paiania had one son who leased a mine, and perhaps another who owned property in the mining area, at a period when their father is still recorded as lessee and owner of property in the area himself. The two sons of Pheidippos son of Phayllos I of Pithos (who owned land in the mining district and continued to lease mines until

⁴² Nausias, *Agora* XIX L 6. 125; [M]ys, L 11. 9; *IG* ii² 1673. 6 with *SEG* 34. 122 (Mys). Tlepolemos and son, *APF* 12888: *SEG* 32. 171 c 13, *Agora* XIX P 2 g 10. Walbank (1983, 225) suggests that young men from well-off families may have been encouraged and aided by their fathers to lease land, which would avoid splitting family holdings and might provide access to further land near the family's base; on leasing of publicly owned land see Papazarkadas 2011. Comparative data on guarantors, Hennig 1987. The hekateoste texts do not provide firm data because their dating is controversial: see Appendix 2.

⁴³ *APF* 1413, ? 342/1; *Agora* XIX P 26. 175, 279–84. See Bissa 2008 on patterns of investment in mining.

? 338/7) were both active in their father's lifetime, Phayllos II perhaps leasing in the early 340s, while Diphilos appears as a landowner in ? 342/1.⁴⁴

In other cases father and son act together, at least ostensibly; but the son would perhaps be the more active partner. Mantitheos of Thorikos and his father jointly borrowed 20 minas for a mining venture apparently shortly after the son reached the age of eighteen. The son was married but perhaps not yet legally entitled to take on a lease himself (Humphreys 1989). Kephisodotos of Aithalidai and his son perhaps lease a mine together in the 350s; they appear separately also, the father in 367/6 and the son in the 340s. Autokles of Aixone and his son Auteas jointly leased land from the deme for forty years in 345/4; in this case it may be the length of the lease which explains the son's appearance.⁴⁵

In *SEG* 24. 197, which appears to be a list of contributors to a deme liturgy, found at Amarousi (Athmonon) and dated c.400 on prosopographical grounds (ch. 29), two names have the rubric 'these men were assessed' (or 'assessed themselves') 'instead of him'. In one case the payment for Isotimides son of Smikrios was made by Isokles, Smikrion, and Philistides, presumably his sons; in the other case payment for a man whose name is lost was made by Thrasykles son of Thrasyllon and by Euthydikos son of Akesandros, who appears again on the list in his own right (as does his brother Euthydemos). Isotimides and the other beneficiary were presumably elderly men whose heirs were already managing their property, Thrasykles and Euthydikos being perhaps the husbands of daughters.

A good many sons are recorded as acting as trierarchs during their fathers' lifetime, but as already noted (above, at n. 32), it is doubtful whether this can be taken as evidence of any division of property. Trierarchs could appoint substitutes (Gabrielsen 1994, 95–102); Eupeithes (?) son of Derketes of Sphettos is explicitly stated to be serving on his father's behalf in *IG* ii² 1624. 77–8 (330s; *APF* p. 199). Voluntary trierarchies might be undertaken simultaneously by several members of an ambitious family, while other families may have preferred to divide an estate if by so doing their members could drop below the liturgy threshold.⁴⁶ Against the

⁴⁴ Simos (*APF* 3953) was still active in the 340s: *Agora* XIX P 23. 7, P 26. 164–5, Simos; P 13. 27 (see n. 40), son —ides; P 20. 45?, son Diodoros II. Diodoros II was trierarch c.334/3 and later. Diodoros I is attested as councillor, *IG* ii³ 4. 48. Further evidence for Simos' activities in *SEG* 32. 233, 236. Ch. 25 n. 38. Pheidippos, *Agora* XIX P 5. 46–7, 81; P 9. 29; P 20. 101–2; P 25. 42–5; P 27. 70–2; P 28. 8; P 29. 25–8. Phayllos II, P 20. 63? 70? Diphilos, P 26. 292–3 (*APF* 14164). The speaker of [Dem.] 42, whose father left little money, began his career by personally working leased mines (§§ 20, 22).

⁴⁵ Kephisodotos and Apolexis, ch. 26 n. 66. Autokles and Auteas, *IG* ii² 2492 (ch. 29 n. 94). However, in *IG* ii² 2501 (late 4th c.) the *orgeōnes* of Hypodektes grant a lease in perpetuity to Diopeithes son of Diopeithes of Sphettos and his descendants ([*ekgo*] *no[is]*; *APF* 4328 missed this text).

⁴⁶ See B. Jordan 1975, 79–80, Gabrielsen 1994, 95–102 on substitution (Dem. 21. 155, 50. 2, 51. 7); the question of sons serving as trierarchs in the father's lifetime is addressed on pp. 63–7. Isokr. 15. 145 seems to imply that for both father and son to serve was voluntary (cf. MacDowell 1986, 442–4), but in the later part of the 4th c. a rich estate might have more than one trierarchy a year imposed on it. Demosthenes' FB Demon of Paiania and Demon's son Demomeles were both trierarchs in ? 366/5, this

18–21 fathers whose sons are recorded as performing liturgies in their lifetime can be set at least ten men who were still recorded as trierarchs or syntrierarchs when over 60,⁴⁷ one perhaps in his eighties (*APF* 14670). Only five at most of these

being probably the year in which Demosthenes began his suit against Demomeles' brother Demophon (*APF* 3597 II, III B, XI; *IG* ii² 1609. 13, 62, 91); ostentatious generosity to the demos may well have seemed advisable. On *APF* 11473 (Onetor of Melite) see ch. 29 n. 8. Cf. Men. *Samia* 13, a generous *pater* allows his adopted son to act as choregos during his lifetime; *CEG* 773 (ch. 23 n. 53); *APF* 13964 (agonothesia). P. Wilson 2000 has some remarks on family tradition in the choregia but does not deal with this point.

⁴⁷ Sons trierarchs in father's lifetime: *APF* 1194?, 2108 (father had *ateleia*), 2308, 3597 II–III ? (Demon and Demomeles), 5604, 7094 ([Dem.] 47), 7716 (Isokrates and Aphareus), 7737? (n. 48), 7865 + 8210?, 8065?, 9437, 10552 (different households, due to adoption: ch. 2 VI 2), 11672 IX? (Phormion and Archippos of Peiraios), 11988 (doubts at *IG* i³ 1048 are perhaps unnecessary), 12413, 12444, 12938, 13700 (Timotheus II and Konon III of Anaphlystos), 13772, 14164?, 14670, 15164 (Philoktemon and Euktemon, *and* Phanostratos and Chairestratos, all of Kephisia: Is. 6). Charisios (II of Halimous?) is another possible case (*SEG* 45. 147 II 6). Onomakles of Hekale, heir of Leptines of Koile, was trierarch during Leptines' lifetime, but presumably from a different oikos. Ar. *Rhet.* 1399a 35f. says that Menestheus son of Iphikrates was compelled to undertake a trierarchy during his father's lifetime; *pace APF* 7737, Timotheos' threat to prosecute Iphikrates for *xenia* ([Dem.] 49. 66) may well be distinct from the story in Aristotle; and may be related to the adoption of Iphikrates by Amyntas of Macedon (Aisch. 2. 28, cf. Kallet 1983). The *graphê xenias* seems to have been designed to prosecute those who cohabited with foreign women living in Athens (A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 26–8). Gabrielsen 1994, 247 n. 29 lists 17 men serving as trierarchs when over 60. Ten of these cases, however, are doubtful or erroneous; on the other hand 3 fairly secure and 2 doubtful cases can be added to the list. One should in this context distinguish men serving as (in principle) active trierarchs or syntrierarchs from *synteleis* (Gabrielsen p. 168), whose obligations were purely financial, and from men recorded as debtors as a result of undatable earlier service (see Gabrielsen ch. 7 on such debts). Agapaios (*APF* 90) may have had a homonymous son, as did Antisthenes of Kytherros (*APF* 1194) and Charidemos of Paiania (*APF* 15392 misses Charidemos II, proxenos at Delphi c.324, *BCH* 75, 1951, 305–6; there is now also a Charidemos P. at Samos c.350, *IG* xii 6. 262 III 6); in these cases the later trierarch is probably the son (ch. 25 n. 36). Aischylos of Paionidai, *APF* 450, need not have been more than 48 when recorded as *syntelês*, and Lykinos of Pallene (9207) was not necessarily over 60 at the time of his last known trierarchy. Demades (3263), and Telesias of Probalinthos (13519) were *synteleis*, Euetion of Sphettos (5463) a debtor. Ktesippos of Aixone (15086) should be deleted (see ch. 29 n. 119), but Chabrias served at 64. To the remaining trierarchs on Gabrielsen's list (*APF* 5951, 7716, 7865, 9719, 11907, 13964, 14670) we can add Chabrias, Pythodoros II of Kedoi if he arbitrated in 356 as one of the city diaitetai (*APF* 12444), and Stephanos of Acharnai (11672 X B; Table 4.4); possibly also Polykrates of Anagyrus (11988; ch. 23 n. 55), Euthykses of Deiradiotai (5580), and 8210 if he was the father of 7865 (*SEG* 41. 173/44. 135; n. 51). Aristeides of Kephisia (6067), listed by Gabrielsen, is a very doubtful case. Elderly men certainly did serve as trierarchs, but service by sons in the lifetime of elderly fathers may have been more common. The provision of the 'Themistokles decree' (M/L 23. 21–2) that trierarchs should have legitimate sons and be over fifty (Lougovaya 2008) seems to be utopian. It is worth noting the case of Melesandros of Angele (*APF* 9804; Table 8.5), who in his year of service used rigging 'introduced' by his father (see Gabrielsen p. 154). Son and father both serving: *APF* 3597. II–III, 5951, 11988, 12938 (as syntrierarchs), 15164 (see however ch. 7 Case 1); 10552 (see above, in this note). The speaker of *Lys.* 19 (§ 62) probably took over his father's ship on the latter's death (cf. *IG* ii² 1628. 373f., 1629. 892f., 906f., *APF* 14670). It is perhaps even less surprising that in the deme liturgy list discussed above (*SEG* 24. 197) Pistokles son of Pistias subscribes in addition to his father, and the brothers Ameinias and Theugeiton II, sons of Theodoros, appear separately from their (?) FF Theugeiton I (ch. 29, Tables 29.12, 29.8).

(*APF* 3597 II–III?, 7716, 7865 + 8210, 12444, and 14670) have sons recorded as trierarchs during their lifetime.

Gabrielsen 1994, 175, suggests that the system of syntrierarchies (perhaps introduced *c.*408/7, extended from 358/7) allowed for choice, and that trierarchs preferred to serve with kin or associates. The situation is far from clear, especially for the later period; one would have to distinguish cases where the obligation fell on jointly held property (father/son, perhaps business partners), and perhaps cases where men who had previously served together had jointly retained equipment, from choice for other reasons.

In *Lysias* 19. 29 the speaker claims that Aristophanes son of Nikophemos performed trierarchies in his own name and that of his father, probably in 392–390; Nikophemos was serving under Konon overseas and was believed to have amassed great wealth (*APF* 5951). Aristophanes had married in 393. Stratokles I and his son Euthydemos of Diomeia serve jointly as trierarchs before 356; the son was born by 382 (*APF* 12938). Arrheneides son of Charikles of Paiania was still alive in 325/4; one of his sons was newly married in 324 and trierarch in 322, but we do not know if the father was still alive in that year (*APF* 2254, with Hedrick 1989; ch. 19 n. 121). Sosistratos son of Kerykion and his son, Kerykion II, are both named in a *diadikasia* list of *c.*380, *IG* ii² 1928. 6–7 (D. M. Lewis 1954, 37).

AGE OF MARRIAGE

As already indicated, the marriage of a son during his father's lifetime suggests some degree of financial independence, though it is not at all clear what proportion of young married couples set up independent households immediately, nor what role the wife's dowry played in this. Mantitheos son of Mantias of Thorikos, married at eighteen, had not left his father's household when Mantias died; but the death probably took place less than two years after the marriage, and Mantias may have been spending a lot of his time with his mistress Plangon (cf. Humphreys 1989). Philoktemon's decision to remain in the household of his father Euktemon of Kephisia (who also had a mistress elsewhere) has already been discussed (*APF* 15164).

Hipponikos III son of Kallias III of Alopeke, who seems to have married in his early twenties (*APF* 7826 XV; ch. 4 n. 8), may like Mantitheos have been objecting to his father's marital manoeuvres. His marriage rapidly broke up. Early marriages in the families of political leaders are scarcely surprising. Hippias, son of the tyrant Peisistratos, married in his early twenties (*APF* 11793 III, VII), and the marriage of Iphikrates' son Menestheus to the daughter of his father's political rival Timotheos perhaps took place when Menestheus was 24 (*APF* 7737). Iphikrates

also married young; he married a Thracian princess, and Athenian conventions obviously did not apply.

Others known to have married during their fathers' lifetime are Xanthippos son of Perikles, Kritoboulos son of Sokrates' friend Kriton, and the speaker of Lysias 19, who was under thirty when he married (§ 55) and was the only son in a very well-to-do family (*APF* 5951).⁴⁸

The shortness of this list is of course partly due to scarcity of data. The evidence however, such as it is, suggests that Athenian males rarely married before the age of thirty and relatively often married later. This pattern of marriage was presumably related to the Athenian father's wish to maintain control over his own property as long as he could.⁴⁹ Of those Athenians known to have married while under thirty, seven had already lost their fathers and so were economically independent:

Nikias son of Nikeratos of Kydantidai married at 23 (*APF* 10808)

Alkibiades IV married at about 25 (*APF* 600 VIII)

Kallias III son of Hipponikos II of Alopeke married aged about 27–30 (*APF* 7826 IX–XI; ch. 4 nn. 8, 40, ch. 13 n. 12. His father had perhaps died shortly before Eupolis' *Kolakes* (421).

The speaker of Lysias 21 probably married under 30; his 'liturgical career of an intensity and expensiveness unparalleled in Athenian history' (*APF* D 7) seems to imply that his father was dead when he came of age.

Kyronides, in the family whose affairs form the subject of Isaios 10, seems to have married before either of his sisters and while his brother Demochares was still a minor (§§ 5–7). He married the daughter of his genitor's brother; his genitor was dead although his pater may still have been alive (chs. 2 n. 27; 7 Case 5, Table 7.5).

⁴⁸ The date for [Dem.] 49 proposed by E. M. Harris 1988*a*, 369/8 or 367/6, might make Menestheus' marriage even earlier. See however Trevett 1992, 35–6. Xanthippos: *APF* 11811 III, Plut. *Per.* 16. 4–6, 36. 2–6; age unknown. Kritoboulos: *APF* 8823. Plat. *Apol.* 38b names both Kriton and his son among those offering to pay any fine imposed on Sokrates, but this cannot be pressed to imply that Kritoboulos was financially independent. In Xen. *Symp.* 1. 4. 28 (set in 422) Kritoboulos is newly married, but his beard is not fully grown and he is still in love with Kleinias son of Axiochos. Theozotides of Athmonon (*APF* 6915, cf. Stroud 1971, Raubitschek 1982) also had sons who were attached to the Sokratic group by 399, but we do not know when he was born. If Kleinias II (father of Alkibiades), who had two sons by 447/6, was the SS of the Kleinias who fought at Artemision (Hdt. 8. 17) there must have been an early marriage in this family.

⁴⁹ Given the late age of marriage for men, it would be relatively common for a son to lose his father before he was 30. However, a well-to-do Athenian who survived childhood and did not live in a period of heavy military casualties might well live on into his 60s or longer. See Saller 1987 on men's age at marriage in the western Roman provinces and the proportion of men whose fathers would be dead before they married; Treggiari 1991, 398–403; Roth 1987 for comparative material; E. Clark 1987 for some medieval data. The underlying ethno-demographic model assumes a fixed number of places in society; a son must wait to succeed to the place vacated by his father (Schofield 1976). A phratry on Tenos does not admit members' sons until the father is dead or is over 50 (*LSS* 48, R/O no. 61); since the normal age of admission to the Greek phratry is 15–20 this implies that men should not marry until over 30.

Another orphan, Periandros, youngest son of Polyaratos I of Cholargos (*APF* 11907), must have married by his late twenties, since he was not yet of age when his sister married Mantias of Thorikos *c.*380 (Humphreys, 1989; ch. 4 n. 46) and his son was born by 371.

The Dikaiogenes whose estate was the subject of one of Lysias' lost speeches married at 18; he seems to have been an orphan.⁵⁰

In other cases of early marriage the dates and circumstances are more doubtful. Philomelos II son of Philippides I of Paiania (*APF* 14670) was married by 388 and lived until 336/5, which suggests that he married before he was 30. His wife, the sister of the speaker of Lysias 19, could well have been marriageable by *c.*400. Euetion son of Autokleides I of Sphettos, born in 388/7, is usually taken to be the father of Autokleides II son of Euetion, councillor in 336/5 and therefore born by 366/5; it is also possible that the councillor of 336/5 is Autokleides I, but on either assumption there was an early marriage in the family. Sokrates' friend Kriton may have married early; he was born *c.*470 and his son was married by 422. The son, Kritoboulos, was a contemporary and lover of Kleinias son of Axiochos of Skambonidai, perhaps born *c.*440 (*APF* 8833; 600 VI B). Nikeratos II of Kydantidai may also have married relatively young, but perhaps after his father's death.⁵¹

Even orphans did not necessarily marry very young. Apollodoros son of Pasion of Acharnai, whose father died when he was 24, did not marry until he was about 30 (*APF* 11672 X A). His younger brother Pasikles may have done the same.⁵² Perikles was probably over 30 when he married, although he acted as choregos when in his twenties and this is normally assumed—perhaps wrongly—to imply that his father was dead (*APF* 11811 III).⁵³ Philostratos son of Dionysios of

⁵⁰ Lys. F XXXIII Carey 2007 (23 Gernet/Bizos 1926, XXXI Thalheim 1913). This Dikaiogenes lived with the speaker's family until he reached maturity, and married after his dokimasia (at 18), continuing to stay with the speaker's family whenever he came to town from his rural property. If F XXXV Thalheim, XXXVIII Carey, belongs to the same speech (doubtful), he would be the speaker's half-brother, his mother having remarried when he was 16. He had been in some kind of political or legal trouble, perhaps due to association with the oligarch Molpis, but had died of sickness, leaving daughters whom the speaker and his brother (?) had claimed by *epidikasia*, presumably on the basis of a will. At this time his patrikin had not contested the claim, but later a legal dispute had developed, which had been going on for 10 years at the date of Lysias' speech.

⁵¹ D. M. Lewis 1955, 30; contra, *APF* 10808. Kallias IV of Alopeke, born *c.*390 (?), may have had a son adult by 342/1, if the purchaser of a workshop in Melite in that year is Hipponikos IV and not his grandfather (*APF* 7826 XV with n. 41 above). Kallias of Thorikos, *APF* 7865, married early if Thoukritides is his son (*SEG* 44. 135; ch. 27 n. 86).

⁵² *APF* 11672 X A, XIII. Pasikles had a son who manumitted a slave (living on Salamis) in (?) the late 320s or soon after (*IG* ii² 1570. 42–4) and may possibly be named on a curse tablet of *c.*323/2 (Wünsch 103 a 6, Wilhelm 1904, Πα<σ>ι[όν]), which might suggest that he had reached a certain prominence by that time.

⁵³ We do not hear of Perikles' father Xanthippos after 479, but in principle it is a mistake to assume that sons do not perform liturgies while their fathers are alive.

Kolonai, perhaps orphaned by *c.*380 ([Demosthenes] 59. 22, see above, n. 29), when he was probably in his twenties, need not have married before the late 370s (*APF* 14734).

Late marriages, at well over thirty, are by no means uncommon. Isokrates was born in 436 and married after the birth of his youngest stepson *c.*388, at about fifty (*APF* 7716). Sokrates was born in 469 and his eldest surviving son Lamprokles was still a *neanias* in 399, so born probably in the late 420s.⁵⁴ Glaukon II son of Leagros I of Kerameis seems to have been born *c.*490 when his father was about 35;⁵⁵ he probably married in the late 440s, when he was in his forties, although Leagros had died in 465/4; his son Leagros II was still unmarried *c.*400. Demosthenes' cousin Aphobos may have been about thirty in 376/5 when he was expected to marry Demosthenes' widowed mother, but did not in fact marry until nine years later.⁵⁶ Demosthenes himself, born in 385/4 or 384/3, was still childless in 347 and was perhaps in his late thirties when he married, before 343 (*APF* 3597 IX–XII, XXIV; he had one daughter, who died young). Plato's sister Potone, who is unlikely to have been nubile before 420, married a man called Eurymedon, presumably in commemoration of the famous battle in the early 460s.⁵⁷ Their son Speusippos lived to 339/8. Lysias probably married in his late thirties, the delay in his case being partly attributable to the difficult situation in the last years of the Peloponnesian War (*APF* C 9). Timotheos II son of Konon, the general, perhaps married at about 34 (*APF* 13700).

Though some family reconstructions work out plausibly on the assumption that a (male) generation lasts 30–33 years,⁵⁸ this is probably in general rather too

⁵⁴ Sokrates may have had an earlier son who died young (below, ch. 8 n. 33), but would still have married fairly late. Fitton 1970 and Woodbury 1973 argue that he only married once.

⁵⁵ *APF* 3027. W. Thompson 1971*a* doubts whether the Glaukon who was general in the Periklean period was the father of Leagros II (cf. ch. 4 n. 8; Mannack 2014).

⁵⁶ Presumably Aphobos was about the same age as, or a little older than, his prospective bride, who must have been born by *c.*400 (*APF* 3597 V, VII–VIII). Humphreys forthcoming *a*.

⁵⁷ The suggestion that Potone's husband was Eurymedon Theokleous, *PA* 5973, who held a command in 427/6 and died in Sicily in 413, is very tenuously based. The general may well have been born in the 460s, while Potone's husband should be a decade or so younger (*APF* 8792 XI D). The name is attested in 4 demes (any of which, from the tribal point of view, could have produced the general of 427/6), and may have been commoner in the 5th c. than later.

⁵⁸ E.g. Hypereides was born in 389/8 and his son Glaukippos by 359 (*APF* 13912); cf. *APF* 643, 4386, 6882 with Table 29.2 (cousins all serve as ephebes together), 7268. But in the family of Timasitheos I son of Demainetos of Kerameis (*APF* 3273), born in 431 (Ruschenbusch 1984), generations average 36 years, his great-grandson being born *c.*323. In the family of Phaidros I son of Kallias I of Sphettos sons succeed fathers at approximately regular 30-year intervals for three generations (Thymochares I, Phaidros II, Thymochares II), but Phaidros III was not born until his father Thymochares II was at least in his late 50s (*APF* 13964). The generations may also be long in the family of Kritias and Kallaischros, *APF* 8792. Euktemon of Kephisia was born *c.*460; his son Philoktemon was married, but still childless and living in his father's house, *c.*368 (*APF* 15164 with W. Thompson 1970*e*). Cf. also *APF* 1695, 3716, 5638, 8429. IV, 9719 (Meidias), and the family of Metagenes of Koile (*PA* 4805), where we now have Metagenes II

short a period to allow, given that not all Athenians married promptly at thirty and that those who did would not necessarily at once produce sons who survived to maturity. Aeschylus' son Euaion was *kalos* c.440, so born c.460 when on the traditional dates his father was in his mid-sixties; Megakles IV (*APF* 9688 X) was probably about the same age when his children were born (the hypotheses of Cromey 1984 are implausible). Amphilides II of Kettos was born when his father Philokrates was 53 or more. Aischines' father was about 30–39 when the oldest of his sons who would live to maturity was born (absences on mercenary service may have some bearing here), and Aischines himself was probably 44 when his oldest known son was born (*APF* 14625). The orator Lykourgos IV was born about 384 and his second son Habron c.348 (Humphreys 1985*a*, *APF* 9251). Chabrias (often away from home) was over 40 when his son Ktesippos was born (*APF* 15086). The speaker of Lysias 19 was born when his father was about 40; Polystratos of Deiradiotai, born by 480, had three sons born between c.445 and 435 (*APF* 12076); Makartatos II son of Theopompos of Oion was probably born in the later 380s and his sons were born in the 340s (*APF* 2921 X II). Two men who were *diaitêtai*, aged sixty, in 325/4, had sons who were *ephêboi* (aged 18) in 331/0/29.⁵⁹ Glaukon son of Kritias III, uncle (FB) of the

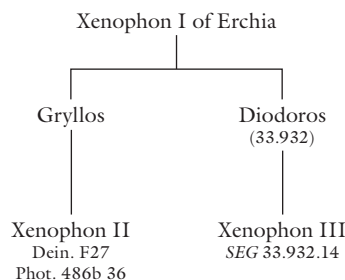
as *diaitêtês* in ? 330/29 (*IG* ii³ 4. 33, Table 20.2). See also Table 30.4 for the Moirokles family of Eleusis. The family of Deinias of Athmonon, father-in-law of the egregious Apollodoros son of Pasion of Acharnai (Table 4.4), provides some data on female as well as male generations. Apollodoros was born in 395/4 and married c.365; he had two daughters, both still very young, in 362. His WB Theomnestos had married one of them by 349. Deinias, father of Theomnestos and of Apollodoros' wife, was still alive in 349; he and his sister were probably born c.410, Deinias marrying c.380 and his sister c.395. Her son Stephanos had a married daughter by 349, so he must have married by c.365. He was still alive and serving as trierarch in 322 (n. 47). Due to the practice of repeating names in alternate and even adjacent generations (ch. 8), intermediate generations may in some cases be missing from the record. The Nikodemos of Elaious who was *diaitetes* in 330/29 (*IG* ii³ 4. 33) was probably SSS of Nikoboulos I, born before 451 (*IG* i³ 472. 10). Additional generations should probably be postulated also in *APF* 3567 and in the family of Mnesimachos and Mnesistratos of Athmonon (ch. 29 n. 76).

⁵⁹ *IG* ii³ 4. 35. 57 Gnathon of Cholleidai; *ibid.* 66 Philokedes of Phrearrhioi (his brother Philokrates *diaitetes* in 329/8, ii³ 4. 34. 5–6); *IOrop.* 353/Reinmuth 1971 no. 15 col. I 29, 14, their sons Nausis Gnathonos and Sostratos III Philokedou (*APF* 13374 confuses Philokedes with Philokrates; for the date of *IOrop.* 353 see Humphreys 2009). Athenodoros of Acharnai, *diaitetes* in 325/4 (*IG* ii³ 4. 35. 98) may be the father of the (?) ephebe [Th]eopompos Athenodorou of Acharnai (*IG* ii² 2408, c. 330?; D. M. Lewis 1959, 233; Tracy 1995, 100). If the son of –]nokles of Cholargos, ephebe in 305/4 (Reinmuth 1971, 17. 124) is son of the Xenokles of Cholargos who was *diaitetes* in ? 330/29 (*IG* ii³ 4. 33. 60–1), he was born when his father was 75. Lysikrates son of Chionides of Melite was perhaps an *epilektos* in the 330s (*SEG* 36. 155. 114, Humphreys 2010*a*); his father testifies in [Dem.] 59. 33–4 to events of 374/3, and so was probably in his mid-40s or older when the son was born. Phrynaios son of Phrynichos of Hybadai (*APF* 14997) won a victory with a boys' chorus in 352/1 (Koumanoudes 1970, no. 7) and had a son who was ephebe in 331/0/29 (*IOrop.* 353), born when his father was about 45. I have not systematically collected evidence for gaps in age between brothers, but note Tharsynon and Tharreos sons of Satyros of Leukonoion, ephebes in 333/2/1 and 331/0/29 (Reinmuth 1971 no. 9. 35, 15 col. II 39); fourteen years between Apollodoros and Pasikles sons of Pasion, and more than ten years between

oligarch, seems to have had his first known son when in his fifties (*APF* 8792 VII B), as did Thymochares II of Sphettos (*APF* 13964). Remarriage of course produced more cases. Plato's half-brother Antiphon, son of Pylilampes' second marriage (*APF* 8792.VIII), was born when his father was 55, and was 15 years younger than his patrilateral half-brother Demos (see Table 5.3).

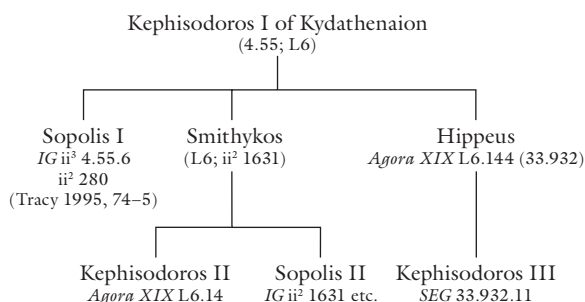
In cases where we may be able to trace a family over several generations: if all three attestations of the name Archeboulos at Athens belong to the same family (*APF* 2817 with Habicht 1979, 149) and are spaced at two-generation intervals, there is an average of *c.*45 years per generation between Bathyllos I, born *ex hypothesi* by 409, and his SS Archeboulos III; *APF* 8674 has an average of *c.*36 years per generation between Kleon I and his SSSS Kleainetos II. An interesting approximate comparison of generation lengths—and illustration of the problems of family reconstruction—is provided by the grant of honorary citizenship at Ephesos in 306 to three Athenians from well-attested families, all presumably middle-aged or older (*SEG* 33. 932). Xenophon III son of Diodoros of Erchia was a grandson (SS) of the historian (Table 5.5). The latter was perhaps born *c.*430 and apparently married, with sons, before his exile in 394 (Diogenes Laertius 2. 52), perhaps before his departure to join Cyrus in 401. His elder son Gryllos II already had a son, Xenophon II, when he died as a cavalryman at Mantinea in 362 (Deinarchos F xxvii Conomis 1975). Kephisodoros I, FF of the honorand Kephisodoros III son of Hippeus of Kydathenaion, had three sons (Habicht 1987; Table 5.6). Sopolis I served as councillor *c.*360 (*IG* ii³ 4. 55) and was therefore born by *c.*390; Smikythos had two sons, Kephisodoros II, who leased public property in 343/2 (*Agora* XIX L 6. 14–15), and whose property was confiscated to pay a debt incurred in office as treasurer of the dockyards, and Sopolis II, who was helping to pay off this debt in 323/2 (*IG* ii² 1631. 350–403, cf. Gabrielsen 1993; 1994, 163–4; ch. 25 n. 11); Hippeus, father of the honorand,

TABLE 5.5.



Pasikles and his younger half-brothers (*APF* 11672); 15 years between Pylilampes' sons by two marriages, as noted above; a considerable interval between Sokrates' oldest son and his younger brothers; Philokrates of Phrearrhioi diaitetes in 329/8 and his brother Philokedes in 325/4 (*APF* 13374, Table 26.6); Menexenos son of Polyaratos of Cholargos born *c.*420, his brother Periandros (youngest of five children reaching adulthood) *c.*400 (*APF* 11907).

TABLE 5.6. Kephisodoros of Kydathenaion

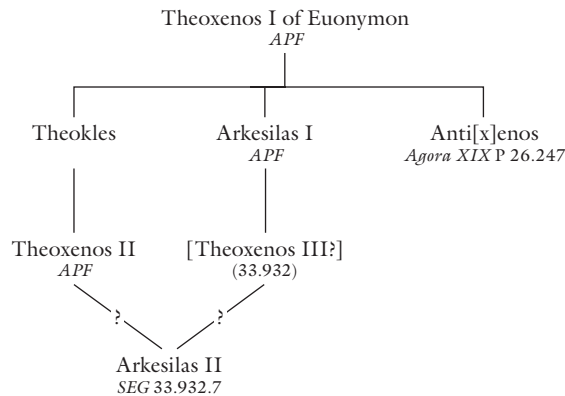


who guarantees a lease of property in 343/2 (*Agora XIX* L 6. 144), served as councillor in 336/5 (*Agora XV* 42. 155), and perhaps died while Hypercides (F xxv–xxvi Jensen 1917) was still active as a speechwriter in Athens, i.e., by 322 at the latest. The third honorand was Arkesilas (II?) son of Theoxenos (II?) of Euonymon (Table 5.7). It used to be assumed that [Theox]enos I served as diaitetes in 330/29 and that the honorand was his son Arkesilas I, already attested as guarantor of ships for Chalkis in 341/0 (*APF* 6990). However, since an Anti[x]enos of Euonymon is now attested in the mining records for (?) 342/1 (*Agora XIX* P 26. 247), it seems preferable to restore [Antix]enos in the catalogue of diaitetai (*IG* ii³ 4. 33. 3–4). In this case Theoxenos I, trierarch in (?) 366/5, may have had three sons: Arkesilas II, Theokles (whose son Theoxenos II served as syntrierarch before 325/4), and Antixenos; the honorand will perhaps have been son of Theoxenos II or III, or of an otherwise unattested son of Arkesilas I. Theoxenos I cannot have been born much earlier than Xenophon I, so generations in his family were shorter than in that of the historian (see ch. 23 n. 12).

BROTHERS IN INDIVISION

It seems then that while there is some slight evidence for young men taking up leases of land or mines in order to acquire an independent income during their fathers' lifetimes, on the whole men married relatively late and families in which fathers survived for a long time after the marriage of their sons would be rare.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Statements about the proper age of marriage for men are collected in Mulder 1920, ch. 1; Golden 1990; ch. 4 n. 9; the range runs from 25–35 in Plato's *Laws* and 28–35 in Solon to 37 in Aristotle, who is explicitly concerned with the proper length for a generation as well as the best physical conditions for procreation. The fact that a man of 40–41 was still childless can be considered worth remark (Andokides IV, *APF* 828, Nikeratos III, *APF* 10808; both men may have died without producing heirs). There is little hard evidence on the actual age of marriage of women. Hesiod *WD* 698 recommends 16–17; Xen. *Econ.* 3. 13, 7. 5 regards under 15 as early, but epikleroi were claimed at 14 (*A.P.* 56. 7 with P. J. Rhodes 1981a *ad loc.*); Demosthenes' sister was expected to marry at 15, but actually married when 18 or older. *CEG* 584 commemorates a girl who died unwed at 20. See also Brulé 1987, 363–7; Verilhac and Vial



Note: The diatetes of *IG ii³ 4.33.3–4* (330/29) was perhaps [Antix]enos.

TABLE 5.7. Theoxenos of Euonymon (*APF* 6990)

Co-residence and co-ownership of property, therefore, would only have been structurally significant if a substantial number of brothers continued to hold property in indivision after the death of their father.

In fact, however, evidence for indivision of the whole patrimony over a long period is extremely rare. In the one clearly attested case, one of the brothers (Arignotos) was blind; his sighted brother Arizelos managed their joint property and paid him an allowance.⁶¹ When Arizelos died his son's guardians continued this arrangement, but the son, Timarchos, is said to have left his uncle destitute when he took control of the property. Arignotos seems to have lived in a separate establishment, presumably with a slave staff (Aischines 1. 102–3).

The speaker of [Demosthenes] 44 claims that the brothers Archiades and Meidylides of Otryne had not divided their father's estate (§§ 10, 18), but since he also says that they lived apart—Archiades on Salamis and Meidylides in the city—and that 'each had a sufficiency' (18, *hekateros echôn ta hikana*), it seems that there must have been some de facto division; his claim should be treated with reserve. The nub of the argument was that Archiades had not married and had not made a will; consequently, on his death his property would have been treated as if it had belonged to his father Euthymachos, if his sister's descendants had not introduced an heir by (?) posthumous adoption.⁶²

1998; for comparative data from Mesopotamia, with similar patterns, Roth 1987; for Rome, Treggiari 1991, 398–403. Some marriage contracts from Hellenistic Egypt give the ages of groom and bride and a parent (*Sammelbuch* 20, 14470–93, 160–158 BCE); see also Clarysse and Thompson 2006, and for Roman census data Bagnall and Frier 1994.

⁶¹ Aisch. 1. 102 *kai ti kai eis trophên syntaxamenos edidou tōi Arignôtōi* seems to imply separate households. Biscardi 1956 overestimates the amount of evidence for indivision in classical Attika. On Greco-Roman Egypt see E. Weiss 1908*b*; Calderini 1925; Montevicchi 1943, 46–54; Bagnall and Frier 1994, 57–74; Rowlandson 1998, index s.v. *household composition*; Clarysse and Thompson 2006.

⁶² Table 2.2, *APF* 5638; the claim that Archiades' holding 'must have represented most if not all of Euthymachos' original estate' is dubious (ch. 7 Case 12). Meidylides' share had to be divided between

The brothers Diogeiton and Diodotos had allegedly divided their ‘invisible’ property, mainly cash invested in loans, but held their real estate in common; Diodotos was married to Diogeiton’s only daughter by his first marriage, and was perhaps dead before Diogeiton’s second wife produced sons. The brothers apparently lived separately during Diodotos’ lifetime, Diodotos in Peiraios and Diogeiton in the city, in Kollytos. Subsequently Diodotos’ widow and her children lived on their own for about a year; then the mother and her daughter were married off and the sons lived with Diogeiton until the elder came of age (Lysias 32. 8–9). The claim that the brothers’ invisible property was divided may be an exaggeration, allowing Diodotos’ heirs to claim cash lent by him out of a common fund. While Diodotos’ wife was still her father’s only child there was little motivation for a formal division (*APF* 3885; ch. 7 Case 6, Table 7.6).⁶³

The brothers Misgolas and Naukles, sons of Naukrates, of Kollytos jointly freed a slave (details lost) and a slave girl in the late 320s when Misgolas may well have been over seventy (ch. 24 n. 6, *SEG* 18. 36 B 335–342); since he was notorious as an elderly homosexual (Aischines 1. 41–53) he very probably had not married, although the brothers presumably lived apart. However, joint ownership of slaves is found in cases where the partners are not even related (cf. Biscardi 1956). When we find the brothers Theodoros and Athenodoros sons of Theodoros of Melite jointly freeing a female *kithara*-player some years after their father’s death, we are probably not dealing with a shared inheritance but with joint purchase of a *hetaira* (*SEG* 18. 36 A 507–9; *APF* 6882). Other sibling groups who free slaves jointly may well do so shortly after the father’s death and in some cases no doubt on his instructions.⁶⁴

When a father died leaving young children it was probably normal for his estate to remain undivided until the youngest son came of age. The guardians of Pasikles, younger son of Pasion of Acharnai, divided all Pasion’s estate except his bank and shield factory (which were both leased to Phormion) before Pasikles reached maturity, allegedly because of the extravagance of his elder brother Apollodoros; the way in which the division is presented in Demosthenes 36. 8

three grandsons (DS), and may have suffered more damage during the Peloponnesian War than property on Salamis. *APF*’s suggestion that Archiades had formally adopted his great-nephew (ZDS), either *inter vivos* or by will, would make it even harder to believe in indivision.

⁶³ There may also have been some ambiguity about the status of the division of property between the childless Menekles and his brother, Is. 2. 28–9; Nausikrates and Xenopeithes I ([Dem.] 38) perhaps had not divided.

⁶⁴ On Misgolas’ date of birth (not later than 390 in any case) see ch. 24 n. 6. In the texts published by D. M. Lewis 1959 (*SEG* 18. 36) there are 35 slaves in multiple ownership; five are manumitted by brothers, two by a father with his son, and three more by men belonging to the same deme. Slaves freed by sons on death of father (?): three sons of Demon of Phrearrhioi, *APF* 3738, *SEG* 18. 36 A 187–93; two sons of Antisthenes of Kytherros, who made separate payments for their father’s trierarchic debts in 325/4, B 328–31 (*APF* 1194; slave is *chôris oikôn*; the father’s choregic victory is dated 360/59 by Koumanoudes 1970, 143ff. no. 4; one of the sons, Antisthenes son of Antisthenes, is named in a tribal decree of Pandionis of the first half of the 4th c., *SEG* 34. 101); two sons of Lysis of Erchia, *IG* ii² 1563. 1–3 (*APF* 9576). The sons of Pamphilos of Phyle and Zophilos (i.e. Sophilos) of Phyle who manumit a slave jointly (*SEG* 18. 36 B 346–8) could well be kin, and so may Sostratos and Mnesistratos of Alopeke (*IG* ii² 1553. 16–18).

suggests that this was unusual. Apollodoros was 24 when his father died and clearly wanted to be independent of Phormion, who became Pasikles' guardian and married their mother. In any case the bank and shield-factory seem to have been the most substantial items in the estate (*APF* 11672). 'The children of Charmylos' are listed as property owners in the mining district on two separate records, one of 367/6 and the second dated to the middle of the fourth century or later; nothing further is known about them.⁶⁵

The three sons of Kephalos probably still owned the family shield-factory in common in 404/3 but lived in separate households; the eldest, Polemarchos, was married and the youngest, the orator Lysias, was probably living in what had been his father's house, next to the workshop, with his mother (*APF* C 9). The shield-works had apparently continued in operation for about 11 years while the brothers were in Thourioi in southern Italy after their father's death; it was very probably run by a freedman paying a fixed annual rent (as Phormion did for Pasion's bank and shield-factory, *APF* 11672 VI), which would be divided between the brothers. Joint management of the enterprise need not have been involved.

Sons less fortunately placed inherited debts which they are often recorded as paying off jointly, perhaps before division of the property that remained. The three sons of Eraton I perhaps had not yet divided their father's estate c.397, when a client of Lysias tried to collect a debt from it.⁶⁶ Three brothers are named jointly in *SEG* 24. 197. 13 making a payment in place of their father to their deme (Athmonon). There are however cases where debt payments are made separately. Two of the sons of Charidemos, who died between 335 and 330/29, make a joint payment against his debts, while the third son (perhaps married?) pays separately. Antisthenes of Kytheros pays half his father's debt in 325/4.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ For the possibility that Chairephilos II son of Pheidon II of Paiania (*APF* 15187) manumitted a slave while his younger brother was still a minor see ch. 25 n. 37. Children of Charmylos *Agora* XIX P 5. 44–7, 79–81, P 13. 4–5. XIX P 34. 8–9, mine in property of children of [D]i[o]timos of ?Thria; XIX P 35. 4, perhaps children of Lysitheides of Kikynna (but see above, n. 40, *APF* 9461). A daughter of an Aischylos is named as owning land in XIX P 7. 13, and her brother perhaps in XIX P 13. 15. The situation in the family of Euthykrates I of Amphitrope (*APF* 2419) seems to be as follows. A Euthykrates (I or II?) is recorded as owning a workshop in (?)342/1 (XIX P 26. 240). One or both of the sons of Euthykrates I, acting independently, perhaps leased mines in 341/0 and 339/8 (P 27. 3, P 28. 31); in the latter year the sons are perhaps recorded as landowners (P 28. 12). Restoration of missing letters is involved, but the mixture of joint ownership and independent action is not surprising. However, the sons of Euthykrates I would on this reconstruction be adults by the late 340s. The orphan sons of —krates of Amphitrope whose estate was leased during their minority by a tenant who owned land at Eleusis (*IG* ii² 2647, Finley 1952 no. 125) should be the children either of Euthykrates I, at some date before c.345, or of Euthykrates II, after his unsuccessful prosecution (if he was the defendant) by Teisis in the late 330s (Hyp. 4 *Eux.* 34). Cf. ch. 32 n. 105.

⁶⁶ Lys. 17. Gernet and Bizos 1926, 15–19, argues for indivision, but deliberate ambiguity on the point may be involved.

⁶⁷ Charidemos: *APF* 15380, *IG* ii² 1627. 207–22. Antisthenes: *APF* 1194, *IG* ii² 1629. 569. Cf. *IG* ii² 1631. 203, 205, 430, 601.

The three sons of Mantias of Thorikos, who finally paid ϵ .342/1 a debt incurred by their father in (?) 377/6 (*IG* ii² 1622. 440), had kept his house and domestic slaves undivided for twelve years while quarrelling over the dowries contributed by their mothers to the estate (*APF* 9667; Humphreys 1989). They lived together in the disputed house for much of this period, and it is likely enough that Boiotos, Euthydemos, and Hedylos of Keiriadai, mother's brothers of two of Mantias' sons, lived together with their sister Plangon in another house to which the title was not entirely clear (Humphreys *ibid.*). It may have been not uncommon for unmarried brothers to live together. Plato's friend Dion, when he came to Athens from Syracuse, stayed with Kallippos and his brother.⁶⁸ In Plato *Protagoras* 310 it appears that Hippokrates and Phrason, sons of Apollodoros, live together; but Hippokrates, who seems to be the younger, has a slave of his own and can contemplate paying for lessons from Protagoras (ch. 13 at nn. 18–19).

Other possible cases of indivision rest on evidence for joint trierarchies, which may be of doubtful value; it is probably never wise to rely too heavily on statements of ownership made for purposes of taxation.⁶⁹ Philonides II and Onetor IV (Demosthenes' opponent), sons of Onetor III, were perhaps syntrierarchs at some time between 356 and 346/5, but by 341 were serving separately (see however ch. 29 n. 8). Possibly their brother Philon was not yet of age at the time of the joint trierarchy (*APF* 11473). The speaker of Isokrates 18 and his brother acted as co-trierarchs at the battle of Aigospotamoi in 405 and then operated as privateers together (§§ 59–61, *APF* D 18–19), but this is evidence of the disturbed situation of the times rather than normal practice. The claim of the speaker of Lysias 18 that he, his brother, and his cousin (FBS) Diomnestos all serve as trierarchs 'out of one *oikia*' (§ 21) is rhetorical and need not imply undivided property (*APF* 10808). Pythodoros II son of Nikostratos of Acharnai and Menon of Acharnai, who served together as trierarchs in 356, may have been related,⁷⁰

⁶⁸ *Ep.* 7. 333e; Plut. *Dion* 17. 2. We do not know if their father was alive. However, Sokrates' friends Chairephon and Chairekrates of Sphettos (Xen. *Mem.* 2. 3) live separately, though there is no evidence that either of them had children.

⁶⁹ Derkylos and Kallias sons of Autokles of Haginos (*APF* 3248) appear together in the list of guarantors of the ships sent to Chalkis in 341/0, which may possibly be an indication of indivision. Derkylos was old enough to be an ambassador in 346. Brothers also make joint claims to disputed estates (e.g. *Is.* 1, 5) but this does not imply indivision with regard to other property. The twins Nausimachos and Xenopeithes II of Paiania (*APF* 11263) came of age ϵ .369/8 and had divided their inheritance by (?) 366/5, but combined to sue the heirs of one of their guardians in the 340s (Dem. 38).

⁷⁰ One of Pythodoros' sons was also called Menon. *APF* 12413 argues that Pythodoros and Menon are nephew and uncle (BS/FB) in indivision (which would be unique), on the grounds that Pythodoros, born in 384/3 and named for his FF, should have been his father's eldest son, yet Menon had a son old enough to appear as a purchaser in the *hekatostê* texts (ch. 28 n. 54) and therefore cannot be a younger brother. However, these texts may be later than 330 (Appendix 2), and a younger brother of Pythodoros might have married relatively early; the trierarchic record suggests that their father was dead by 356. The fact that the brothers Philostratos and Dionysios of Kolone (*APF* 14734) were members of the same naval symmory between 356 and 346 (*IG* ii² 1622. 772–3) presumably need not imply indivision.

but need not have held property in indivision. Menon was syntrierarch also with Apollodoros of Acharnai, Pasion's son (*APF* 11672), in the same year.

The reference to *koinônika*, 'common property', in a discussion of liturgy regulations in Demosthenes 14. 16 was taken by Harpokration⁷¹ to refer to undivided estates, but more probably designates land held by corporations such as demes, phratries, or groups of *eranistai* (cf. *IG* ii² 1583. 32f.). The other categories mentioned—land of epikleroi, orphans, kleruchs, and the disabled—all appear to be types of land that would normally be leased; and it seems most unlikely that land held in indivision by brothers would be exempt from liturgy obligations.

Accounts of formal division of property come from literary texts or from forensic speeches. They represent norms considered fitting for gods and heroes, to which ordinary families might resort also in situations of conflict and crisis; they may be a less reliable guide to the untidy informality of friendlier relationships. The term for inheritance, *kléronomia*, suggests the use of the lot to allocate shares; we find references to the use of lots in *Iliad* 15. 187–93 (Zeus, Poseidon and Hades),⁷² *Odyssey* 14. 207–9, *P. Lille* 76, Pindar *Olympian* 7. 120–5 (and perhaps 135–40), and Plutarch *Moralia* 483d,⁷³ but not in any reference to specific historical situations. Another practice was apparently for one heir to divide the inheritance into two equal portions and offer first choice to the other ([Demosthenes] 48. 12–13; cf. the choice between bank and shield-factory offered to Apollodoros son of Pasion, and the choice offered to Zeus by Prometheus in Hesiod *Theogony* 535 ff.). Polyneikes, according to Hellanikos (*FGH* 4 F 98), offered Eteokles a choice of either the kingship or the family treasures, the necklace and chiton of Harmonia given to her by Aphrodite and Athena.⁷⁴ A father might prescribe the

⁷¹ S.v. *koinónikon*, followed by Beauchet 1897 III, 641 and Biscardi 1956. D. M. Lewis' suggestion that *koinônika* should be read in *A.P.* 56. 6 (P. J. Rhodes 1981a, 631) is unpersuasive; as far as I can see *koinônika* was only used in the classical period of property belonging to formally constituted groups (*koína*), and not for family holdings (cf. Salomon 1995).

⁷² The *Iliad* may perhaps be influenced by the division of sky, earth, and water between three gods who cast lots in *Atrahasis* (W. G. Lambert and Millard 1969 I i 11–16; cf. Gysembergh 2013); on modern Greece see H. L. Levy 1956; Herzfeld 1980. Wyse (1904) thought that *Is.* 5. 6–7 implied use of the lot, but this is far from certain. Lots are used to select a son to go to war in *Il.* 24. 397–400 (cf. Demont 2000); perhaps for colonization in *M/L* 5. 28–30, but not explicitly specified. Hesiod and Perses did not draw lots; they quarrelled and appealed to outside authority (*WD* 37–9). Lane Fox 1985, 212–13 thinks use of the lot was frequent, but cites no new evidence. It is used to divide plots fairly between debtors and creditors in *IEph.* 4 A 10–11 (early 3rd c. BCE) and is well attested in early medieval Coptic texts, e. g. *KRU* 39–43, 45–6, *ST* 109, cited in Till 1954 (cf. MacCoull 2011). *POxy.* 503 (118 CE) records division of a house plot between three cousins and their aunt; the terminology of drawing lots is used but it is not clear that they actually did so. Cf. Wyse 1904, 414.

⁷³ Plutarch's general context is the propensity of brothers to quarrel over inheritance; note 483e on disputes over the right to inherit a slave—nurse or foster-brother—for whom particular affection was felt.

⁷⁴ *P.Lille* 76 (Stesichoros?) says they drew lots; cf. Bollack a. o. 1977; *FGH* 4 F 36 (*elache* does not necessarily imply lots); Aesch. *Seven* 789–90.

share which each son was to get, as Pandion is represented as doing in Sophokles' *Aigeus* (F 24 *TGF* IV); cf. Rabel 1907, Montevicchi 1935. An eldest son might get a better share or an extra piece of property as *presbeia* (Sophokles, *ibid.*; Montevicchi, *loc. cit.*; Apollodoros, *APF* 11672). If all else failed, one heir could bring a suit *eis datêton hairesin* (A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 243) to compel the other(s) to submit the question of division to agreed arbitrators. But we have no reference to this procedure actually being used.⁷⁵

As a collection of evidence on the procedure by which Athenians took a crucial decision about property, this looks suspiciously meagre. There seems to be a reluctance to address the topic directly. While it can confidently be said that indivision between brothers, and fraternal joint families, were not openly recognized or advocated as normal or desirable patterns of property holding in Athens,⁷⁶ I think we also have to face the possibility that it was often hard for outsiders to discover whether brothers owned property separately or in common, and that brothers themselves sometimes preferred not to think too clearly about the question.⁷⁷ The speaker of [Demosthenes] 47 (34–5) enquired whether the brothers Theophemos and Euergos had divided their property and was told that they had; but this answer was convenient in the circumstances. Their father was still alive, and they might have answered differently on another occasion. When Arethousios of Pelex⁷⁸ became a state debtor his mother and brothers, according to Apollodoros ([Demosthenes] 53. 10), immediately started to claim that property denounced as his was really theirs. Menekles' brother claimed to have rights in land that Menekles wished to sell (Isaios 2. 28).⁷⁹ In a situation where the lack of clarity arose from other causes Hermogenes the Sokratic, illegitimate son of Hipponikos II of Alopeke, politely referred to by his friends as 'without authority over his father's estate',⁸⁰ lived by sponging off his legitimate brother Kallias III and other friends.

⁷⁵ Thoudippos of Araphen and his brother Euthykrates came to blows in the fields over their division, leading to the death of Euthykrates and a permanent breach in the family because his heirs blamed Thoudippos for his death (Is. 9. 17, c.410? *APF* 7252). Ch. 7, Case 8, Table 7.8.

⁷⁶ E. Will 1955, 316ff. points out that concern over division producing holdings too small to be viable is already evident in the early archaic period. Hesiod takes the principle of division for granted. Aristotle with his usual common sense remarks that people who own property in common quarrel more than those who divide it (*Pol.* 1263b 23–5; a more idealistic view in Plut. *Mor.* 483d–484b). Reformers (e.g. Plato *Laws*) dream of one-child families (ch. 1 at n. 77).

⁷⁷ Cf. Blass 1893 III i 233–4 on the lack of any clear distinction between the property of Demophon and of his father Demon, in Demosthenes' suit against his guardians; Vial 1984, 57–9.

⁷⁸ *APF* p. 481 n. 1; Whitehead 1986a, 445 no. 308 (for the date of *IG* ii² 1176+ = *Agora* XVI 93, XIX L 13, *SEG* 57. 130, in 324/3 see Stroud 1974, 290–8; Whitehead p. 385).

⁷⁹ *IG* ii² 2680 (Finley 1952/1985 no. 177), *horos chôriou apo tou meros tou chôri*: 5103 (dr.), may arise from a similar situation or, as suggested by Germain 1968, from indivision.

⁸⁰ *Ouk enkratês tôn patrôion*, Plat. *Krat.* 391c; cf. Humphreys 1974, 93, *APF* 7826 XVI.

The frequency of joint manumission, noticeable even in Athens though more striking elsewhere, may be partly due to this tendency to leave it unclear whether divisions of property were provisional or final. The freedman or freedwoman would prefer to be sure that all possible claimants had committed themselves to the manumission.⁸¹ Sentimental factors may also have played a role in some cases.

The preponderance of evidence from speeches made in lawcourts tends to give us too clear-cut a picture of Athenian conceptions of property rights. If a dispute over property came to court, the question asked was: is this land mine or his? In other contexts a certain fuzziness might seem desirable, either to provide room for manoeuvre in dealing with claims made by the state or others (cf. Humphreys 1989) or to avoid or postpone family conflicts. The forensic speeches themselves make it clear that many Athenians, in addition to their rights over the property from which they drew income, cherished more tenuous claims to other items, which they would try to assert if the opportunity arose.

KIN AS NEIGHBOURS

Nevertheless we can see an overall process by which, as sons grew up, the parental estate was gradually divided between them along lines which, if they all produced heirs in their turn, would eventually harden into immutable factuality. It is more difficult to discover to what extent this process would leave kin still living as neighbours in the same community.⁸² Only a few epigraphic texts give information on neighbouring plots of land, and unfortunately most of these relate either to the mining district or to urban areas, in both of which land may have been particularly prone to change hands by sale.

⁸¹ For the same reasons kin appear as witnesses to sales of land in old Babylonian texts (examples in Cassin 1955) and elsewhere; see ch. 6 n. 26 on guarantors of land sales. Malowist 1968 discusses joint ownership of slaves in Greco-Roman Egypt by heirs who have divided other property. In Athens Nikostratos II son of Pythodoros II of Acharnai jointly manumits a slave tanner with his father probably in the late 330s, when he would not have been much over 20 (*IG* ii² 1576. 8–12, *APF* 12413). See Babakos 1961, 1963 for evidence for other parts of Greece; most manumitting groups are nuclear families, but there are cases where married brothers manumit with the children of one or of both. In Egypt it seems quite common for heirs to divide property formally but continue to reside together; see Hobson 1985. Indivision is suggested in the decree supposedly recording the foundation of Cyrene c.600, set up in the 4th c. (M/L 5); one son is to go from each *oikos* in Thera and fathers or *brothers* who help anyone to evade this rule are to be penalized. Two texts from Olbia grant *ateleia* to honorands and brothers sharing property in indivision with them (Dubois 1996, 21 and 19; cf. ch. 6 n. 17). In an oracular text of the 3rd c. from Kos (Pugliese Carratelli 1957, 442) it looks to me possible that the questioner is asking whether he should divide the *patrôion* [*klêro*]_n (cf. Christophilopoulos 1977, 71; ch. 12 n. 100). See Laiou 1977, 198–202 for Byzantine data.

⁸² It is even harder to discover counter-instances. Archiades of Otryne left his brothers, to go and live on Salamis ([Dem.] 44); the brothers Theophemos and Euergos of Euonymon seem to have lived at some distance from each other ([Dem.] 47. 34–5).

Mine leases provide three examples of members of the same deme owning adjacent plots: Diokles and Kimon of Sounion at ? Sounion, Nikias and Smikythos of Thorikos at ? Thorikos, and Kleokritos and Pyrrhakos of Aigilia at Nape. These may or may not be kinsmen; all three demes are in the mining area. The adjacent holdings of Kallaischros and Stesileides of Siphnos, father and son (*APF* C 12) have already been mentioned (n. 39). Charmylos' children and his wife (widow) are both listed in 367/6 as owning property in Nape in the Sounion area, but with different neighbours; if the property attributed to the wife had been put up by Charmylos as security for the return of her dowry (cf. Schaps 1979, 5), both holdings had come from a single estate.⁸³

A series of rock-cut inscriptions, also from the mining area (Langdon and Watrous 1977), seems to provide evidence of kin living close together at Agrileza. Timesios the son of Antipatros receives land in payment of a debt; Timesios son of Lysistratos and Doros son of Timesios make a joint dedication.⁸⁴ Here, perhaps, we catch a glimpse of a situation similar to that recorded in Demosthenes 55, where the speaker, whose father had bought land in a hill area perhaps north of Eleusis,⁸⁵ has been involved in a series of lawsuits against his neighbour Kallikles, Kallikles' brother Kallikrates, and their cousin. The cousin, allegedly, had tried to claim the speaker's land on the basis of a forged contract (§ 31), and presumably had land of his own in the neighbourhood (§§ 1–2). An exchange of plots had also been proposed (§ 32); apparently the opponents wanted to consolidate their holding. But although for once we seem to have example of a small rural lineage tenaciously attached to its plots,⁸⁶ it should be noted that Kallikles as a young man had moved to the city—where presumably he learnt something about the working of the courts—and had returned to the countryside only when his father died (§ 3).

⁸³ Sounians: *Agora XIX* P 13. 17–18, c.350 (or 330s? n. 44 above). Thorikos: P 16. 12–13, c.350 (or later: Tracy 1995, 107). Aigilians: P 5. 45–6, 79–80, 367/6. Family of Charmylos, *ibid.* ll. 45, 67–8, 79. I assume here that the references to land owned by the children of Charmylos bordered by Pyrrhakos of Aigilia and Leukios of Sounion, and to land owned by them bordered by Kleokritos of Aigilia and Leukios of Sounion, refer to the same estate (*ibid.* ll. 79ff.). Charmylos' wife's property is next to that of the wife of Alypetos, which is noteworthy since references to land owned by women are very rare (cf. n. 6 above); they may have been sisters who inherited land in the absence of male heirs and divided it. Alypetos' wife was priestess of Aphrodite Pandemos, *IG ii² 4596/CEG 775*; ch. 12 n. 92.

⁸⁴ Waelkens 1982 has Timesios II and Doros as FBS. Another inscription from the same estate (40 m. from the first) marks the tomb (*soros*) of Deinias and his descendants (Waelkens 1982, Wickens 1983; *SEG* 32. 234, *SEMA* 1672). The land had earlier been used for quarrying and had the entries to two mines in it. See ch. 26 n. 91 and Table 26.9.

⁸⁵ The land is in the speaker's deme (§ 35); it is surrounded by a mountain, and shepherds take their flocks through it (10–11). The reference to Eleusis in § 28 suggests that this is the nearest town.

⁸⁶ I have not searched systematically for evidence of kin owning adjacent rural holdings in other parts of the Greek world, but note that the land of Epikrates son of Epikrates, whose testament from the Manisa area (Lydia), of the 1st c. CE, was published by Herrmann and Polatkan 1969 (*BE* 2013, 399), adjoined land owned by Epikrates son of Diophantos, probably his FBS or BS. Study of *IG xii* 5. 872 (Tenos, late 4th/early 3rd c.) would be fruitful. *IG ii² 2776* lists properties in Attika in the Hadrianic period (S. G. Miller 1972a, *SEG* 29. 160). Ar. *Clouds* 1322–3 assumes that kin may live within earshot.

As mentioned earlier, Plato bought land at Eiresidai adjoining land owned by his sister's husband Eurymedon of Myrrhinous (or his heirs; *APF* 8792 XI, Diogenes Laertios 3. 42). The son of Euthymachos of Agryle bought land at Agryle adjacent to that of his father in the sale of land confiscated from members of the Thirty (Walbank 1982*b*).

In the city, a record of denunciation and confiscation of property owned by debtors to the state in 342/1 (*Agora* XIX P 26) reveals three members of the deme Myrrhinous owning adjacent houses in Peiraios: the apartment block (*syn-oikia*) owned by the debtor Meixidemos of Myrrhinous is bordered on one side by a house owned by Euthykles son of Euthymenides of Myrrhinous, who made the denunciation (*apographê*),⁸⁷ and on another side by the house of Euthymachos of Myrrhinous. It seems quite likely that all three were kin. The purchaser however was a demesman of Acharnai.

Proximity might of course create relationships as well as resulting from them. One of the daughters of Menexenos of Kydathenaion married a man called Theopompos who owned a house next door to that of her adoptive nephew (BS) Dikaiogenes III (Isaios 5.11; *APF* 3773). He may have been a kinsman, but it seems more likely that the families became acquainted as neighbours.

More thorough exploration of the Attic countryside will still, in all probability, produce a sprinkling of new evidence like the rock-cut inscriptions from the farm of Timesios and his family. We may discover a few more stably rooted local squires in the demes. But I doubt if the basic pattern of a high degree of circulation, the city pulling in men from all levels of society and later sending some of them back, often to a different area from that in which their families were originally at home, will change. Though many Athenians may have had some kin among their neighbours, their kin networks would have spread widely across Attica, as their property interests often did.

⁸⁷ On the relations between denouncers and those whose property they register, and on this affair see ch. 14 n. 42. Names suggest that Euthykles and Euthymachos were kin; whether Meixidemos was related to them is more doubtful. Euthykles had a brother Eupolemos, amphiktyon in Delos in 341/0 (*ID* 104–28. 4, cf. *ID* 42. 5, *IG* xii 5. 113), and *tamias triëtopoiikôn* in some year before 330/29 (*IG* ii² 1627. 73–4). Cf. ch. 25 n. 58.

Economic Cooperation

Landowning was by no means the only basis for economic cooperation between kin; indeed, though at first it may seem surprising, the evidence for cooperation is rather better among the urban population than it is for those who lived in the rural demes. Possibly the inelasticity of landholdings created sources of conflict which did not exist in occupations where it was easier to expand operations. Since there was no labour market or institutionalized system of apprenticeship (see however n. 14 below), a young man who lacked land and wanted work would be as ready to join a kinsman who could teach him a craft as the kinsman would be to employ him. Slaves of course were always available, and in some occupations we see slave trainees supplanting sons who did not want to work their way up from the foundations of the business. Pasion's bank went to his freedman Phormion, because the reputation for trustworthiness on which a bank depended could only be earned by a long period of dealings with clients.¹ Apollodoros, Pasion's elder son, had neither the patience nor, one suspects, the shrewdness which the job required.

Another profession which depended heavily on personal reputation, built up slowly over the years, was medicine. The medical student was instructed in principle to regard his teacher as a father; but it was also apparently common for the profession to be literally hereditary. A fourth-century dedication by five doctors from the shrine of Asklepios at Athens (*IG* ii² 4359) names the brothers Diakritos and Epeuches, sons of Dieuches of Phrearrhioi; their father was also a doctor. The Diakritos named in 415 as one of those who parodied the Eleusinian mysteries (Andokides 1. 52, 67) may have been their grandfather; we do not know that this Diakritos was a doctor, but the mockery of the parodists fits with the polemical attitude to religion found in early medical texts, and another doctor, Eryximachos, is named among the accused (Andokides 1. 35; *APF* 11907). Eryximachos' father Akoumenos was also a doctor, and Eryxias of Peiraios, who practised as a doctor in the late fourth century ([Demosthenes] 33. 18) may be

¹ Bourriot 1987 (following *APF* 11672 II) suggests that Pasion's owners had inherited the bank from their father. Bogaert 1968 collects evidence for banks passing to freedmen. On the Solonian law obliging a father to teach his son a trade see ch. 1 n. 134. The sons of very successful self-made men tended to distance themselves from their fathers' business origins: see ch. 25 n. 37 on Chairephilos the saltfish-merchant.

a descendant.² The dedication from the Asklepieion also names a Mnesitheos son of Mnesitheos, whose father may be the Mnesitheos named by Galen, with Dieuches, as a doctor of the classical period.³

Expertise in religious matters was also often handed down in families. Aischines' mother, involved in Orphic initiations, had a brother who was a *mantis* (*SEG* 16. 193, 21. 838). Meidoteles I of Myrrhinous and his son Kalliteles I practised the same profession. Isokrates (19. 5f.) says that the *mantis* Polemainetos handed on his books and specialist knowledge (*technê*) to a disciple because he had no son. An edict probably issued by Ptolemy Philopator requires those who perform Dionysiac initiations to declare their source of knowledge, tracing the transmission back for three generations, i.e., to the declarant's grandfather.⁴

Doctors and—at least in their own estimation—diviners stood midway between intellectuals and mere technicians or craftsmen; the same hereditary pattern is found on both sides. As already noted, Plato chose his sister's son Speusippos to succeed him as head of the Academy, and Thales earlier had supposedly adopted his sister's son Kybisthos (ch. 2 n. 50; Table 5.3). Zeno became the lover or, in one version, the adoptive father of the son of Parmenides.⁵ Isokrates' stepson and adopted son Aphareus became a speechwriter and poet; Phanodemos, who wrote a history of Attika, had a son who was also an historian, Diyllos (*FGH* 325 and 73; on the remote possibility of an affinal link between Kleidemos and Philochoros see ch. 20 n. 102). Antiphon's father, according to [Plutarch] (*Moralia* 832c) was a sophist.

The phenomenon is even commoner among dramatic poets, perhaps because personal contacts with *choregoi*, chorus trainers, and actors were important for

² On Eryxias of Peiraios see ch. 25 n. 7. On present evidence we cannot assign a deme to Akoumenos and Eryximachos. The name Eryxias also occurs in Steiria (*APF* 8792 VI, a kinsman of the oligarch Kritias), and Eryximachos in Kydathenaion (with a son who could be [Alex]ias just as well as [Eryx]ias; the physician had a nephew called Alexippos).

³ Aleshire 1991, no. 3748. See D. M. Lewis 1955 and Charitonides 1961 (*Agora* XV 42. 212) for other members of the family. The dedication probably belongs to the Lykourgan period. Cf. ch. 26 nn. 84–5. Bertier 1972 discusses the relation between the Mnesitheos and Dieuches of *IG* ii² 4359 and those named in later medical texts. Schwenk 1985, no. 14 (*IG* ii² 304 + 604, perhaps post-Lykourgan) records honours awarded to two (?) doctors whose forefathers (*progonoi*) had followed the same occupation. One was Ep—son of Theopha[nes] of Ach[arnai]; *IG* ii² 5804 may commemorate Theophanes and his wife. On doctors outside Athens see Samama 2003. W. D. Smith 1979 is sceptical about the attribution of works in the Hippocratic corpus to sons, grandsons, and a son-in-law of Hippokrates. Hdt. 3. 131 says that Demokedes of Kroton became a travelling doctor because of bad relations with his father; this may suggest that the father also practised medicine.

⁴ Meidoteles, *SEG* 23. 161, Table 4.10; cf. *RE* s.v. *Theoris*. Edict, *BGU* 1211 (*Sammelbuch* 7266); cf. Fraser 1972 I, 204, II, 345–7 (nn. 114–16); Burkert 1982, 6–8. On heredity in genos priesthoods see ch. 20. Comic writers play on the assumption that professions are hereditary, extending it to sycophants (Ar. *Birds* 1451–2); cf. Herodas *Mim.* 2. 77 with Cunningham 1971, 97; Plaut. *Pers.* 53ff.

⁵ *Paidika*, Plat. *Parm.* 127b (cf. Kerkidas *Meliamb.* 6. 11 ff.); adopted son, D. L. 11. 5, 25 (*FGH* 244 F 30 II 1028). On the Academy see Watts 2007.

success.⁶ The tragic poet and dancer Karkinos (Crab) of Thorikos had three little crablet sons who also danced and wrote tragedies (Aristophanes *Wasps* 1500ff.); one of these, Xenokles, had a son Karkinos II, and perhaps also a grandson Xenokles II, who followed the family profession. Aeschylus' sons Euphorion and Euaion both wrote tragedies, as did his nephew (ZS) Philokles I. Morsimos and Melanthios, sons of Philokles, wrote very bad tragedies (if we can trust Aristophanes *Peace* 799–804, with scholia) but prided themselves on being great-nephews (ZSS) of Aeschylus. The tradition was continued by Morsimos' son Astydamos I and his sons Philokles II and Astydamos II. Kinesias the dithyramb writer was son of the kithara player Melas (Plato *Gorgias* 501e 10–502a). Sophokles' son Iophon wrote tragedies and so did his two grandsons, both named Sophokles, sons of Iophon and of the illegitimate Ariston. Aristophanes had three sons who acted and wrote comedies. Pratinas and his son Aristion were both dramatic poets.⁷

Writing, producing, and acting were for a long time closely linked, and even when the profession of actor became more distinctly identified it continued to run in families. Euripides is said to have had a son who was an actor, Mnesilochos II of Phlya. Kleandros, the victorious actor of 388/7, may have been a descendant of the Kleandros who acted for Aeschylus. Kallippos I son of Kallias of Sounion was still working in 313/12 when Kallippos II, probably his son, won the prize. Kallias II, active in the early third century, may be either brother or

⁶ Choregoi drew lots for the order in which they picked poets and, for the competition in dithyramb, flute players. Choruses and chorus trainers (*didaskaloi*) were chosen by *chorēgoi*, presumably with advice from the poet; poets themselves played an active role in production, but used specialists to help in training the chorus in dancing and singing as early as Aeschylus. Actors were chosen by poets until the middle of the 5th c., after which protagonists were allocated by lot; protagonists may have recruited their own supporting players (Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 75–6, 90–5). Young poets sometimes produced their first plays under the name of more experienced writers, at least in comedy; reputation carried weight, but contacts may have counted for something too (ibid. 84–6). Welsh 1983, 54 suggests that this custom may have begun with Aristophanes, who was writing plays for production before he was 20.

⁷ Playwright families: G. Murray 1940, 11–13; D. F. Sutton 1987; Easterling 1993; Csapo 2004, 2010*b*. Tragedy: Karkinos, *APF* 8254 (ch. 27 n. 84); *TGF* 2nd ed. I nos. 21, 33, 70, Stephanes 1988 nos. 1903–4. Pratinas of Phlious had a son, Aristias, who also wrote tragedies, *TGF* 2nd ed. I no. 4 T. 2, 7; no. 9. Aeschylus, ibid. nos. 5, 12–13, 23–4, 29, 59–61; Astydamos III, no. 96, was perhaps SS of Astydamos II (but the early 3rd c. actor Aischyl[os], Stephanes no. 93, need not be connected). See chs. 29 n. 66, 30 n. 102, 32 n. 24. Sophocles, *TGF* 2nd ed. I nos. 22, 62, 147, cf. *TGF* 2nd ed. IV. Comedy: for Aristophanes' sons see *PCG* 2. 524–31, 7. 74–92, 322–32, 353–5; ch. 25 n. 6. Hermippos and Myrtilos, Athenian comic poets of the late 5th c., were brothers, sons of Lysis: *PCG* 5. 561–604, 7. 29–32. Philonides of Kydathenaion, producing at the same date, was followed by his son Nikocharēs: *PCG* 7. 363–9, 39–49. Antiphanes I, an East Greek, was succeeded by his son Stephanos, 2. 312–481, 7. 614–15. Diphilos and Diodoros of Sinope were brothers, *PCG* 5. 25–30, 47–123; *IG* ii² 10321 may be their tombstone, although there was a tradition that Diphilos died in Smyrna (5 T. I, p. 47). The Diodoros (II) of this stone, who acquired citizenship and became a demesman of Semachidai, is missing from *LGN*. In a related profession, the Theban flautist Potamon was taught by his father, who perhaps claimed to have been taught by Pindar, *IG* ii² 8883 (*CAT* 2. 235, *CEG* 509); P. Wilson 2007*c*; 2010*b*, 185–6, 196–7. On playwrights' and actors' names see P. Wilson 2007*c*, 372–4. Roman playwright families, Feeney 2016, 229–30.

son of the younger Kallippos (II); the Kallippos (III) recorded as an actor at Delos in 268 may be another son of Kallippos II. Ischandros son of Neoptolemos, mentioned by Demosthenes (9. 10) as an actor, may be a son of Neoptolemos of Skyros, known as an actor in Athens *c.*360–340, and father of the tragic and comic actor(s) called Neoptolemos who played in the Soteria at Delphi in 259. Dynasties can also be traced in later centuries.⁸

In a related profession an immigrant family, Eukles I and his descendants in Trinemeia, held the office of public herald to the Council and Assembly in Athens for three generations between *c.*400 and the end of the fourth century, and continued to hold it frequently, perhaps even uninterruptedly, from 305/4 to 140/39.⁹

In general, according to Plato (*Protagoras* 328a), ‘people who work with their hands’ learn their skills from their fathers and their fathers’ friends in the same trade, without taking formal lessons (however, *Protagoras* 311b–c, 318b–c envisage payment to doctors, sculptors, painters, or flautists for training; cf. Griffith 2001). The famous Praxiteles may have been son, son-in-law, or younger brother to another sculptor, Kephisodotos; at least he named his son after Kephisodotos, and the boy followed in their footsteps, as did a second son, or a son-in-law, Timarchos, who worked with Kephisodotos II (*IG* ii² 3455, 3777), and a younger Praxiteles, son of Kephisodotos II or of Timarchos (*APF* 8334).¹⁰ Sthennis and Herodoros, father and son, both worked for the Amphiareion at Oropos in the late fourth/third century. Much earlier, the sixth-century sculptors Archermos and Philerm[os] of Chios may have been related; Archermos was succeeded by his sons Boupalos and Athenis. Myron, in the fifth century, was succeeded by his son

⁸ Stephanes 1988, nos. 1727 Mnesilochos, 1412–13 Kleandros, 1352 Kallippos I, 1350 + 1353 Kallippos II, 1323 Kallias II, 1349 Kallippos III, 1797 Neoptolemos of Skyros, 1303 Ischandros, 1796 Neoptolemos of Athens. D. F. Sutton 1987 and Pomeroy 1997, 147–8 depend on Ghiron-Bistagne 1976 and contain inaccuracies. Two brothers win prizes as actors at Thorikos, 4th c., *SEG* 40. 167 (cf. *IG* i³ 258b *bis*). On later periods see Chaniotis 1990.

⁹ *SEG* 33. 69, M. J. Osborne 1983, 39–40; cf. D. M. Lewis 1954, 36–7; *IG* ii³ 4. 54–5; Piérart 1976; Whitehead 1983, 71 nn. 22, 38. Eukles I, already serving at or shortly after the restoration of democracy in 403, was succeeded in office by his son Philokles I *c.*360 (*IG* ii² 145; for the date at which the family acquired citizenship, and problems in reconstructing its genealogy, see ch. 29 n. 60). A herald from another family is attested for 335/4 (*Agora* XV 43. 234). Eukles II son of Philokles (II?) served from 305/4 to 303/2 (*ibid.* 58. 34–5, 61. 106, 62. 296), and had been succeeded by his brother Philokles (III?) by 281/0 (72 + *SEG* 36. 217, 98). See Wilhelm 1909, 83–6 on their descendants. Diaitos II son of Dion of Phrearrhioi, recorded as *kéryx epi* to [c.6–7] in 303/2 (62. 346–7), held a different office. He came from a trierarchic family (*APF* 4521), and it may be of interest that his father owned a slave flautist who kept time for rowers. Cf. possibly, in another line of public office, Mechanion, *grammateus* *c.*470 (*IG* i³ 841) and his (?) son Teisamenos, *hypogrammateus* and reviser of laws at the end of the century (Lys. 30. 28, emended in *LGPN* Mechanion 2).

¹⁰ See the discussion in *APF* 8334; Schultz 2003; ch. 2 VI 1. The most plausible solution to this question is perhaps that Timarchos, son of Praxiteles, was adopted into Eiresidai by his MF but continued to use his patronymic of origin when working with his brother. A DH of Praxiteles should have been born *c.*380, perhaps too early for Timarchos’ career.

Lykios.¹¹ Pheidias' brother and nephew (BS) were painters. Aglaophon of Thasos and his sons Aristophon and Polygnotos were all painters; both sons worked in Athens (Plato *Gorgias* 448b 11). Parrhasios was the son of another painter, Euenor.

Vase painters had family links with potters and with sculptors and painters (sculptures were also painted). The archaic black-figure vase painter Nearchos had two sons, Tleson who worked both as potter and as painter and the potter Ergoteles. Ergotimos, his son Eucheiros, and his grandson all potted (*ABV* 162–3). The red-figure painter Euthymides was probably son of a sculptor, Pollias, while the sculptor Antenor may have been son of a painter. The potter Kleophrades may have been the son of the vase painter Amasis (Boardman 1975, 92, 1988; D. Williams 1995, 144–5). In the fourth century the brothers Bakchios and Kittos both worked as potters, and Bakchios' sons Bakchios II and Kittos II emigrated to Ephesos to work there after their father's death (*IG* ii² 6320 = *CEG* 567, with vase on top? Wilhelm 1909, 40 n. 20); *IEph* 1420; Beazley 1943, 456–7; Valavanis 1996, 2011*b*). Cf. Bodel 2000.

The accounts for work on the Erechtheion in 408/7 (*IG* i³ 476) show what look like two family teams of stonemasons at work on the columns. Phalakros and Philostratos of Paiania, perhaps father and son, work with three slaves belonging to Phalakros (Thargelios, Philorgos, 'Work-lover', and Gerys, 'the Voice'); Theugenes and Kephisogenes of Peiraios work with two metics (one called Kephisodoros, a freedman of the family?), Nikostratos (a slave?), and Theugeiton of Peiraios. Perhaps Theugenes and Kephisogenes are brothers and Theugeiton is Theugenes' son.¹² Later we find Antimachos of Kephisia and his (?) son Neokleides working successively as stonemasons at Eleusis, the former in (?) 354/3 and the latter in 329/8.

¹¹ Daux 1968, 255 for the reading Philerm[os]; cf. also *IG* i³ 830 *bis*. Vatin 1982 imagines that the sculptors of the archaic 'Kleobis and Biton' group at Delphi were twins. Kritios and Nesiotes, active in the 470s, may have been father and son (*DAA* 120–3, 160–1; *IG* i³ 846–51; cf. Viviers 1995, 213). Where not otherwise noted, references will be found in *DAA* 479ff.; for later dynasties of sculptors see the excellent analysis in Stewart 1979, 102–14; id. 2012; Despines 1995; Habicht 1998 on Sthenis; *IOrop* 371–2, 383; *SEG* 56. 544/59. 506. Knoepfler 1984 (*non vidi*) discusses dynasties of architects. Further references in Burford 1972, 84–7; Vial 1984, 350. D. R. Jordan 2000*a* publishes a letter written by a boy working for a bronzesmith which, if he is not a slave, may be the first evidence from Athens of an apprenticeship under non-kin (*SEG* 50. 276); he appeals to his mother and Xenokles (her male protector, presumably) to intervene on his behalf.

¹² Phalakros' team *IG* i³ 476. 79–83, 227–31, 310–14; Theugenes' team, *ibid.* 92–100, 212–18, 321–6. All are paid equally; the names are always listed in the same order, which suggests to me that Theugeiton is a boy. A [Ke]phisoge[nes] appears on his own in line 444. The only other team which includes more than one Athenian citizen is that of Laossos of Alopeke and Philon of Erchia, with two slaves owned by Laossos and a worker referred to simply as (h)Ikaros (476. 75–8, 224–6, 307–10). Kanon ('Straight-edge') son of Dionysodoros of Thespiiai, who contracted to quarry stones for building on Delos while it was under Athenian control in the late 4th c. (*IG* ii² 1678. 29–30 = *ID* 104–4), was presumably named by a father in the building trade, and the same may be true of Euthydemos ('Straight-builder') of Melite, who appears in the Erechtheion accounts as a carpenter (*IG* i³ 475. 247–8; see Whitehead 1986*a*, 412–13 no. 34; Table 29.1).

The brothers —teles and Lysias, sons of Demophanes of Eitea, were both involved in building work at Eleusis *c.*330, probably on the columns of Philon's portico. *SEMA* 2320 may possibly record a slave family in which father and son were *neókoroi* at Eleusis (*IEleus* 177. 59, 185).¹³

This may be an appropriate place to collect the evidence for slave families in classical Athens. At law slaves could not marry and were not recognized as having kin. But those who worked as craftsmen or in the service industries—as entertainers, innkeepers, or prostitutes, categories that frequently overlapped—often lived apart from their owners and paid them a set daily fee, keeping whatever profits they cleared above this level (cf. E. E. Cohen 2003, 2015). Records from the late 330s–320s, relating to a manumission procedure which is not yet fully understood (see Kränzlein 1975; E. A. Meyer 2010 with *BE* 2010, 244), list freed slaves with the owner's name and date of manumission, and in several cases an owner appears to free a family group of slaves at the same time.¹⁴

¹³ For potters and vase painters see also Sapirstein 2014. Antimachos and Neokleides, *IEleus* 141. 17; 177. 51–4, 78. On the date of 141 (354/3 or 285/4) see Clinton 2003. Prosopography somewhat favours the later date: Aresias III son of Lamprokles II of Peiraios, councillor in the 250s (*IG* ii³ 983. 4), would be the BS of Nikostratos son of Aresias II, guarantor in *IEleus* 141; Antimachos (II) son of Philokles of Kephisia and Antimachos (III) son of Antikles of Kephisia, also councillors in the 250s (*IG* ii³ 922), might be grandsons (SS) of Antimachos (I) son of Neokleides (*IEleus* 141). See also Table 6.1 on Krates and Epikrates of Leukonoion. [—]teles appears as a contractor in *IEleus* 159. 28; in *IEleus* 151. 75 it is possible (though not very likely) that his brother acts as guarantor. They may have been related to Demokrates of Eitea, *tamias triēropoikōn* in 332/1 (ii 1628. 3–6; references in 1627. 22–3, 374–5, 390–7 may also refer to this year, and *PA* 3525 requires correction); the main reason for Demokrates' appearance in the dockyard records is that he was authorized to take some old masts, yardarms, and oars for use (as scaffolding?) by public slaves working on the theatre (?) and stadium. These had not yet been returned in 323/2 (1631. 237–46); there was perhaps not much left to return, and the continued entries provide a nice example of the over-bureaucratic features of Athenian administration, yet one may suspect that the family building yard had profited to some extent. There seems to be a tendency for building contractors to be prominent in the Lykourgan age. Wilhelm 1904 suggests that Demokrates is named in the curse tablet Wunsch (1897) 103. 9, which he dates *c.*323/2; but the name is common, there are no demotics, and Demokrates was not *tamias* in that year. Workgroup dedication of Autophylos of Phlya with his sons and (DS) grandsons, *IG* ii² 4327.

¹⁴ See now C. P. Jones 2008; Schmitz 2012; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005. Parker and Obbink 2000, 441–2, cite evidence from elsewhere for freed slaves paying for public registration. Cf. Jameson 1978, 134–5 n. 63. Note also Dein. F XVI 4 Conomis 1975, a son succeeds his father as *prometrētēs*, a post held by a public slave. *SEG* 25. 180 is Agora Inv. I 5656, *c.*330–322 (D. M. Lewis 1968). There is no evidence from Athens of the obligation for a freed slave to remain with his or her ex-owner in *paramonē*, until the owner dies, and sometimes also to produce a child or children to take the parent's place, which becomes common in Greek manumission records of the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods (cf. Babakos 1961, 1963; Hopkins 1978, ch. 3). Freedmen in Athens might well continue to work for their ex-owners but do not seem to have been under any formal obligation to do so. The wills of the philosophers preserved by D. L. do not recognize any slave families. Delphic inscriptions explicitly recognize only the relation between mother and child, and simultaneous manumission there of slave families is uncommon (Hopkins, loc. cit.). For evidence from papyri see Montevicchi 1935, 96–9, Adams 1964; for Roman slave families Rawson 1966, Bradley 1984, Geroussi-Bendermacher 2005, Harper 2011. Cf. Rosivach 1989 on the manumission of woolworkers/housewives and children; Riel 2009 on threptoi.

For example, in *SEG* 25. 180. 29–37 Hippokrates, a metik living in Peiraios, simultaneously frees a male and a female myrrh seller and a child; in ll. 62–7 Kallikrates son of Tim— frees woolworkers, very probably a couple, together. In *SEG* 18. 36 side A, a record from about the same date, Dionysios the *isotelés* frees Kittos, a bronzesmith, and Mnesitheia, a woolworker, both living in Peiraios (100–5); Aristophon son of Aristion of Aphidnai frees two child-nurses living in Skambonidai, probably mother and daughter (255–62); Pherekleides son of Pherekles of Perithoidai frees Philon, a secretary, Rhodia, a woolworker, and the child Kordype, all living at Thorikos (464–75); Menedemos, a metik living in Melite in the city, frees Herakleides and Thraitta, male and female innkeepers or shopkeepers (*kapēloi*), also living in Melite (489–96); on face B of the same stone —machos son of Kallimachos of Marathon frees a fish smoker and a girl living in Peiraios, perhaps with other slaves (34–40); Thersippos son of Antiphanes frees a slave muleteer living in Peiraios and a slave boy (93–6); Menites son of Menon of Kydathenaion frees Atta (‘Dad’), a lentil seller, Malthake, a woolworker, and three children, all probably living in Keiriadai just outside the city wall (112–22); Autokrates frees Ariste and two children (perhaps also a father), 232–9; Nikeratos son of Nikeratos of Melite and Pheidippos son of Sosidemnos of Xypete free a ringmaker, a child, and two female woolworkers (253–66); Misgolas and his brother free two slaves, one a child (335–42). On *IG* ii² 1553 Sostratos of Hermos and Timarchides of Euonymon free Sosias, who lives in Alopeke, and the [*kapēl*]is Soteris, living in the same area (4–7, 13–16); on ii² 1561 Midas and Soteris, sesame sellers living in Melite, are both freed by Hipparchides son of Kallippos of Kephale (22–30); on ii² 1563 Lykis son of Bion of Acharnai frees three slaves living in Peiraios, two male and one female (4–11); on ii² 1564 Lykiskos son of Smikylyon of Athmonon frees an analogous group (2–14); on ii² 1568 an *eranos*-group, i.e., a set of friends joining together to help a slave buy freedom, is involved in the joint manumission of two male cobblers (18–23); another two males, living in Peiraios, are freed by Euthippos of Lamptrai (1569. 9–15); a man and woman living in Melite are freed by Neoptolemos of Melite (1569. 53–60); a man and woman and a second woman described as a woolworker, living in Melite, are freed by Kallikrates son of Demokrates of Gargettos (1570. 10–17); two slaves living in Keiriadai are freed by a son of Euxippos of Eleusis (1570. 27–32). The woolworker Hellas, living in Kydathenaion, is freed with Demeas, living in the same place, by Aristopolis son of Aristopolis of Lamptrai; it is unusual to find the woman listed first (1570. 51–6; are they mother and son?). Daos and Lykinos, two males living on Salamis, are freed by Meidon son of Euthykritos and his two sons (1574. 4–12). Bion of Acharnai, father or brother of the Lykis mentioned above, freed Philotheros, his boy (*paidion*) Philokrates, and Menestrate, a woolworker, all living in Peiraios (1576. 57–64).¹⁵ In most cases it seems reasonable to assume that the group freed is a slave couple or family or, where two slaves are of the same sex, perhaps a parent and child or siblings. But in some cases where same-sex slaves are freed it may be that they work together without being related; and in *IG* ii² 1567. 9–12 Lysanias of Phrearrhioi at the same time frees two male slaves who live in different demes, Skambonidai and Thymaitadai, the former in the city and the latter on the coast at Skaramanga.

¹⁵ Philotheros, Philokrates, and Menestrate all have names quite commonly given to citizens; note also the goldsmith Pheidestratos, freed by [–]ostratos son of Polycharmides (*SEG* 18. 36 B 101–3); some of these slaves may be houseborn, perhaps even illegitimate children of their masters.

Literary references to support the epigraphic data are rare, but Timarchos of Sphettos owned a pair of slave weavers who lived on their own (Aischines 1. 102–4), and the client for whom Hyperides wrote his speech *Against Athenogenes* had fallen in love with a slave boy and had been persuaded to buy the perfume shop in which he worked with his father and brother (3. 4–5). In Terence's *Adelphoe* 972–3 a freed slave asks for a wet nurse to be freed also so that he can marry her.¹⁶ Andokides 1. 12 mentions two slave brothers, perhaps entertainers (ch. 13 n. 31), who were present at the parodying of the Mysteries.

Kin might join together as partners in ventures of other kinds. Lakritos' two brothers were both involved in trading voyages ([Demosthenes] 35. 7–8); Megakleides and Thrasylos of Eleusis, brothers ([Demosthenes] 52. 20), borrow money together for a trading voyage to Acre. The brothers Diogeiton and Diodotos (*APF* 3885, Lysias 32) were both engaged in financing trading voyages, and Lysias' efforts to represent their operations as entirely separate are hardly convincing. The city of Olbia in the Black Sea, in the fourth century, granted freedom from dues (*ateleia*) to Xanthippos the son of Aristophon of Erchia and Philopolis son of Philopolis of Deiradiotai, their descendants, brothers sharing property in indivision, and servants.¹⁷ Two brothers, sons of Ischyrius of Upper Lamprai, emigrated together as *kleruchs* in the fourth century (*IG* ii² 1952. 9–10; cf. ch. 23 at nn. 18–19 on the sons of Kallias of Euonymon).

Mantitheos and his father Mantias of Thorikos borrowed money together from the banker Blepaios in order to lease a mine ([Demosthenes] 40. 52); Mantitheos was only eighteen, but had just got married, and his father may have had to join in the enterprise because the son was still under age (ch. 5 p. 153). In other cases where more than one member of a family is involved in mining it is usually through the ownership of land. There are cases where both father and son lease mines, but they are not recorded as doing so together.¹⁸

¹⁶ The scene in the *Adelphoe* represents generosity beyond a slave's wildest dreams. There are references to famous lines of slave *hetairai*, daughter succeeding mother: Wilhelm 1904, 112.

¹⁷ Cf. Reed 2003. Dubois 1996 no. 21; for Xanthippos see Table 20.4; for Philopolis ch. 26 n. 110, Table 26.11). The formula (which occurs also in the 4th c. in Dubois no. 19, but not in nos. 20, a grant to 2 brothers, or 15) suggests that the Olbians knew they were dealing with men who used agents; we do not have enough texts to judge how far they were concerned about the precise arrangements. *Therapontes* are regularly mentioned in 4th c. texts. The speaker of [Dem.] 34, who has lent money for a trading voyage to the Bosphoros, sends a letter with the borrower to his boy (*paidi*, a slave?) and to a partner (*koinônōi tini*), who are in the Bosporan kingdom, asking them to supervise arrangements at that end of the voyage (§ 8).

¹⁸ In addition to the examples cited in ch. 5 nn. 44, 65, Diophanes of Gargettos (*APF* 1413) is recorded as a landowner in *Agora* XIX P 24. 7, P 26. 175; in the latter record (?342/1) his son Aisimides registers and leases a mine (P 26. 279–84). Isandros of Sypalettos registers and leases a mine in the same year (P 26. 259–66), his son Stratokles leases in 341/0, P 27. 17–18. Kephisodoros of Athmonon leases in mid-century, P 16. 9 (perhaps later, Tracy 1995, 107), his son Euphemides registers and leases c.320/19, P 38. 17–19. Cf. Ito 1986. R. G. Osborne 1985a, 2–3 suggests a connection between Pausistratos son of Philistides, lessee in *Agora* XIX P 24. 15, who appears in a list of Kekropis (*IG* ii² 2385 col. I 10), and Philistides son of Philistides of Aixone, farmer of the 5-dr. tax in the mining area (*Agora* XIX P 26. 470), but Pausistratos probably belongs to Athmonon (see *APF* pp. 62–3, nos. 12699, 12762, and ? p. 490, Stephanos son of Hermogenes). Xenokles and Androkles sons of Xenis of Sphettos both appear as (?) tax-farmers in *IG* ii² 1593 (n. 27), but they act independently.

It is not uncommon for kin to lend money together. Diogeiton and Diodotos (Lysias 32) have already been discussed. The brothers Thrasymedes and Melanopos sons of Diophantos of Sphettos, who introduced the speaker of [Demosthenes] 35, their fellow-demesman Androkles, to the brothers of the sophist Lakritos who wanted to borrow money for a trading voyage, may themselves have been involved in similar ventures. Ergophilos and Ergochares of Atene, who jointly lent 2300 drachmas on the security of land, should be kin to judge from their names.¹⁹ Mneson, Mnesiboulos, and Charinos of Halai Araphenides (?), who lent money in 315/14 against land in the Vari area and a house in the city, may all have belonged to a family known from tomb inscriptions found at Vraona in the area of that deme.²⁰

Kin could also help each other by providing loans, helping to negotiate loans from others, acting as guarantors or giving commissions. Lending was presumably common. Theophrastos characterizes the mean man as one who will turn aside out of the street to avoid a *philos* (friend or kinsman) who is raising a collective loan, *eranos* (*Characters* 22). Unfortunately the stone markers which recorded loans secured on land almost never give the names of both creditor and debtor, so our only evidence for loans comes from lawcourt speeches. Demosthenes' cousin (FBS) Demomeles II had borrowed 1600 drachmas from the elder Demosthenes, his FB, before 376 (Demosthenes 27. 11; *APF* 3597 III B). Aristophanes, a friend of Konon, borrowed 700 drachmas from his wife's father when collecting money to finance an expedition to help King Euagoras of Cyprus in 390/89, and also used 4000 drachmas deposited with him by his patrilateral half-brother (whose mother may have been Cypriote).²¹ Demos son of Pylilampes asked the speaker of Lysias 19, brother of Aristophanes' wife, to help him persuade Aristophanes to lend him money (19. 25–6). When the stepfather of Apollodoros of Leukonoion was taken prisoner, Apollodoros contributed to the payment of his ransom and acted as hostage for him while he collected the rest of the sum he needed;²² and when the stepfather, Archedamos, became poor Apollodoros (the speaker claims) helped him to manage his property and shared his own resources with him (§ 9; a rather vague statement). Polyeuktos of Kydantidai, accused in 324 of having associated with Athenian exiles in Megara

¹⁹ *IG* ii² 2705, Finley 1952 no. 46. Another 500 dr. was lent by Autodikos of Oion.

²⁰ Finley no. 14, *APF* 10242 (we do not know that *IG* ii² 5505 came from Vraona); Table 24.7. However, the horos does not specify that the deme is Halai Araphenides, and its provenance suggests Halai Aixonides. In Finley 22 two men from Athmonon lend money on security of land, but the names give no indication of relationship. In *SEG* 21. 656 (Finley, 2nd ed. no. 95A) two Rhamnousians lend money together, but one seems to be paid off before the other.

²¹ Lys. 19. 22, *APF* 5921. See Millett 1990 on the social aspects of lending; Shipton 2000 on its economic significance.

²² Is. 7. 8, *APF* 1395. Apollodoros son of Pasion of Acharnai lent money to his neighbour Nikostratos to pay his ransom when he had been captured and sold into slavery in Aigina in 369/8; he claims that Nikostratos' own kin were unable or unwilling to help him ([Dem.] 53. 6–7).

who were plotting a coup, achieved acquittal by pleading that he had gone to help his mother's second husband, who was in financial difficulties in exile there.²³ Leokrates of (?) Pallene, who left Athens after the battle of Chaironeia and settled for a time in Megara, asked his elder sister's husband to buy his house and slaves in Athens from him, pay his debts, and bring the remaining cash to Megara.²⁴

Guarantors were needed for leases of public land and for major public works and tax-farming contracts. Metics had to have citizen guarantors, which meant that they could not look to kin. Citizens however might do so, and in some cases demonstrably did; though our reliance on epigraphic records of names (with patronymics and demotics) means that only agnatic relationships can be recovered.²⁵

From 37 records, all of the mid to late fourth century, in which the names and/or demotics of both the lessee or contractor and the guarantor(s) are preserved, there are nine cases in which the guarantor seems to be a kinsman. In 4–5 cases a father acts as guarantor for his son; in 4–5 cases one brother perhaps guarantees another. In a further case the guarantor is a fellow-demesman (Tables 6.1 and 6.2).²⁶

In addition, there are two texts in which kin are listed together but it is not clear whether a guarantee is involved and if so who the guarantor is. Two sons of Demophanes of Eitea are listed in a record of contracts for building works at Eleusis (*IEleus* 159. 75ff.); it is not clear whether both are contractors or one is guarantor for the other (cf. above, n. 13). In a fragmentary document probably recording tax-farming contracts (Papazarkadas 2011, 285–90) four men of Halai Aixonides are perhaps listed successively, as lessees and/or guarantors: The[o]pe[i]thes, Aristomachos, Phil[ip]pos, and A[sty]an[a]x. Astyanax is the son of Aristomachos.²⁷ Furthermore, two men who act as guarantors for each other—the son of Charias of Paiania and the son of Charidemios of Prospalta or

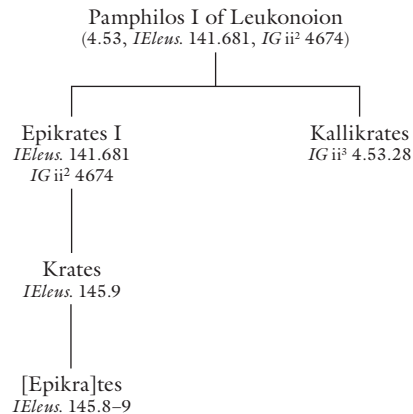
²³ Dein. 1. 58, 94; cf. M. H. Hansen 1975, no. 129, H. Schaefer 1952*a*.

²⁴ Lyk. 1. 22–3, *APF* 9437; for the demotic see Humphreys 1985*a*, n. 40. The transaction may have been a *prasis epi lysei* (ead. 1986*a*, 78); the slaves were resold to the husband of Leokrates' younger sister in a transaction discussed below.

²⁵ See Partsch 1909. On Meixidemos of Myrrhinous and the men for whom he acted as guarantor see ch. 25 n. 58; Ampolo 1982, 259 n. 27.

²⁶ Vial 1984, 292–3, 298–300 discusses economic cooperation between kin on Delos: guarantees for leases and loans, joint ventures, etc.; see also Hennig 1983. In a surprising number of cases sons act as guarantors for fathers. In Sicily land sale documents list the names of *ampochoi*, who seem to combine the functions of witnesses and guarantors. In Cordano 1984 no. 1 (*SEG* 34. 940, Camarina, late 4th/early 3rd c.), one of the 8 guarantors of the sale of a house and *kapêleia* is the seller's brother, though for the others no relationship can be traced; in *SEG* 4. 62, a *prasis epi lysei* from Morgantina, there seem to be a pair of cousins (FBS) and a small lineage among the guarantors (see Manganaro 1977, 1980; Ampolo 1985). There are several 4th c. contracts from the Chalkidike area in which a brother acts as guarantor for the seller (son as guarantor in *SEG* 24. 574, Torone); owners of adjoining plots act as witnesses (Hennig 1987).

²⁷ *IG* ii² 1593 = *SEG* 52. 142; Walbank 1995; Lambert 2001; Table 29.20; ch. 29 n. 136. Astyanax I, father of Aristomachos, does not appear in *IG* ii³ 4. 223 and must therefore have been dead by the date of that text.



Notes: Spacing supports restoring [Epi]krates in *IG ii² 4674*. For the date of *IEleus 141* see n. 13.

TABLE 6.1. Leukonoion: Pamphilos

Father for son, 4	<i>Agora XIX</i> L6.79–81 125–6 L9.75–7 <i>IG ii² 2496</i>
Brother for brother 2–4	<i>SEG 25.27.122–5</i> = <i>IG ii² 463</i> , Maier 1959 no. 11 (cf. ii² 7219, <i>Agora XV</i> 62.182) <i>IEleus 73–8</i> ? <i>IEleus 141.20–21</i> (see Table 6.1) ? <i>IEleus 141.32–3</i> (cf. <i>IG ii² 4.332</i> , 5521, <i>SEG 3.147</i>)
fellow-demesman	<i>Agora XIX</i> L6.95–7 (<i>APF</i> p. 247–8)
father and son co-guarantee	<i>SEG 25.78.122–5</i> (<i>APF</i> 16637)
reciprocal guarantors	<i>Agora XIX</i> L9.29–31, 35–7

TABLE 6.2. Kin as guarantors

Probalinthos—might be related, perhaps affinally, although at present nothing further is known of them.

One building contractor from Perithoidai is guaranteed by a kinsman (brother?) and by a father and son from Acharnai; we do not know whether these two were related to him as well as to each other.

More complete prosopographical data would undoubtedly reveal some cognatic or affinal relationships which we cannot detect at present. On the other hand, the fact that metics could find Athenian guarantors shows that Athenians were prepared to act as sureties for non-kin. When the politician Kephisophon son of Kephalion of Aphidnai (*APF* 8410) acts as guarantor for the banker Blepaios son of Sokles of Lamptrai, for a substantial Eleusinian contract, and

when Philophron son of Philokles of Peiraios and Pausistratos son of Lysimachos of Peiraios act as guarantors for Kephisophon, leasing a valuable house in Kollytos, there is no reason to suppose that kinship is involved.²⁸

These guarantees or transactions with the state provide a rare occasion on which economic support from kinsmen was recorded in writing. The great mass of friendly transactions gave rise neither to lawsuits nor to written records. The wife of Polyeuktos of Teithras reminded the family when she was dying that she had ‘lent’ 1800 drachmas to one of her sons-in-law; he was not expected to return it but it was to be counted as part of his wife’s inheritance. The mother left a written record of this debt, but it was hardly a formal contract (Demosthenes 41. 8–9). Scenes in New Comedy suggest that in all but the most lavishly equipped households a sacrifice or wedding feast would involve borrowing pots, pans, and dishes, and co-opting slaves, from neighbouring households (cf. [Demosthenes] 49. 22). Application for friendly loans could also be made to phratries, demes, *genê*, and other such associations, presumably with the support of kin; or the borrower’s friends could club together to form a temporary *eranos* association and make a collective loan (ch. 12 n. 48).

A rich kinsman could also help a poorer one by employing him as an agent or even as a servant. The element of dependence and subservience in such relationships was apt to create resentment, and the sources are circumspect in describing them, but at least a few cases can be discerned. The speaker of Isaios 5 (§ 11) relates indignantly that Dikaiogenes III had sent his ward, son of his adoptive sister, to Corinth as batman to the guardian’s brother. Less controversially—both because of the large sums involved and because they were not in Attika—Konon left his brother’s son in charge of his property in Cyprus, bequeathing 10,000 drachmas and 3 talents (18,000 dr.) to the nephew and to his father when he died (Lysias 19. 40; *APF* 13700). As we have already seen, when Leokrates of Pallene left Athens after Chaironeia he ‘sold’ a slave workgroup to his sister’s husband Amyntas. Amyntas re-‘sold’ the slaves to Timochares, husband of Leokrates’ younger sister (Amyntas’ WZH). The slaves were valued at 3500 dr., and Timochares paid ‘interest’ at 100 drachmas a month, which would be a very high rate of interest for a loan. De facto Amyntas seems to have been employing Timochares to manage a small business for him, the capital value of the slaves being specified in case Leokrates returned to Athens and wished to redeem the slaves, as indeed he may have done.²⁹

²⁸ *IEleus* 157. 32–4; Walbank 1983, stele I e col. ii 12–17 (*SEG* 33. 167). (The contributions to payment of trierarchic debts in 328/7, *IG* ii² 1628. 339–452 = 1629. 859–975, were from the social and political point of view more like an *epidosis*, and are considered in ch. 15.)

²⁹ Lyk. 1. 22–4 (ch. 14 n. 41). Blass 1877 emended the text to *mian tês mnâs* (approximately 12.5% p.a.). Pringsheim 1950, 245–6 regards the transaction as a sale on credit. Timochares acted as witness for Lykourgos in his prosecution of Leokrates, which suggests to me that there had been conflict between them when Leokrates returned to Athens (Humphreys 1986a, 78).

Rich men were expected to devote time to serving as trierarchs and to leading an active political life. There was no officially recognized class of citizen business-managers or foremen in Athens; farms or workshops were run by slaves or freedmen. The owner's wife would presumably supervise work carried on where she lived, but might find it more difficult to travel from one estate or enterprise to another, and could not act in any legal capacity. A man who was abroad needed a trustworthy citizen to keep an eye on his affairs, and must often have turned to kin (cf. [Dem.] 49. 40–1). Apollodoros son of Pasion, who was on bad terms with his stepfather and brother, turned to his neighbour Nikostratos; in recompense he had given him two slave farm labourers ([Demosthenes] 53. 6), and he paid his ransom when he was captured. Nikostratos' brother was sent to Aigina with the money to negotiate his release (§§ 6–7). Apollodoros' wife's father Deinias was also called in to help and advise ([Demosthenes] 50. 24–8). The speaker of Isaios 2, adopted out of his family of origin, administered the affairs of his brother while the latter was away on mercenary service (§ 12).³⁰

Both the egalitarian ethos of the democracy and the prevalence of slavery discouraged the development of patron–client relationships in Athens. Dependence was demeaning, and regular work on another man's behalf was a slave's life. Xenophon, whose travels had no doubt given him experience of societies in which patron–client ties were openly recognized, presents Sokrates as recommending the relationship as a solution to the problems of the elderly working man, the upper-class bastard, or the rising sycophant in search of respectability (*Memorabilia* 2 §§ 8, 10, 9). But he has to stress the importance of tact; the client must be treated as a friend and equal. This was particularly important if the dependent partner in the relationship was a kinsman, since kinship had its own ethos of equality, founded on the equal division of estates between brothers (cf. Plutarch *Lykourgos* 8). Thus while there was pressure to choose kin as helpers, because kinship made it easier to disguise the element of clientship in the relationship, there was a countervailing pressure not to draw too heavily on the services of kin who were unable to reciprocate and so could not maintain a balance of equality. Athenians, at least in the upper social strata, were more likely to maintain a widespread network of kin and friends who could be called on for short-term assistance than to build up large interconnected chains of economic activity which relied on regular economic cooperation between kin over a long period. Athens produces

³⁰ Possibly, despite the adoption, there had been no formal division of property. The fact that both brothers went to serve as mercenaries after dowering their sisters (§§ 3–6) suggests that there was little to divide. Although we mostly hear of guardians when they are accused of misbehaviour (ch. 3), some may have improved their wards' estates (cf. Is. 9. 28).

no 'House of Murashu' or Strozzi.³¹ It may not be entirely accidental that the best evidence for long-term heredity in occupations comes from occupations in which men used their specialist skills independently—medicine, playwriting, sculpture. It may also be no accident that we hear relatively frequently of fathers helping sons to set themselves up in economic independence, by acting as guarantors for them. Comparative evidence from other periods and other parts of the Greek world, where the political system was less egalitarian or slavery less prevalent, may help us to see how much of this picture is due to peculiarities of the sources, how much to the specific character of Athenian society, and how much to the general structural characteristics of Greek kinship.

³¹ Cardascia 1951; Stolper 1985; Goldthwaite 1968; Heers 1977, 226–36. More detailed comparisons of the ways in which the rich diversified their economic base and activities in ancient Mesopotamia, the classical world, and medieval and renaissance Europe, relating this diversification to directions of economic growth, political contexts, residence patterns, inheritance rules, and other functions of kinship, would be useful.

Disputes

INTRODUCTION

After Solon's legislation no further formal steps were taken to define the kindred, though there are some changes in terminology: the introduction of a single term for all affines, *kêdestês*, in place of *gambros* and *pentheros*, and of the 'descriptive' *theios pros patros* and *theios pros mêtros* in place of *patrôs* and *mêtrôs* for FB and MB, may belong to the sixth century.¹

Evidence from the sixth and early fifth centuries is scanty and restricted to a few leading families. Detailed analysis of Athenians' interactions with their kin becomes possible only from c.430, when inscriptions become more plentiful and speech-writers—or their clients—begin to put forensic speeches into circulation in written form.

By that time, Athens was a highly law-conscious society. The term *philodikos*, 'litigious', was introduced in this period (Lys. 10. 2, cf. Thuc. 1. 77). Six thousand jurors were empanelled every year; comic poets wrote for an audience familiar with court procedure and family law. But this high level of legal competence (Boltanski 1990) was accompanied by a rather low level of legal authority. There were no judges and no legal experts to rule on interpretation; the procedures for ensuring that upper-class transgressors were brought to court did not always function effectively; there was no public machinery for enforcing court decisions, and no mechanism for ensuring consistency between one court decision and another. While one would not wish to claim that modern legal systems are entirely free from such problems, presenting a case in an Athenian court was perhaps in modern terms closer to appealing for justice in the correspondence columns of a national newspaper,² or on television, than to engaging with the much more professionalized procedures of modern law. The formalities of a court appearance were those of public performance rather than legitimate authority. The construction of identity was central to this performance (cf. Wohl 2010).

¹ *Têthis pros patros* for FZ occurs on a funerary plaque by the Sappho Painter c.500 (ch. 10 n. 15).

² Boltanski's study of justice as cultural competence (1990) is based on letters to *Le Monde*.

A court in session, judged as theatre, was dauntingly formal even in early times. Eighth-century *basileis* gathered, sceptres in hand, to pronounce judgment on their inferiors; in classical Athens it was the size of the jury, never less than two hundred strong, that litigants might find intimidating. Only a small proportion would be personally known to either party.³ Athenians shrank from exposing family quarrels to an audience of strangers, and felt that it should be possible for kin to settle their disputes peaceably, in private, without recourse to the courts. Most cases, especially those concerning familial matters, were preceded and accompanied by attempts to negotiate settlements out of court; this meant, however, that before attempting to construct a strong and clear-cut position to be held in court, litigants had often made compromises and concessions that could later be used against them. As a dispute deepened, however, the focus shifted from private negotiation to the assumption of an identity and the internalization of a narrative that could be presented to strangers. Professional speech-writers helped in this process, and jurors became accustomed to participation in courtroom dramas that gave them the illusion of being ‘invited into the living-room’ and allowed them to take on the role of senior relatives arbitrating in a family council; forensic speeches became popular reading matter.

We normally do not know how the jury voted,⁴ and have to read speeches closely both to reconstruct the outlines of the opponent’s case—from the points the speaker tries to counter and the weaknesses he tries to camouflage—and to sense the dynamics of the development of conflict. Analysis of the weak points in the speaker’s argument was already developed to a fine art by the time of Wyse’s commentary on Isaios (1904); in the case studies that follow I have tried to supplement this with a closer focus on reconstructing the rhetorical strategies of litigants whose speeches have not been preserved. I have also tried to reconstruct the often quite long and tortuous process by which deviations from normal patterns of family structure and relationships developed into antagonisms of almost tragic dimensions, and the successive choices of strategy which finally left the disputants feeling that they had no other option than to appeal to the courts. I have also stressed, in reconstructing the options open to disputants, their need to recruit kin to support them in court with witness testimony, and their experience of the case which to us is represented by an

³ No attempt was made in Athenian courts to screen out jurors who knew litigants personally (for such a move see the Nakone text in Ampolo a.o. 2000). We do not know when it became standard practice to have odd-numbered juries. On the development of relations between formal and informal dispute settlement mechanisms see Humphreys 1983*b*.

⁴ We know the result of Is. 11 from [Dem.] 43, and of Dem. 36 from [Dem.] 45. 6; cf. also [Dem.] 59. 10. Occasionally the results of cases involving adoption may be deduced from epigraphic evidence, but we shall see that such deductions are not entirely reliable. On forensic speeches and the process by which they came to be published see Humphreys 1985*b*, 316–21.

isolated speech as only one episode in an ongoing struggle to hold on to a position of advantage in family affairs.⁵

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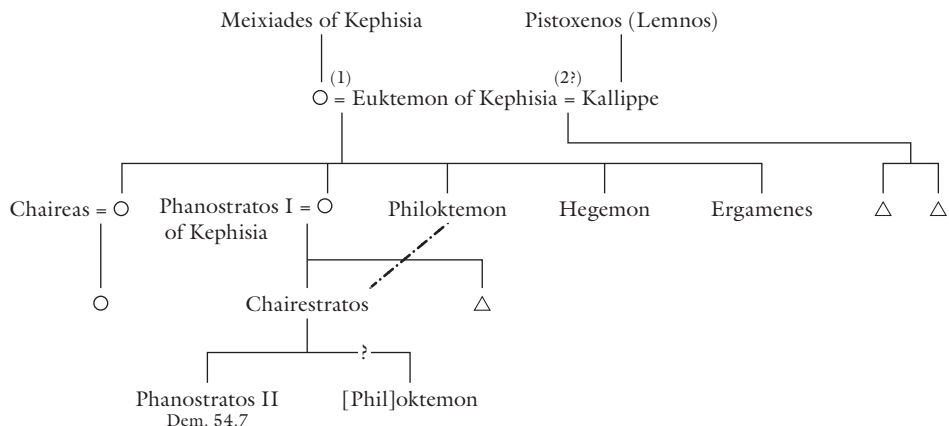
An example will illustrate this method and will also serve to introduce some of the ways in which Athenians made use of ambiguities both in law and in social relationships to stave off open conflict in the short term, thereby however sometimes paving the way for more serious clashes later.

*

Case 1: Euktemon of Kephisia, Isaios 6, APF 15164 (Table 7.1)

The title given by ancient editors to Isaios 6, *On the Estate of Philoktemon*, is in itself problematic. Philoktemon of Kephisia died before his father Euktemon, but it was not until Euktemon's death that Chairestratos son of Phanostratos of Kephisia put in a claim to inherit the family property, on the grounds that Philoktemon (his MB) had left a will adopting him. As we have seen (ch. 1 n. 95), it was far from clear whether in Attic law a son could bequeath property during his father's lifetime, especially if he was childless and still living in the parental home, as Philoktemon was. In any case, it was not in the interests of Phanostratos and his son to antagonize Euktemon by putting this point to the test. The speech we have was delivered by a family friend of Phanostratos and Chairestratos, acting as supporting speaker (*synēgoros*) for the young man; by handing over the

TABLE 7.1. Isaios 6
(APF 15164)



⁵ I began to develop this approach in Humphreys 1989, an analysis of the strategic choices open to the various parties concerned in the family dispute represented for us by Dem. 39–40, traced over some 30 years. For reconstruction of the opponent's case see also Thür 2008, 128.

main presentation of the case to a respectable ally Phanostratos and Chairestratos probably hoped to avoid some of the hostility that might be aroused both by washing the family's dirty linen in public and by their own exceptional wealth.⁶

Euktemon and his wife, who was the daughter of a fellow-demesman, Meixiades, had three sons and two daughters. By the point in time at which the narrative of the speech starts, two of the sons had died without producing offspring; Philoktemon, the third, was married but still childless (§ 7); both daughters were married, one to Phanostratos of Kephisia, with two sons, the other to a Chaireas, with a single daughter. Euktemon had taken to spending much of his time at a tavern he owned near the Kerameikos gate, managed by a slave woman, Alke, who according to the speaker had been a prostitute in her youth;⁷ this doubtless led to quarrels with his family, which in turn confirmed his preference for less critical company. Worse followed: at a phratry meeting, probably in autumn 367,⁸ he presented a candidate for admission, claiming that the boy was his legitimate son. Philoktemon objected, and the phratry refused admission. Euktemon countered by threatening to take a new wife and start a second family;⁹ kin and friends (*anankaioi* § 23, cf. *oikeioi* § 26), including, no doubt, his two sons-in-law, mediated between father and son, 'knowing that Euktemon, already in his nineties, was unable to beget sons, but that they would be produced somehow or other',

⁶ Cf. Wyse 1904, 486. A litigant had to present the opening part of his case in person, but could hand over to a *synégoros* almost immediately (cf. Rubinstein 2000). The speaker here may be Aristomenes of Poros (*IG* ii² 1609. 81–2, *APF* pp. 62, 564; but see n. 12 below on the date of this record).

⁷ The building was a *synoikia*, in multiple occupancy, and though the speaker identifies it for the jury as 'the one where they sell wine', it may also have been a brothel. Lind 1988 (followed by Schmitz 2000) suggests that the building has been found, but there must have been several *synoikiai* in this part of the Kerameikos (though Reiske's reasons for reading <*syn*>*oikia* in Is. 5. 26 are not compelling). Wohl 2010, 271–8 analyses the rhetorical construction of Alke as villainess.

⁸ The chronology is reconstructed by W. Thompson 1970*e* (cf. Labarbe 1953): first presentation of 'Lemnian' boy at the Apatouria in autumn 367, second presentation and admission apparently during winter 367/6; death of Philoktemon early summer 366; will put in writing summer 366, revoked after 'almost two years' (§ 29; it is in the speaker's interest to exaggerate the length of time) late winter/early spring 364; claim that the 'Lemnian' boys are orphans, death of Euktemon, and court hearing at the beginning of 364/3 (§ 37 seems to refer to the beginning of the civil year; this is compatible with the date given in § 14). The boy admitted to Euktemon's phratry in winter 367/6 should have been presented to his deme at the beginning of 364/3 (Wyse 1904, 500 thinks he had already been admitted to the deme, but this is incompatible with the formal registration of the boys as orphans, § 36).

⁹ Demokrates of Aphidnai, whose sister Euktemon was proposing to marry, was a colourful figure well known some 25 years later, as an elderly man, for his caustic comments on the Athenian political system and his position as representative of the family of Aristogeiton at public dinners (parasites were expected to make jokes). At this date he was probably in his 30s, re-betrothing a sister who had been widowed or divorced; Euktemon probably knew him as a client of Alke's wine bar (the implication in *APF* 12267 that the two were of similar age is quite unnecessary). For what it is worth, Demokrates may have had Lemnian connections. (The appearance of his son Demokles II as *klētēr* in 343/2 in an affair involving property in Aphidnai, *Agora* XIX P 26. 512 does not prove that the family had lived continuously in the deme; he may have been chosen merely as a well-known demesman, cf. ch. 31 n. 24).

and a compromise was patched up. Philoktemon promised not to oppose the boy's candidacy for phratry membership, on condition that he would only receive a small piece of land (*chóron*) from Euktemon's estate, and would not be entitled to the full share of a legitimate son; and when the objection was withdrawn the *phratêres* insouciantly admitted the boy. Euktemon and Philoktemon were rich (§ 38) and capable of contributing generously to phratry festivals and funds, and they probably had many kin and affines in the phratry; if the whole group presented a united front, non-kin would not venture to object. As we shall see, this somewhat casual attitude towards qualification for phratry membership and thus, by implication, citizenship, was not uncommon.¹⁰ A blind eye could generously be turned to doubtful birth, provided that the distribution of property was not seriously affected.

Matters might perhaps have rested there, if Philoktemon had not died on active service in the following summer.¹¹ The speaker of Isaios 6 presents Euktemon as making a last-minute decision, when Phanostratos was about to leave to serve as trierarch and his brother-in-law (WZH) Chaireas was in Piraeus seeing him off, to record his agreement about the boy's inheritance rights in a written will (§ 27). This story is hardly convincing; the sons-in-law must have become concerned about the succession to Euktemon's estate as soon as they heard of Philoktemon's death, and the insistence on a written will must surely have come from them. The heavy investment of Phanostratos' family in liturgies in 366/5/4 may have been made in anticipation that the dispute would eventually arrive in court. Phanostratos, as a member of the deme Kephisia, to which the boy would have to seek admission, was in a position to exert some pressure; however, he could not immediately claim a share of the estate for his son Chairestratos on the strength of the will left by Philoktemon, since it was not clear that Philoktemon had anything to pass to his heir other than his eventual rights in Euktemon's estate.¹²

¹⁰ Euktemon and one of his daughters had both married within the deme Kephisia, and the family may have belonged to the core of deme members also affiliated to a phratry with its headquarters in the deme. On the relation between phratry membership and citizenship see ch. 19 n. 37.

¹¹ There would however have been further trouble when the boy became old enough to be presented to Euktemon's deme, the final step which was necessary to give him citizen status. Philoktemon may have expected his father to die before the two years between presentation to phratry and presentation to deme had elapsed.

¹² That Philoktemon had made a will, deposited with his second brother-in-law (ZH) Chaireas, who had only a single daughter, seems well attested by witnesses (§ 7). Though the opponents may have tried to raise doubts of its genuineness, their main argument was probably that Philoktemon could not make a valid will during his father's lifetime. The speaker counters by showing that this limitation was not mentioned in Solon's law on testaments (§§ 8–10). The date of IG ii² 1609, in which Phanostratos is recorded as syntrierarch on two ships (42, 92), and the name of his son [Chairestr]atos has been very rashly restored as also serving (81–2), remains uncertain. M. Clark 1990 argues for 379/8 (Gabrielsen's defence, 1993, of 378/7 or 377/6 is weak), and Cargill 1995 (85–6) suggests that the kleruchs of this

Euktemon, then, was forced to make a written will, which was deposited with a kinsman (*prosêkôn*), Pythodoros of Kephisia. We have to deduce the provisions it contained from the next developments in the story.

This brush with his sons-in-law cannot have improved Euktemon's relations with his family, and he now found sympathizers and allies in another kinsman (*syngenês*, § 55), Androkles, and a neighbour who had rented part of the Kerameikos *synoikia* where the old man was now living, Antidoros. They persuaded him (the speaker claims) to annul the will, on the grounds that the only way to ensure that his younger 'sons' inherited his property was to convert it into cash (§ 30). Euktemon asked Pythodoros to produce the will, and when he was reluctant to do so summonsed him to appear before the eponymous archon with the document (§ 31). Phanostratos was present, but the other son-in-law, Chaireas, was dead, and his daughter was not represented, perhaps because a dispute was currently in progress between claimants to her hand and Chaireas' estate, to which she was *epikleros*.¹³ Pythodoros declared that he would recognize that the will had been annulled as far as Phanostratos was concerned, but would not destroy it unless a representative of Chaireas' daughter was present; and the archon gave his authority to this decision. Euktemon insisted, in the presence of the archon and his *paredroi*, and others whom he called on to act as witnesses, that Phanostratos and Pythodoros had agreed to the annulling of the will.¹⁴ He then proceeded to start selling off his real estate.

There was no standard procedure in Attic law for annulling a will (cf. Case 11 below). The normal reason for annulment was that heirs had been born to the testator, which automatically invalidated a will in favour of a substitute heir.¹⁵ In other circumstances, the will had to be treated like any other contract, and could only be annulled if all those concerned agreed to cancel and destroy it. By forcing Euktemon to summons them to appear before the archon with the document (*dikê eis emphanôn katastasin*), Phanostratos and Pythodoros obtained additional evidence that the will had existed and had not recognized the alleged son(s) as entitled to the full share of a legitimate heir; on the other hand, Euktemon also had witnesses that the will was no longer acknowledged.

year went to Lemnos or Imbros. However, we have at present no solid evidence for a formalized return of *kleruchs* to these islands after the Peloponnesian War, and a connection of ii² 1609 with the *kleruchy* on Samos c.366/5/4 (cf. J. K. Davies 1969) does not yet seem to be totally excluded. Chairestratos' younger brother served as choregos shortly before the case came to court (Is. 6. 60); see ch. 21 at n. 73 on the timing of choregiai.

¹³ This seems to me the most likely interpretation of the decision that the will could only be annulled when a *kyrios* had been appointed for Chaireas' daughter (§ 32, *epeidê kyrios katastaiê*). Chaireas may have left a will betrothing her, which was contested by his next-of-kin.

¹⁴ This seems to be the force of *diomologêsamenos*, § 32.

¹⁵ Cf. e.g. Is. 7. 9, where the betrothal of the daughter adopted by will, to Lakrateidas, seems also to have been annulled (ch. 2 n. 55). For detailed discussion of the law in [Dem.] 46. 14 see Humphreys 2002*a*.

It is hard to see what provisions this will had contained. Kamps (1938) suggested that Euktemon had specified precisely which pieces of property were to go to each of his five heirs—Chairestratos and his brother (sons of Phanostratos), Chaireas' daughter, and the two boys he was seeking to legitimate—but such specific assignments are not otherwise attested in Attic practice,¹⁶ and the attempt to make sense of the MS reading *pempton* in § 46 by postulating equal division between these five heirs is not convincing. On the other hand, the fact that Euktemon felt it necessary to annul the will before selling off his property might suggest that it contained a detailed list of the items included in the estate. It evidently also allocated a share of the estate to Chaireas' daughter, which means that Chairestratos' claim to inherit the whole estate as adopted son of Philoktemon was not recognized.

Whatever the contents of the will, its legal status was now dubious, as was that of the will made by Philoktemon. One begins to sympathize with the suspicious attitude to wills of Athenian courts (W. Thompson 1981). The lines of conflict in the family had hardened, and Euktemon's time was running out.¹⁷ Androkles and Antidoros seem to have decided to concentrate on extracting cash from the estate rather than acquiring citizenship for Euktemon's two protégés, which required the co-operation of Phanostratos. They made an attempt to pre-empt the decision on the disposal of the estate by claiming that the boy who had been presented to Euktemon's phratry, and his younger brother, had been adopted as heirs by Philoktemon and by one of his brothers, Ergamenes, and that since they were orphans their property should be leased. This rather ingenious move probably implied a claim that Euktemon was now senile and incapable of managing his own property; the hope was perhaps that Phanostratos, in opposing it, would be forced either to argue that Euktemon was still competent to manage his own affairs, or that his sons had not been entitled to dispose of his property by will.¹⁸ The speaker tells us only that Phanostratos' objections to the leasing were successful.

Soon afterwards, Euktemon died. Claims to the estate were put in by Chairestratos, on the basis of Philoktemon's will, and by Chaireas' widow, who presumably claimed a half share as one of two surviving daughters.¹⁹

¹⁶ Such allocations are sometimes credited to mythical kings: see ch. 5 n. 72.

¹⁷ Euktemon is said to have been 96 when he died, senile and bedridden (§ 35), but no evidence is produced, and the figure may be exaggerated. His son Philoktemon was still childless in 366 and his granddaughter (DD) apparently unmarried in early 364, which suggests that his children were born between c.410 and 390; possibly his own birthdate should be brought down to c.455–445.

¹⁸ This move is clearly related to Phanostratos' hopes of basing a claim on Philoktemon's will, and Sauppe's emendation of Philoktemon to Hegemon in § 44 should be rejected (cf. Wyse *ad loc.*). It is perhaps hardly worth spending time on the speaker's allegation that Androkles and Antidoros intended to lease the orphans' property to themselves (§ 36).

¹⁹ *Pempton merous* in § 46 has to be emended.

Androkles met these claims by a *diamartyria* affirming that Euktemon had left legitimate sons;²⁰ our speech comes from the case in which Chairestratos prosecuted him for false witness. According to the speaker, Androkles was also acting for Chaireas' widow, on the grounds that as her next-of-kin he was entitled to claim her as epikleros.

The speaker's strategy was to stress the repeated shifts in his opponents' tactics and persuade the jury that Euktemon in old age had fallen into the hands of an unscrupulous female slave who had 'destroyed his judgment' (§ 48), had persuaded him to recognize her sons by a freedman (§§ 19–20) as his own, and had recruited the equally unscrupulous Androkles and Antidoros to defend the boys' interests in court.²¹ He is well supported by members of Euktemon's phratry and deme (§§ 10–11), probably kin and/or friends of Phanostratos, and perhaps also of Euktemon's wife; he cannot, however, produce kin of Euktemon to testify that they knew nothing of Euktemon's alleged second marriage to a woman called Kallippe (§ 16). He makes the most of the compromise over the boy's admission to the phratry, the will and Euktemon's attempt to annul it, the fact that the boys now presented as Euktemon's heirs had earlier been put forward as the orphan adopted sons of Philoktemon and Ergamenes, the inconsistency between the boys' claim and that of Chaireas' widow, and the lack of evidence that Euktemon had contracted a second marriage.

Divorce was a matter for private settlement between the husband and the kin of the wife, who were entitled to recover her dowry if she returned to her family of origin. Since Euktemon had moved out of his family house leaving his wife in residence there, and since his wife was elderly and had surviving children who would claim to inherit her dowry when she died, there was little call in this case for a divorce settlement; on the other hand, cohabitation certainly entered into the Athenian concept of marriage (cf. Vernant 1973), and the speaker does not attempt to argue that since Euktemon had taken no formal steps to divorce his wife he could not have remarried.²² Instead, he stresses that his opponents had first claimed that the second wife was of Lemnian origin—always ground for suspicion—and that they needed time in order to collect information about her family; subsequently they had announced that her father was called Pistoxenos, a name no doubt pronounced by the speaker in a heavily

²⁰ Whether any of Androkles' other arguments against the validity of Philoktemon's will could be considered to be part of his *diamartyria* may not even have been clear at the time, and the speaker of Is. 6 is doing his best to increase the confusion (§§ 5, 43, 52, etc.).

²¹ The speaker claims that property had been smuggled from Euktemon's rooms into those occupied by Antidoros after the old man's death (§ 39); Antidoros probably figured also as one of the boys' guardians.

²² On occasional moves to 'register' divorce with the archon in order to legitimize a problematic situation see ch. 9 at n. 50. It is not clear whether specific claims to have remarried had ever been made by Euktemon himself.

ironic tone, and that he had died in Sicily leaving her to be brought up as Euktemon's ward. The speaker argues that a girl whose father had died in 415–13 could hardly have been available for marriage to her guardian in the 380s, when the boys whose parentage was disputed must have been born; he may have been oversimplifying his opponents' case here, but it does seem to have been a weak one.²³

So much for Chairestratos' side of the case. Its weak point, glossed over by his *synēgoros* with references to the family's generous performance of liturgies (§§ 59–60), was that he and his father were already extremely rich, and could be presented as greedily claiming the whole of Euktemon's estate at the expense of poorer members of the family. From this point of view Androkles' championship of the cause of Chaireas' widow as well as that of the two 'Lemnian' boys could be presented in a positive light; he was protecting the weaker members of the family, widows and orphans, against powerful opponents who were trying to take advantage of Philoktemon's premature death and Euktemon's old age to divert the whole estate into their own already well-lined pockets. Chaireas' widow and her kin may well have shared this point of view; if Androkles was indeed prepared to marry her, this was probably her best chance of enjoying part of her father's estate.

The outcome of the case is unknown. *IG* ii³ 4. 63 records Chairestratos as son of Phanostratos of Kephisia, but (a) it may predate the settlement of the case, (b) he could (just?) have returned to Phanostratos' oikos after producing a son to inherit from Philoktemon, or (c) he might have discredited the opposition so thoroughly that it seemed unnecessary to go through the formalities of adoption, which in any case did not require a change of deme. [Phil]oktemon of Kephisia, secretary for the eighth prytany in 319/18 (*IG* ii² 388. 4) may be either a son of Chairestratos or one of the two 'Lemnian' boys, if they won the case.²⁴

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²³ On suspect Lemnians see Wyse 1904, 499; ch. 4 n. 31; Carawan 2008; a dubious Lemnian will in Is. F III 1 Thalheim 1903. The speaker repeats the name Pistoxenos ('trustworthy foreigner') with relish (§ 13, cf. 15). The expression in § 13, 'Pistoxenos—as if all they had to do was to drop the name', may suggest that the alleged father was the mid-5th-c. *kalos*, son of Aresandros (BArch 213946). *LGP*N s.v. Pistoxenos 4 may be wrong in associating the P. of this speech with Lemnos (according to the speaker, his opponents inconsistently switched from their Lemnian story to a new one). However, the name may have been commoner in the 5th c. than later. The reason for claiming that the girl was Euktemon's ward was presumably that Androkles could produce no witnesses to her betrothal (§§ 15–16); she could have returned to marry Euktemon after being widowed or divorced by another husband, and her father could have been a Lemnian who died in Sicily, but all that would be a lot to ask the jury to believe. Hypereides' *Against Timandros* (see Thür 2008) perhaps also plays on the dubious reputation of the kleruchy.

²⁴ 'Adoption' that did not involve a change of deme or phratry was problematical; see Case 8 below. Philoktemon II is now attested on a horos of perhaps the 320s, Malouchou 2013*a*.

This case provides insights into the problems that arose from applying Solon's laws in the very different conditions of fourth-century Athens, the continuing vulnerability of the 'empty' oikos, which his legislation had not really succeeded in protecting, and some of the areas of ambiguity that remained in family law; it also illustrates the dynamics of disputes between kin.

The typical situation envisaged by Solon, I have argued, was that of the peasant smallholding whose owner, if he had no sons, needed to introduce an heir or in-marriage son-in-law into his household to supplement his own labour and provide for him in his old age. Euktemon's property, however, was not in agricultural land but, for the most part, in city housing.²⁵ He did not need an able-bodied young man to get his crops in, after the death of his sons. Philoktemon and his father had been living in the same house without basing their co-residence on economic cooperation, which may have caused some friction between them (cf. ch. 5 at nn. 26–8). After Philoktemon's death, the proposal to transfer one of Phanostratos' two sons to Euktemon's oikos to take his place might have seemed obviously equitable if the two men had been sixth-century peasant farmers, but in fourth-century conditions could easily be represented—and resented—as mere greed. The presentation of the 'Lemnian' boy to Euktemon's phratry was no longer a question of ensuring that he would be recognized as a member of the local community; phratry membership could be detached from rights to Euktemon's estate—or so Philoktemon had hoped—and treated as a concession to the old man's folly that could be made at low cost.

In such circumstances, where rights to inherit were not directly related to labour obligations and acceptance by a close-knit local community, the 'empty' oikos became even more problematic. The rights of a legitimate son, known as such to his father's kin, friends, phrateres, and fellow-demesmen, were solidly established; at the worst he might have to share his inheritance with claimants whom he regarded as *nothoi*.²⁶ Philoktemon could afford to make concessions. His death significantly changed the situation. The 'Lemnian' boys and their protectors now had more to gain from claiming that they were Euktemon's legitimate sons; the two sons-in-law had to try to maintain a united strategy against this threat in a situation in which they themselves were potential rivals, and their collaboration was therefore precarious. Other kin could try to take advantage of the situation. Solon's law on epikleroi, focused on the oikos in which a father leaves an unmarried daughter or daughters at his death, did not provide any very clear guidance for a case in which two daughters who were both married, with children, became heirs to their father as the result of a brother's death.

²⁵ See *APF* 15164. He had a farm at Athmonon and a *chôrion* somewhere else, four urban properties, and some slave craftsmen.

²⁶ Cf. Dem. 39–40 (Humphreys 1989) and Case 7 below.

It was also not entirely clear whether a son who was already adult and taking an active part in the city's military life was debarred from making a will before his father's death;²⁷ this was arguably Solon's intention, but it very probably was not stated in writing. It was also unclear whether a husband who had not cohabited with his wife for several years, but had not taken any formal steps to divorce her, was obliged to consider himself still married to her, or not.

The death of Philoktemon gives this dispute a particularly clear and interesting dramatic shape. While he is alive a real effort is made to find a peaceful solution, even at a cost of some financial sacrifice and embarrassment in the phratry. After his death, Euktemon's sons-in-law at first make only the relatively moderate demand that the compromise made with Philoktemon should be recorded in writing, but the pressure they have to exert to achieve this, and, probably, Euktemon's knowledge of Philoktemon's will in favour of Chairestratos, must have created considerable tension. Chaireas may have played the role of mediator between Euktemon and Phanostratos; at any rate, when he died, the situation rapidly deteriorated. Euktemon's attempt to annul his will led to a confrontation before the archon; Phanostratos may have tried to prevent him from selling his properties, although without success; he succeeded in frustrating the scheme of presenting the two 'Lemnian' boys as orphan sons of Philoktemon and Ergamenes. By this time intransigence on both sides had led to the construction of completely negative stereotypes adapted only to the inevitable eventual confrontation in court: Phanostratos and his supporters see Euktemon as a senile, dirty old man manipulated by an unscrupulous slavewoman and a crooked kinsman, while their opponents will no doubt have presented him as hounded out of his home in old age by a vindictive wife and daughters who have taken offence at perfectly normal behaviour, egged on by a rich and litigious son-in-law who is exploiting the situation for his own ends. This process of construction of the opponent as an out-and-out villain enabled litigants to overcome inhibitions against taking family disputes to court; it was absorbed into forensic rhetoric, where the ambitions of speechwriters, and the tastes of jurors and readers, added their own contributions to its elaboration. A court dispute was a shadow-puppet drama; a litigant who allowed himself to become wholly encapsulated in this illusory scene could forget that when the case ended he would have to return to a real world inhabited also by his opponents.

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²⁷ Philoktemon could of course make a will before going on campaign to cater for the possibility that first his father and then he himself died during his absence; cf. the rule that a father with young sons could make a will that came into effect only if they died before reaching maturity ([Dem.] 46. 24). There was evidently no automatic *epidikasia* of the estate of a son who predeceased his father. The fact that Philoktemon served as trierarch does not imply any separation of his property from his father's (ch. 5 n. 47).

Sources refer occasionally to cold-shouldering at deme and phratry festivals, and lines of cleavage within these groups must often have been reinforced by hostility between sets of kin. Other Athenians, however, managed to live for long periods in close association punctuated by periodic forays into the courts: Mantitheos son of Mantias of Thorikos and his half-brothers lived in the same house over a period of some twelve years, during which they took each other to court on at least three occasions.²⁸

It was especially the function of kin of the principals in a family quarrel to mediate between them and attempt to restore amicable relations. In the Euktemon case, conflict in the phratry over the candidacy of the first 'Lemnian' boy made the family quarrel a matter of public knowledge, and it was followed by mediation from kin, who persuaded Philoktemon to compromise. These kin presumably committed themselves to supporting Euktemon when the boy re-applied for phratry membership, and were witnesses to the agreement limiting his rights of inheritance. Phanostratos, Chaireas, Androkles, and Pythodoros may all have been present at this family council. Pythodoros, trusted by all parties, was chosen to hold Euktemon's will; Chaireas may have mediated between Euktemon and Phanostratos; Androkles cast himself in the role of defender of the 'Lemnian' boys and, eventually, of Chaireas' widow. In court, Chairestratos was able to produce kin, phrateres, and fellow-demesmen to testify that they had never heard of a second marriage of Euktemon; these witnesses may well have been kin of Chairestratos and his father, whose membership of Euktemon's deme (and perhaps also of his phratry) gave them an advantage in recruiting supporters. Androkles, however, will have had his own witnesses, including perhaps kin of Chaireas.

The decision rendered in court in 364/3 will not have been the end of the story. If Euktemon's estate was adjudged to the 'Lemnian' boys, they will have had to fight Phanostratos again in order to gain entry to the deme Kephisia. If Chairestratos won the case, he will have had difficulty in recovering property from Androkles and Antidoros.

KIN AS PROTECTORS OF THE WEAK

I have suggested that in the Euktemon case Androkles will have presented himself as the champion of orphans and defenceless women against the rapacity of Phanostratos and Chairestratos. In doing so he would be conforming to a pattern established by Drakon and Solon, who seem to have expected kin to appeal to the judicial authorities of the city for help in regulating disputes that had gone

²⁸ Cold-shouldering: Is. 9. 21, 33, see ch. 19 at n. 73. Mantitheos: Dem. 39–40 with Humphreys 1989; cf E. M. Harris 2000, though the term 'feud' seems to me inappropriate.

beyond the point of peaceful informal negotiation. But it is not so very common, in the classical period, to find Athenians taking on active roles as principals in court cases in defence of kin who are not members of their immediate nuclear family.²⁹ How effectively did Drakon's provisions for the participation of kin in homicide cases and Solon's mechanisms for the protection of orphans and epikleroi work in the fifth and fourth centuries?

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Our information on homicide is patchy. It is the topic of all the preserved speeches of Antiphon, and figures significantly, with the closely related category of accusations of wounding with intent to kill, in the Lysianic corpus, but thereafter disappears from the record, apart from a few references to cases that never came to court. Development in writers' narrative skills and a corresponding shift in readers' interests may partly explain this distribution. Isaïos' speeches for inheritance suits tell a longer and more complex story than Antiphon's or Lysias' homicide narratives, just as Thucydides tells his story in a more complex way than Herodotus. Writers had to learn how to present such narratives, jurors and readers had to learn to follow and appreciate them. The developing art of constructing character (*êthos*) allowed hearers and readers to get from contemplating villainy the thrills that earlier had been supplied by acts of violence.³⁰

Changes in writing and reading do not, however, provide the whole answer. Homicide cases that came to court may have been rare, except in the aftermath of civil war. Muggers and other low-class criminals, if they killed their victims, would have been summarily dealt with if caught.³¹ The deaths of freedmen and freedwomen, who probably formed quite a high proportion of the urban underclass, could not be avenged at law unless they left adult sons, since as ex-slaves they had no kin; metics also might not have kin in Athens.³² The client of Lysias who took

²⁹ Androkles was acting as guardian of the 'Lemnian' boys (perhaps self-appointed), and using the mechanism of the *diamartyria*; he was acting for Chaireas' widow as her next-of-kin. Action by a guardian in Is. 11; *diamartyria* by WF in Is. 2, where however the main defence speech in the resulting perjury suit is made by the claimant himself, acting as *synégoros*. For court action by nuclear family members see Table 7.14.

³⁰ On the reasons for circulation and purchase of court speeches see Humphreys 1985*b*, 318–21; ead. forthcoming *a*. We need a study of the history of narrative that looks at historiography, rhetoric, and drama together. The shift in forensic oratory from homicide to inheritance cases to some extent parallels the shift in drama from tragic myth to the intrigues of New Comedy, but unfortunately we cannot trace the development of dramatic plots between the late 5th c. and the end of the 4th c. Useful list of attested homicides in Riess 2007.

³¹ In Is. 6. 20 we hear of a freedman who leaves Attika to avoid the consequences of having caused damage (*zêmia*). The sources are not very clear on summary justice (*apagôgê*), and modern discussions have made matters worse by trying to impose over-rigid definitions (cf. Gagarin 1979); I am only concerned here to point out that Athens had a two-tier judicial system, in which most of what we would think of as typical criminal activity was beneath the attention of the courts, let alone of speechwriters.

³² Athenians were not very clear whether a *prostatês* could bring an action against the killer of a freed slave or other client ([Dem.] 47. 68–72, Plat. *Euthyphro* 4b, cf. Grace 1973, 1975); it was accepted, and

advantage of the law that a *moichos* caught in the act, in one's own house, could be legally killed, was a rarity, and may have gone farther than he intended.³³ Furthermore, it was not a simple matter to decide whether a death should be classed as homicide or not, if the victim died some time after a fight or a stomach upset. Kin had some latitude in deciding whether to prosecute for homicide or not, in such cases; if the dispute was a family affair, as may quite often have been the case, it might never come to court. The speaker of Isaios 9 claims that his mother's first husband Euthykrates of Araphen had been killed in a fight with his brother Thoudippos over the division of their father's estate, but it seems that no homicide charge was ever brought.³⁴ Because the victim of a fight might die some time later as a result of injuries, 'wounding with intent to kill' was handled by the same procedure as intentional homicide at Athens; this however opened the door to charges of wounding with intent by victims who had survived, and were prepared to negotiate. Demosthenes brought such a charge against his cousin (FBS) Demomeles, but dropped it before the Areiopagos hearing; to drop such a case—or even, sometimes, to bring it—laid one open to charges that the wounds were self-inflicted, but he may have been persuaded by kin to settle the matter out of court. Mantitheos of Thorikos claims that his half-brother Boiotos sued him before the Areiopagos for wounding, but lost the case.³⁵ There are indeed signs of a general suspicion of the motives of homicide prosecutors. The speaker of Antiphon 6 asserts that his opponent's charge that, as *chorégos*, he was responsible for the death of a boy singer, was only brought to paralyse his attempts to fight corruption in public affairs; the speaker of Lysias F X Gernet/Bizos 1926, XI Carey 2007 (8 Thalheim 1913) claims that his opponent Antigenes, who was prosecuting the speaker's mother for aborting his child, was prepared to drop the case if her sons agreed to let him marry their sister.³⁶ The defendant in the case for which Antiphon 1 was

indeed laid down in law ([Dem.] 47. 72) that a slave's owner could prosecute if his slave was killed, but prosecution was not obligatory (Antiph. 5. 48), and might be regarded by the defendants as harassment (Isokr. 18. 52–4; in [Dem.] 59. 10 the Athenian accuser claimed that the victim was a Kyrenian and produced alleged kin to support his case; the MS reading *drachmón* should be kept).

³³ He describes how he hit the adulterer, threw him to the ground, tied him up, and questioned him, but does not say how he killed him; he may have intended only to give him a sound beating like that administered by Teisis in Lys. F CXXIX Carey 2007, XVII Gernet/Bizos 1926, 75 Thalheim 1913. Even W. V. Harris 1997 and Manthe 2000, in excellent discussions of this incident, fail to consider the possibility that homicide was not originally intended. Conceivably Lys. F. CXXIII Th., CXXXIX Carey, came from a similar case (but see Carey's comment).

³⁴ Case 8. Euthykrates 'became ill as a result of his injuries and died not many days later', Is. 9. 17. Something similar may be involved in the case mentioned in Dem. 22. 2, i.e. the speaker's contention will have been that his father had died a natural death rather than that he was killed by someone other than the speaker.

³⁵ Aisch. 2. 93, 3. 51; cf. [Dem.] 58. 28–9, Harp. s.v. *hypophonia*. Politicians frequently accused each other of dropping charges (cf. [Dem.] 58. 42–4). Lys. 3 and 4 were written for cases of wounding with intent that came to court; the speaker of Lys. 3 claims that the charge was only brought 4 years after the fight, when he was involved in a difficult case resulting from an *antidos* challenge (§§ 19–20).

³⁶ The charge in Antiph. 6 was that the defendant was responsible for the death because of his official position (*bouleusas*). Cf. Heitsch 1980, Gagarin 1997; Humphreys 1991 on indirect responsibility for

written, who had to defend his mother against his half-brother's charge that she had conspired to poison their father, will no doubt have claimed that his half-brother wanted to force him to give up some of his inheritance.³⁷

The female defendants in the last two cases had adult sons to defend them. The brother or father of a childless woman accused of poisoning might prefer to hush the matter up, take her back without her dowry or with only part of it, and marry her elsewhere.³⁸

We certainly do not get the impression, from this handful of cases, that large numbers of kin were mobilized to assist in prosecutions for homicide in the classical period. The speaker of Lysias 13 was supporting the victim's brother, his own brother-in-law (WB), a younger man, in a charge against Agoratos for causing death during the rule of the Thirty; otherwise accusations are presented by members of the victim's nuclear family.³⁹

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There is also room for doubt about the efficacy, in the classical period, of Solon's provisions for the protection of epikleroi and orphans. We have no preserved

homicide and public office. On Lys. F. XI Carey 2007 (X Gernet/Bizos 1926, 8/X Thalheim 1913) see the collection of sources in Nardi 1971; S. N. Adam 1984; Todd 2003 (not noticed by Carey); Pepe 2014. Gernet's view that the opponent Antigenes was a kinsman of the father of the foetus, the father being dead, and that the girl A. wanted to marry was an epikleros, matrilinear half-sister of the speaker, is unnecessarily complex. It is simpler to suppose that Antigenes was the second husband of the woman he accused of homicide (i.e. abortion, in this case), and that his stepsons alleged that he had designs on their (full) sister (F 19 Carey does not explicitly call her an epikleros). The title *kat' Antigenous* might be explained by assuming that the speaker (Antigenes' stepson) was using a *graphé paranómōn*, at a date before the *paragraphe* procedure became established; but there are worse confusions in the tradition, and the title may not be worth defending. It is also possible that the speech is a rhetorical exercise.

³⁷ Cf. Gagarin 1998, 40f. The victim did not die until 20 days after drinking the 'poison' (line 20), and the evidence against his wife was weak. The prosecutor emphasizes his own youth in a way that suggests that he was younger than his half-brothers; if so, and if the speech comes from a genuine case and is not a demonstration piece, he may have been the son of another woman, legitimized during the Peloponnesian War when such irregularities were more easily tolerated (see Heitsch 1984b). This would provide all the more reason for hostility to his stepmother and her sons. Sir John Miles' copy of the Loeb edition of Antiphon and Andokides (Maidment 1941), now in my possession, has a pencilled note pointing out that the speaker probably could not have prosecuted for homicide unless he had been formally recognized as a legitimate son of the victim.

³⁸ Reference to another poisoning case, in which the woman was successfully defended, in Ar. *MM*. 1188b 31–7; the same motif in Soph. *Trach.* In Is. 8. 41 the husband of Diokles' half-sister dies and Diokles threatens to accuse her of poisoning; perhaps the speaker's invention, but women could have reason to fear such manoeuvres. See Case 3 below.

³⁹ Antiph. 1, Lys. 10. 31, sons; Antiph. 6, Lys. 12, brothers. Lykourgos' story in 1. 112–13 that the killers of Phrynichos were arrested by his *philoi* and imprisoned, after the restoration of democracy, does not inspire much confidence. In Lys. F. CIII/232 Carey 2007, XIII 2 Gernet/Bizos 1926 (XC/64 Thalheim 1913), from a homicide case, we hear of *syngeneis* assembling, but the reference may be to the victim's funeral rather than the prosecution of his killer.

speeches from legal action to protect an epikleros;⁴⁰ one of the two known cases of *eisangelia* for mistreatment of an orphan seems to have been a political manoeuvre, and the other was unsuccessful, as were two attempts to insist that orphans' estates should be leased. In all other cases wards with complaints against their guardians sue in person when they come of age. Kin and affines may well help them at this stage, but do not take legal action earlier to put a stop to the depredations of guardians they consider dishonest.⁴¹

PROTECTION FOR WOMEN

Male orphans were at least able to sue their guardians when they came of age, and could perhaps count on some inclination among jurors to sympathize with their youth. Women never arrived at a status that allowed them to defend their own interests in court. They were always dependent on mobilizing male kin to fight their battles for them.⁴² Their ability to do so must clearly have varied with the personalities of the individuals involved, but some structural regularities can be observed. A woman with ties of kinship or affinity to men in various households might be able to influence their disposal of property in the interests of her children; but a number of sisters with the same rights to inherit property, dispersed by marriage into separate households, would have considerable difficulty in mobilizing their husbands or sons to take united action on their behalf.

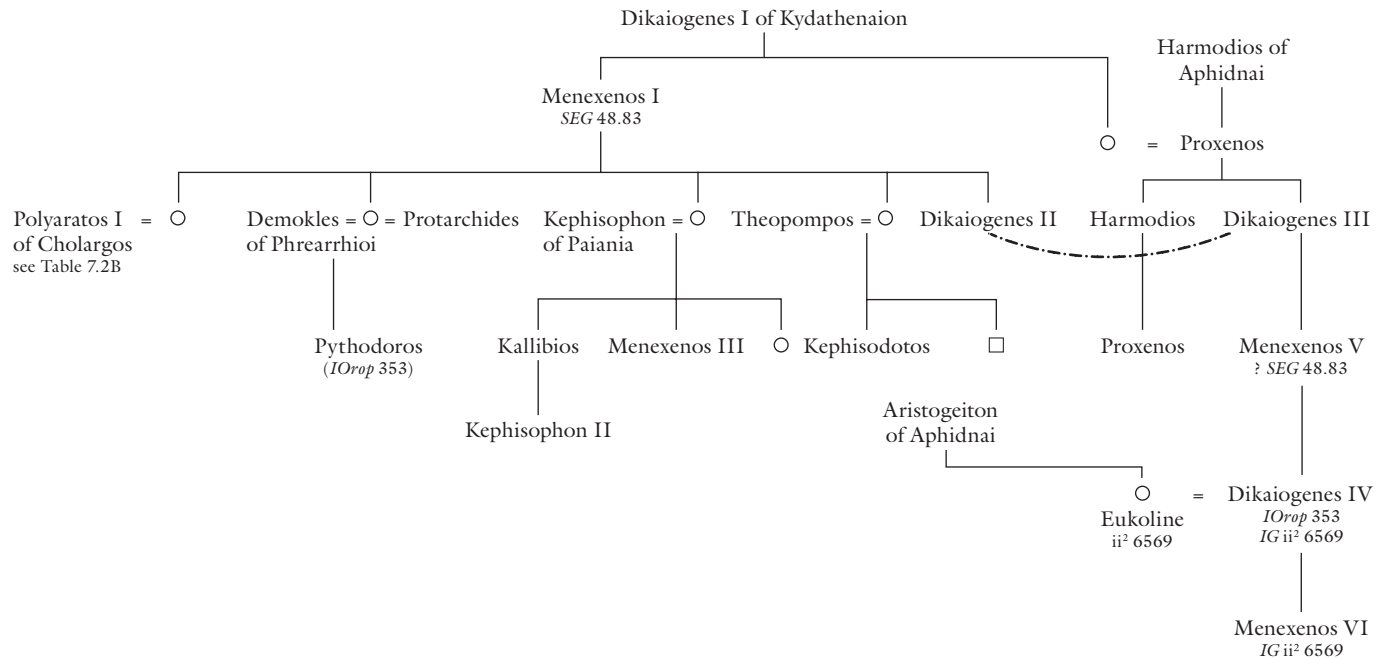
Case 2: the sisters of Dikaiogenes II, Isaïos 5, APF 3773 (Tables 7.2A and 7.2B)

Menexenos of Kydathenaion had four daughters and one son, Dikaiogenes II. The father died in battle in 429, while the children were still minors, and they must have come under the care of guardians, one of whom was probably Menexenos'

⁴⁰ See however Carey 2004 (Lysias F XII). [*Nomos epiklêrô*]*n kakôseô*[*s*] is restored in the list of contents of SEG 32. 329/36. 296, but it is not clear that the alternative [*orphanô*]*n* is impossible. The case appears to have been a prosecution for false witness after a *diamartyria* (Soritz-Hadler 1986); possibly a claim by a collateral had been met by a *diamartyria* asserting that *d.c.* had left legitimate offspring, but the restorations are far from certain.

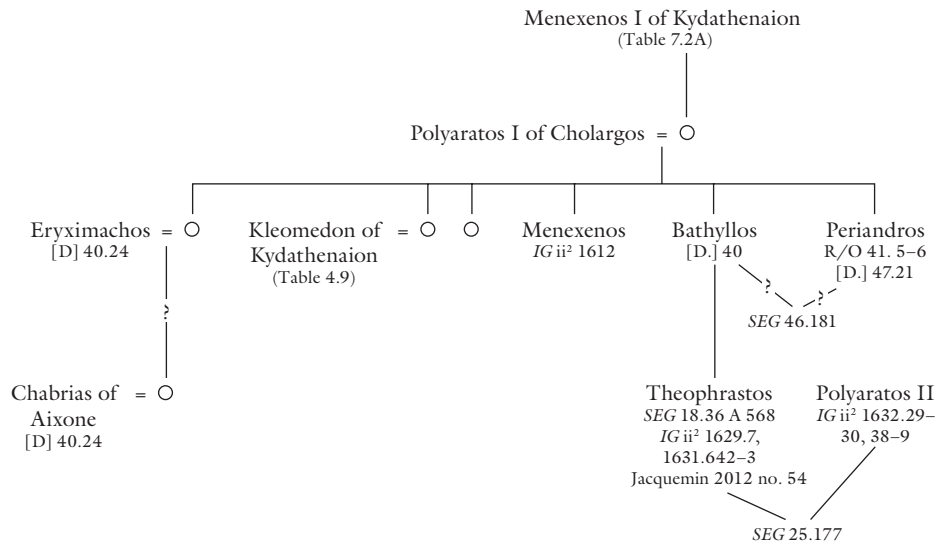
⁴¹ See ch. 3 at n. 7 and R. G. Osborne 1985*e*, 48–9. The *eisangelia* of [Dem.] 58. 1, 30–4, 70 (APF 436) was a protest against the transfer of an orphan from one *oikos* to another (ch. 2 n. 30); that of Is. 11 (Case 9) was a claim that the guardian, Theopompos, had defrauded his ward of a half share in Hagnias' estate; neither case was concerned with management of the ward's own property. Another *eisangelia*, for which no details are available, Dein. F 61 Conomis 1975. Demands that orphans' estates should be leased in [Dem.] 38. 23, Dem. 27. 15 (informal, by MZH), Is. 6. 36 (Case 1); cf. Lys. F CXIX Carey 2007, CV Thalheim 1913 (81, 85 Blass 1868), where the outcome is unknown. Suit at the end of guardianship may have seemed to promise a more clear-cut settlement, but probably left many wards feeling that they had not recovered their full due.

⁴² On women's representatives in court see Humphreys 1986*a*; Gagarin 1998. Only Phile (Is. 3, case 4 below) has support from collaterals, her MB and FMBs.



Notes. *Agora* XIX H 95. [—]dios of Aphidnai one of 2 creditors on loan of 500 dr., restoration as [Harmo]dios dubious. *IG* ii² 2235 misdated s. Harmodios 5 Demokles' widow may have married Protarchides of Potamos: see Wyse's note on §§ 26–7 (1904).

TABLE 7.2A. Isaios 5 *APF* 3773

TABLE 7.2B. Polyaratos of Cholargos *APF* 11907

brother-in-law (ZH) or (more probably) nephew (ZS) Proxenos of Aphidnai,⁴³ who dined in the Prytaneion as representative of the family of the ‘tyrannicide’ Harmodios. Good marriages were arranged for the daughters by their brother and his guardians; one received a dowry of 4000 drachmas.⁴⁴

Dikaiogenes II and his sisters had grown up in anxious times, and after the disaster of 413 in Sicily the dangers became even greater. Dikaiogenes was still childless, perhaps even unmarried, and it is easy to imagine that his sisters were apt to express concern for his safety, urge him to set his affairs in order

⁴³ ZS according to *APF* (3773, 12267), where Dikaiogenes III is misleadingly referred to as the nephew (for FZSS) of Dikaiogenes II (p. 146). On this view, which must be right, the daughter of Dikaiogenes I married Harmodios II. Their son Proxenos I should have been born c.460 (and thus cannot be the *kalos* of the 470s–460s), and his cousin (MBS) Dikaiogenes II perhaps in the 440s. Proxenos’ children, Hegeso (? cf. ch. 11 n. 29), Harmodios III, and Dikaiogenes III, seem to have been born in the 420s, although it is not necessary to assume that Dikaiogenes III was technically a minor when he became the adopted heir of Dikaiogenes II. It remains surprising that Dikaiogenes III should have been given the name of his FMF; if he did not change his name on adoption (chs. 2 n. 52, 8 n. 59), perhaps Proxenos I had a brother called Dikaiogenes who died young.

⁴⁴ § 26: the Dikaiogenes referred to here appears to be Dikaiogenes II. The apparent contradiction with § 9, where the same woman is called ‘the ex-wife of Demokles’ in the context of 399, need not disturb us, since the whole passage is designed to present the adoptive kin of Dikaiogenes III, quite misleadingly, as a group of defenceless women and orphans; the speaker implies that Kephisophon’s daughter was alone in the world, when in fact she had a father and two brothers. It is possible however that the arrangements for her second marriage were made under Dikaiogenes II’s will rather than during his lifetime. Polyaratos of Cholargos (*APF* 11907), who married another of Dikaiogenes II’s sisters, gave his own daughter a dowry of dr. 6000. Wyse’s suggestion (1904, 417–18) that another husband, Theopompos, was a kinsman of Proxenos is not compelling.

before he set out on the next campaign by making a will, and hint at the suitability of adopting one or other of the nephews now growing up in their own households.⁴⁵

To choose one and reject the others, however, would have caused a great deal of bad blood, and Dikaiogenes found another solution: he made a will conditionally adopting Proxenos' son Dikaiogenes III as heir to one-third of his estate, leaving the other two-thirds to be divided between his sisters. This will, presumably witnessed by Dikaiogenes II's brothers-in-law as well as by Proxenos, was recognized as valid when Dikaiogenes II died in 412/11. The arrangement, giving the adopted heir only part of the estate, was unusual and could not be justified by reference to Solon's laws; but Solon's laws did not provide very satisfactorily for an *oikos* containing four daughters and no son. The sisters may have grumbled at the compromise proposed, but if the will was well authenticated they were hardly in a position to contest it. Proxenos was probably still alive at this time, and continued to deal fairly with the family, duly handing over the shares to which the sisters were entitled.

The situation changed after the end of the Peloponnesian War. Dikaiogenes III had by this time come of age, and his father Proxenos had evidently died. The wealthy upper-class husbands of Dikaiogenes II's sisters were vulnerable to accusations of having stayed quietly in the city under the Thirty instead of taking an active role in resistance, or to more serious charges. Kephisophon of Paiania was one of the men who played a key role in the reconciliation between oligarchs and democrats in 403, trusted by both sides at the time but open to attack as soon as the demos began to feel more secure politically, and to chafe under the impact of economic depression. Polyaratos of Cholorgos had married one daughter to the son of the demagogue Kleon, but his other son-in-law Eryximachos may have faced a charge of 'staying in the city' in these years. A third son-in-law, Theopompos, had died.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ If the eldest son of Kephisophon of Paiania was given the name of his MF Menexenos (ch. 8 n. 40), hopes of succession to Menexenos' estate may have been responsible. It is unlikely that Dikaiogenes II was old enough to have made his will before any of his sisters had produced heirs.

⁴⁶ *APF* 3773, 11907; see ch. 19 n. 121 on Rhinon of Paiania, and Roberts 1938, 105–6 (*PRyl* III 489) on accusations of 'staying in the city'. It might be particularly dangerous for those suspected of oligarchic sympathies to combine together in court. The identification of Polyaratos' son-in-law with the defendant in *PRyl* 489 is based only on the relative rarity of the name and the comparable status of the two families; the other well-known Eryximachos of the period, the doctor, would also have been open to attack, for his ties with Sokrates and Alkibiades. Names with the root Eryx- are perhaps in any case less uncommon than *APF* suggests: an Eryxis of Kephisia was councillor in 408/7 (*Agora* XV 1; *IG* i³ 515), an Eryxias of Peiraios practised as a doctor in the 4th c. ([Dem.] 33. 18), and the eponym of [Plato] *Eryxias* is attributed to Steiria. The choregos of *IG* i³ 966, son of an Eryximachos of Kydathenaion, may have been called [Eryx]ias, but there are other possibilities (ch. 6 n. 2). On the name of Kallibios son of Kephisophon of Paiania see ch. 8 n. 27.

Dikaiogenes III—put up to it, his opponents claimed, by ‘Melas the Egyptian’ (§ 7)—filed a claim in 399 for the whole estate, presumably arguing that in 412/11 the wealthy and oligarchic husbands of Dikaiogenes II’s sisters had intimidated his father Proxenos into giving up two-thirds of it.⁴⁷ Polyaratos of Cholargos gave notice that he intended to prosecute one of Dikaiogenes’ witnesses for false testimony, but according to his son died before he could bring the case (§ 9). Dikaiogenes’ claim was accepted; there may have been some scandalized talk about his behaviour,⁴⁸ but the sisters and their families were not in a position to fight back effectively. One of the sisters’ sons, Menexenos III son of Kephisophon of Paiania, successfully prosecuted one of Dikaiogenes’ witnesses for false testimony, but was persuaded to settle privately, dropping his accusations against other witnesses and leaving his cousins in the lurch (§§ 12–13). The speaker of Isaios 5, Menexenos IV son of Polyaratos of Cholargos (see chs. 8 n. 40, 27 n. 17), implies that Menexenos III was motivated solely by greed, but threats to rake up oligarchic associations may also have been involved.

According to Menexenos IV the traitor was cheated of his promised reward (§ 14), and in 389 the cousins mounted another campaign, this time claiming the whole estate of Dikaiogenes II on the ground that he had died intestate.⁴⁹ Leochares, the defendant in the suit in which Isaios 5 was delivered, attested by *diamartyria* that the estate was not adjudicable; the cousins prosecuted him for perjury, but were persuaded in court to settle before the votes were counted, on the understanding that Dikaiogenes III would restore two-thirds of the estate to them, with Leochares, and Mnesiptolemos of Plotheia, acting as guarantors (§§ 17–18). Further disputes and attempts at private arbitration followed (§§ 31–4); eventually the cousins took Leochares to court, in the suit from which our speech comes, on the grounds that the bargain had not been fulfilled, since most of the property handed over by Dikaiogenes was mortgaged.⁵⁰

Leochares apparently argued that the written agreement drawn up in court at the time of the earlier suit had not specified that the property was to be handed over free of all claims (*anamphisbêta*); this part of the story is instructive for the light it throws on Athenian attitudes both to writing and to property. It is likely

⁴⁷ The speaker of Is. 5 stresses in § 7 that plenty of time had passed under democratic rule since 412/11. Andok. 1. 88 shows that after the upheavals of 412 to 403 attempts to reopen even cases settled under a democratic regime were expected; for interference with justice under the Thirty see Lys. 25. 16, *PRyl* 489 col. iv. 114–6. Loening’s study (1987) does not deal with the extensive problem of intrusion of the issue of oligarchy into suits on every kind of topic. Plato’s decision not to venture on a political career belongs to these years (*Ep.* 7 324b–326b). See ch. 14 at n. 40.

⁴⁸ On the Dikaiogenes of Lysias F XXXIII Carey 2007 (XXXI Thalheim 1913) see ch. 5 n. 50.

⁴⁹ §§ 14–16. Dikaiogenes III had discredited the will produced in 412/11, and Menexenos III’s prosecution for false witness had cast doubt on that produced in 399.

⁵⁰ Mortgaging or otherwise transferring property ostensibly into other ownership was a common device for avoiding paying penalties imposed by courts, see ch. 14 at nn. 38–42. Wyse’s sympathy for Dikaiogenes III’s financial straits seems to me misplaced.

enough that the cousins did not think of the written document drawn up in court as an exact record of the agreement made orally, but as a supplement to it. At this period witnesses were still much more important than writing as proof of the existence of a legal obligation, in the view of most Athenians. The cousins also clearly thought of the estate of Dikaiogenes II not as a certain monetary value that Dikaiogenes III was obliged to restore to them, but as a collection of specific pieces of property that had been valued and divided up in 412/11 and now had to be reassembled, revalued, and redivided; this is why Protarchides, husband of one of the sisters, is required to return into hotchpotch the house in the Kerameikos that he had received in lieu of his wife's dowry. The document drawn up in court therefore probably contained a list of properties with valuations, regarded by the cousins as an inventory rather than a contract (cf. § 3). They had to think of their future negotiations with each other over the division of the property once it was secured, as well as the immediate agreement with Dikaiogenes III and Leochares.⁵¹

The latter, however, were taking advantage of a situation that allowed them to base their case on the letter of the law and of the document drawn up in court.⁵² The ambiguity of the relation between written document and verbal agreement in the Leochares case paralleled the ambiguity of the relation between written law and private agreement in the will of Dikaiogenes II. Solon's law did not envisage a situation in which an adopted heir got only part of his *pater's* estate, and Dikaiogenes III's position was indeed anomalous in terms of written law, though such anomalies were always liable to occur when there was more than one potential epikleros in an oikos.⁵³

Like the Euktemon case, the case of the sisters of Dikaiogenes II shows how an initial step undertaken to provide an amicable compromise in a family dispute leads later to confrontation in court because the compromise arrangement has no support in law. Both cases also show the tensions that arose when daughters who had been dowered, and at the time of their marriage had no further expectations

⁵¹ I assume that the sisters' representatives had divided the property into four equal parcels and drawn lots in 412/11, and intended to do the same in 389 (ch. 5 at nn. 72–4); possibly some account would be taken of improvements, deterioration, or other changes in value that had taken place in the interim. The speaker claims that they now allowed Dikaiogenes III to keep his town house (which he had evidently improved, but had also mortgaged, §§ 11, 29) in addition to his one-third share of the estate; this is a further indication of the cousins' tendency to think of property in highly specific and concrete terms. See Hart 2004 on the entanglement of thinginess and imagination in conceptions of property.

⁵² See R. G. Osborne 1990*b* on quibbling as the defining characteristic of sycophancy. Assessing the cultural significance of figs for Athenians is difficult because in the principal text (Athen. 74c–80e) the interests of urban gourmets are mingled with older ideas, but there is some evidence that figs are cheap food eaten when nothing else is available, which suggests that the sycophant pounces on the trivial and insignificant (LSJ s.v. *sykinos* may be wrong to derive the metaphorical sense 'worthless' from figwood rather than figs).

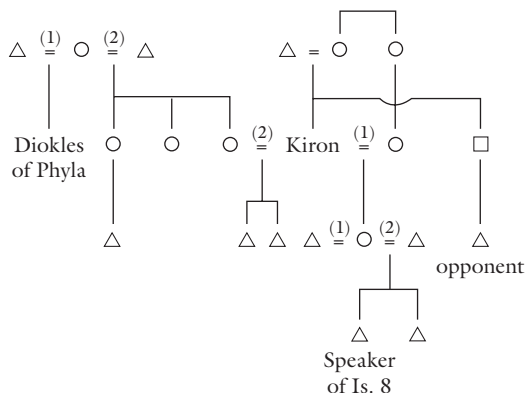
⁵³ It was the growth of the association between adoption and testation—not prominent in Solon's day (Humphreys 2002*a*)—that made the family with several daughters and no sons especially problematic.

of property from their oikos of origin, found themselves in a quasi-epikleric position as the result of a brother's death; both, especially the second, indicate that where there were two or more married daughters involved in a family dispute their male representatives might have difficulty in maintaining a united front.⁵⁴ The following case presents a similar situation.

Case 3: Diokles of Phlya, Isaios 8. 40–2, APF 8443 (Table 7.3)

We hear about the troubles of the three half-sisters of Diokles of Phlya only incidentally, in a speech from another case in which Diokles was concerned, and in fragments of a speech against him. His mother had married twice, and Diokles, her son by her first marriage, was evidently already adult when her second husband died. A will was produced in which Diokles was adopted as his stepfather's heir.⁵⁵ This was not an entirely unreasonable arrangement to make; it was certainly favourable for the widow, since it allowed her to stay on in a wealthy home with her son as *kyrios*. It was, however, legally problematic because Diokles was precluded by law from marrying any of his three uterine half-sisters, and Solon's law specified that a man who left daughters but no sons could only bequeath his estate 'with the daughters'. The husbands of two of the daughters made claims on the estate—whether for unpaid dowry or for a share in inheritance is not clear⁵⁶—and were met, according to the speaker of Isaios 8, with violence. 'That Orestes' lured the husband of the older one into his house, imprisoned him, and

TABLE 7.3. Isaios 8



⁵⁴ One wonders what role the mother of Dikaïogenes III played in all these family struggles. If she had been the aunt (FZ, but see n. 43 above) of Dikaïogenes II and his sisters, she would have been in an awkward position. We are told only that she had been seen praying to Eileithyia (§ 39), perhaps an insinuation that she was afraid her son would be unable to sire children.

⁵⁵ The speaker's assertion in Is. 8. 40 that the stepfather made no will must be taken as implying that the will was forged, not that Diokles acted with no basis.

⁵⁶ It seems to me likely that the will contained instructions for the dowering and marriage of the three daughters as well as the adoption of Diokles, unless they were already married. (*Epikléroi* in § 40 does not

treated him insultingly (a prosecution for *hybris* eventually followed);⁵⁷ the husband of the younger died in circumstances that—again according to the speaker of Isaios 8—allowed Diokles to threaten her with a prosecution for homicide. She gave up her claims on her father's estate and Diokles became the guardian of her son, the best part of whose land he is said to have appropriated.

These accusations are tendentious and highly coloured, and the speaker has to make the best of his lack of witnesses by claiming that Diokles' victims are too scared to come forward.⁵⁸ The basic facts seem to be that Diokles had succeeded to at least part of his stepfather's estate, that he had been involved in a fight with the husband of one of his half-sisters, and that he had become guardian of the son of another sister. He was apparently on good terms with the third sister and her husband, the Kiron whose estate the speaker of Isaios 8 was claiming.

According to this claimant, Kiron had had one daughter, the speaker's mother, by his first wife, a cousin (MZD) who had died after four years of marriage; by Diokles' sister he had two sons, who died before their father. One can understand that the relation between grandfather and grandsons of which the speaker paints a touching picture (§§ 15–16) may have been experienced by Diokles' sister as a brash insistence on the part of her stepdaughter on thrusting her sons upon their

imply that all were still unmarried; the term is often used loosely, cf. Karnezis 1972.) *Eisepratteto* in § 41 presumably refers to informal demands rather than court proceedings.

⁵⁷ The history of interpretations of this passage is instructive: one has to go back to Meier-Schoemann 1824 (320 n. 82) to find a scholar ready to recognize that Athenians could be as crude and cruel in their treatment of peers as they were in dealing with slaves. Whether we should accept Schoemann's later emendation of *étimôse* to *étimase* in § 41 (1831) is a fine point, but Diokles' behaviour has nothing to do with loss of citizen rights. It is similar to that of Teisis in Lys. F CXXIX Carey 2007, XVII Gernet/Bizos 1926 (75 Thalheim 1913), of Hegesandros and his friends in Aisch. 1. 57–87 (the victim here is a public slave), and of the speaker in Lys. 1 (cf. also Hyp. F 200 Blass 1894, n. 35 above, and *epibouleusas* in [Dem.] 59. 66). Diokles is presented as a violent, manic young man who liked to take the law into his own hands—the popular conception of Orestes (§§ 3, 44, with Wyse 1904, 590–1) does not seem to have owed much to Aeschylus—who had been involved in night brawls and had been taken in adultery (§§ 44, 46). All this may have been past history by the time Is. 8 was delivered (between 383 and 363); by this date Diokles was *lampros* in the performance of liturgies (§ 40), and some 35 years had elapsed between his sister's marriage to Kiron and the latter's death. His son Polemon, who leased sacred property in 343/2 (*Agora XIX L 6 col 1 A 9*), must have been born by 363. The prosecution for *hybris* (the best collection of fragments is in Baier-Sauppe 1850) apparently claimed that the victim had died as a result of his injuries (Harp. s.v. *katôikodomêse*), but evidently the link between cause and effect was not strong enough for a homicide charge. (Harp. s.v. *ekplinthēusas*, however, does not necessarily imply that the victim freed himself.) The *hybris* charge may have been filed by the speaker of Is. 8 as a way of putting pressure on Diokles and influencing public opinion against him at the time of the dispute over Kiron's estate. It is better not to connect the account in 8. 41–2 of the second sister's troubles with Is. *Pros Dioklea peri chōriou* (F IX/6 Thalheim 1903, 20 Blass 1874), since § 42 does not suggest that court proceedings were taken, and it is doubtful whether she would be called 'the *epiklēros*' in quite this way.

⁵⁸ Presumably there were some witnesses for the *hybris* charge, who will have testified in 8. 42, but apparently the speaker got no support from the second sister and her son. See Humphreys 2010*b* for the possibility that Diokles was responsible for SEG 58. 265.

grandfather on every possible occasion, in order to remind him of their rights as heirs. Suspicions about the stepdaughter's legitimacy were nurtured, and when Kiron died a nephew (BS) put in a claim to the estate with the support of Diokles, alleging that his opponents' mother was not really Kiron's daughter. The speaker of *Isaios* 8 produces testimony from his own patrikin and the kin of his mother's first husband that she was given in marriage in due form, with a dowry, by Kiron, but Kiron's own kin evidently supported his rival; for evidence that his mother grew up as a daughter in Kiron's household he has to fall back on hearsay evidence from Kiron's associates (§ 14) and complaints that his opponents will not let him torture the family slaves. We do not know the outcome of the case.⁵⁹

It should be pointed out that Diokles could claim to be a protector rather than a robber of widows. His mother and the widow of Kiron may well have been better off with him as guardian than in the hands of sons-in-law or the sons of a stepdaughter.⁶⁰ A woman who married twice, as we shall see, had her own game to play in family disputes over property, and some of them could play their cards with skill.

This skill, however, had to be learned, and the male support without which it could not succeed had to be built up over time. The teenage girl whose guardian gave her in marriage on the understanding that her dowry was the only share of her father's estate to which she was entitled had very little chance of asserting her rights. As we have seen, this was particularly likely to happen if an *oikos* contained several daughters and no sons, but it might happen also to a single daughter.

Case 4: Kleitaretē-Phile, Isaios 3 (Table 7.4)

Here again a man with no sons adopts an heir who does not marry his daughter.⁶¹ Pyrrhos adopted his nephew (ZS) Endios by a will that was not contested,⁶²

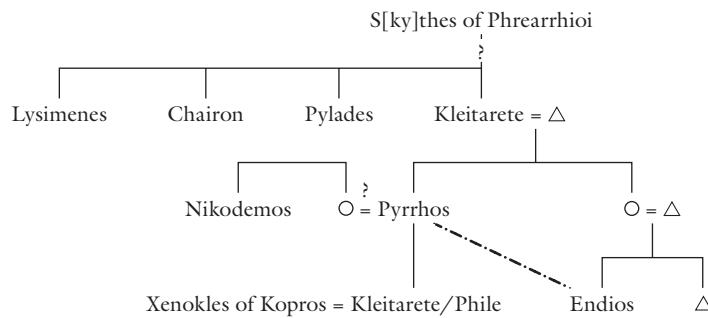
⁵⁹ The fact that the *hybris* case against Diokles came to court suggests that conflict between the speaker and Diokles did not end with the hearing for which *Is.* 8 was written, but even if the speaker won he would probably have had difficulty in recovering Kiron's property. For her second marriage his mother had only 1000 dr. dowry (§ 8), a figure perhaps cited in *Is.* 3 as evidence that the bride is illegitimate (see below, n. 69); here the excuse is that part of the 2500 dr. given with her to her first husband had not been recovered. No witnesses support the assertion that Kiron was married briefly to his MZD before marrying Diokles' sister; perhaps the similar claim in [Dem.] 59. 119 may suggest that litigants hoped to lend respectability to obscure and doubtful marriages if they claimed that the bride was a kinswoman. Conversely, in *Ter. Phorm.* FBD marriage is used to legitimize a bride whose status is dubious (cf. ch. 4 at n. 31).

⁶⁰ The speaker's opponent in *Is.* 8 could present a pathetic picture of Diokles' sister, pushed aside after the death of her own sons by an unscrupulous woman who played on the elderly Kiron's desire for heirs (cf. *Is.* 6).

⁶¹ Paoli 1961 points out that the same situation exists in *Men. Dysk.*, where the adopted son cannot marry the daughter because she is his uterine half-sister (Table 2.5; cf. ch. 4 at n. 51).

⁶² Xenokles and Nikodemos had announced that they would prosecute the witnesses to Endios' adoption for false testimony (§ 56, cf. 66–7), but this happened after Endios' death. Their claim that the estate

TABLE 7.4. Isaios 3
 Note: On *Agora* XIX H
 81 see n. 70.



and Endios held the estate for twenty years. However, when he died without leaving an heir and his brother claimed the estate on behalf of their mother, Pyrros' sister and next-of-kin,⁶³ a *diamartyria* was made by Xenokles of Kopros (§ 3) to the effect that Pyrros had left a legitimate daughter, Xenokles' wife Phile. Endios' brother successfully prosecuted him for perjury and then, in Isaios' speech, attacked the supporting testimony of Nikodemos, who had testified that his sister was Pyrros' lawful wife and Phile's mother. The speaker's case was that Nikodemos' sister was a notorious *hetaira* and Phile's parentage could not be proved.

About the marriage of Pyrros and Nikodemos' sister there was certainly room for doubt, since Nikodemos could not prove that he had dowered her,⁶⁴ had only one witness to the betrothal from his own circle of intimates, who did not appear in court to support his testimony,⁶⁵ and could produce no evidence

under adjudication was that of Pyrros and not of Endios did not require them to show that the adoption of Endios was invalid, since by law if an adopted son left no biological heirs the property reverted to the *oikos* of his *pater* and not of his *genitor* (cf. Is. 10, [Dem.] 44, and for a parallel without adoption Is. 6, Case 1, where the estate is treated as Euktemon's); but the adoption cast doubt on Phile's legitimacy. Nikodemos and his sister may have been in too weak a position to protest when Pyrros died, or they may have been pacified by promises that Endios would marry Phile (cf. Lotze 1981; ch. 2 n. 41); the child must have been very small when Pyrros died (she reached marriageable age 12 years later, § 31).

⁶³ Though the speaker protests in § 67 against the classification of the estate as that of Pyrros, it suited him to stress his mother's relationship to Pyrros rather than his own relation to his brother; courts were familiar with attempts to transfer estates from one brother to another when the relationship had been broken off by adoption (Is. 10, [Dem.] 44, cf. ch. 2 at nn. 34–5). Did Endios fail to make a will because he thought that as an adopted son he was not entitled to do so (Humphreys 2002*a*), or from negligence? The rule that an *epikleros*' son took control of the property transmitted by his mother as soon as he came of age apparently was not felt to operate in cases such as this (the claimant in Is. 10 does not distinguish very clearly between his mother's rights and his own, Wyse 1904, 650).

⁶⁴ § 49. Maffi 1989 suggests that clothes and jewellery had been provided. However, it seems possible that although there was a betrothal Pyrros never went through with the marriage, due to family opposition and/or illness.

⁶⁵ § 18; the reasons for the witness's absence may however have been perfectly legitimate; cf. n. 153 below. Pyrros' MBs were (Nikodemos claimed) present at the betrothal as representatives of the groom's family.

that Pyrrhos had presented his wife to his phrateres or fellow-demesmen. Nikodemos' own entitlement to citizenship had been questioned.⁶⁶ The speaker had found witnesses to testify that they had been the woman's clients, or had met her at dinner parties (no place for a wife), or had been disturbed by rowdy parties in Pyrrhos' house when she was present (§§ 10–14); the reliability of all this must have been open to question, but the aim was to present Pyrrhos to the jury as a wild young bachelor rather than a respectable husband and father. The relationship with Nikodemos' sister need not have lasted very long, whatever its character. On the other hand, Nikodemos evidently had no difficulty in showing that both Pyrrhos and Endios had recognized Phile as a child towards whom they had some responsibilities. The testimony of Pyrrhos' three maternal uncles (MBs) that he had celebrated the *dekatê* for her and given her the name of his mother, Kleitarete, is not likely to have been false,⁶⁷ and Endios had formally betrothed her to a citizen, Xenokles of Kopros,⁶⁸ with a dowry of 1000 (or 3000) drachmas. The fact that Pyrrhos remained on good terms with his sister and his maternal uncles (the latter only half a generation older than himself, cf. Humphreys 1986a, 76–9), but not with other kin, is consistent with the supposition that he had made a rash marriage disapproved of by older and soberer members of the family; his nephew concedes that it has been known for young men to fall in love with women like Nikodemos' sister, lose their heads, and in their madness agree to arrangements against their own interests (§ 17). His argument that the small dowry given to Phile shows that she was betrothed 'as the daughter of a *hetaira*' (§ 45, etc.) has no legal standing, since betrothal (*engûê*) should have implied that the fiancée was of legitimate citizen birth, but it may well have been true that Endios and Xenokles had come to an understanding.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ He had been accused in court by one of his fellow-phrateres and had got off by only 4 votes, § 37. We are given to understand that this had taken place before Pyrrhos' marriage (perhaps in the 390s, when phratries took steps to eliminate irregularities that had occurred during the Peloponnesian War, cf. ch. 19 n. 114); but the accusation might have been part of the speaker's own campaign.

⁶⁷ The discrepancy between the uncles' evidence that she was named Kleitarete and her husband's reference to her as Phile speaks for, rather than against, the testimony: see ch. 8 at nn. 17–18 and C. B. Patterson 1990, n. 111. The uncles also testified that they were present at Phile's betrothal, §§ 26, 69–71. The *dekatê* did not give a child any legal right to claim recognition as legitimate (Maffi 1985). *Agora* XIX H 81 has been taken as a horos marking security for the dowry of Pyrrhos' mother, but women's names in Kleit- are not uncommon in classical Attika (Kleita, Kleitagora, Kleitaichme, Kleitomache, Kleitotime, Kleito).

⁶⁸ Xenokles had taken pains to show that he had influential friends and was not the kind of man who would marry a girl of doubtful status (Wyse 1904, 304); his witnesses when he went to check the contents of Pyrrhos' mining works at Besa were the *rhêtôr* Diophantos of Sphettos (ch. 27 n. 36), who had also acted as his *synêgoros* in the perjury case, the brothers Dorotheos and Philochares of Eleusis (*APF* 4610; ch. 30 n. 103), and many others (§ 22).

⁶⁹ Cf. Maffi 1989; C. B. Patterson 1990, 72. The law that made such betrothals illegal may not yet have existed at this time (Gernet 1960, 67 n. 3). On dowry size in relation to the estate from which the woman is dowered see Leduc 1991, 302–3. The MS tradition in § 49 gives the dowry as 3000 dr., but

Xenokles does not seem to have complained during Endios' lifetime about the share in Pyrrhos' estate given to his wife. As the speaker points out, Pyrrhos' uncles (MBs), who had testified that Pyrrhos when dying had adjured them to look after Phile (§ 69), do not seem to have made any objection to the marriage; indeed, the argument that Endios had cheated her of her inheritance and possibly ignored Pyrrhos' wishes by failing to marry her himself was hardly one that could be brought by Xenokles and his allies.⁷⁰

As in the first two cases (Isaios 6 and 5), a legally dubious compromise—admission of the 'Lemnian' boy to Euktemon's phratry, division of the estate of Dikaiogenes II between his adopted heir and his sisters, betrothal of Phile—allows the beneficiary later to make claims which the compromise had been designed to forestall. It was easier to make equivocal arrangements where girls were involved, since no formal control was exercised by the city over a girl's entitlement to be classed as Athenian.⁷¹ Phano, whom Apollodoros of Acharnai regarded as the daughter of the *hetaira* Neaira ([Demosthenes] 59), had twice been given in marriage by Neaira's protector Stephanos as his daughter by marriage to a kinswoman, though in both cases gossip had led to divorce.

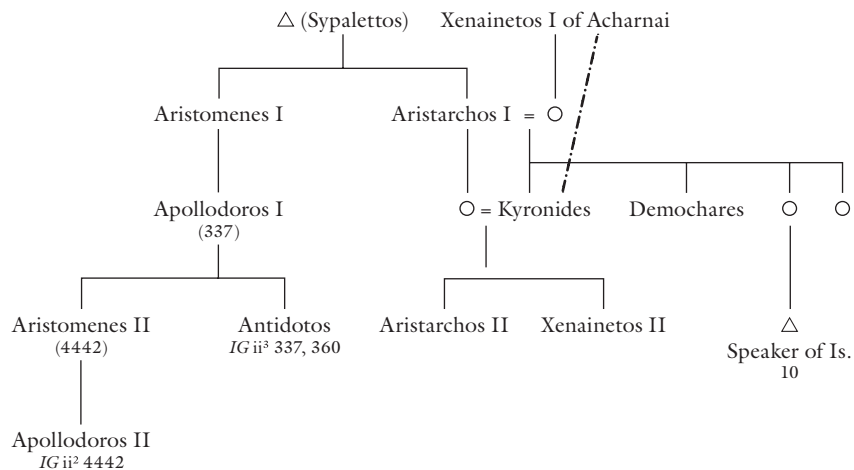
Case 5: the daughter of Aristarchos, Isaios 10 (Table 7.5)

Another young woman who was given in marriage with a dowry when she might have been entitled to claim her father's whole estate was the mother of the speaker of Isaios 10. She had had two brothers and a sister, but one brother, Kyronides, had been adopted into the oikos of his maternal grandfather (MF), and the other two siblings had died without issue. Aristomenes, brother of her father Aristarchos, had married his own daughter to Kyronides and married Aristarchos' daughter to a non-kinsman. Her son alleges that she urged her husband to claim her rights, but whenever he approached Aristomenes and Kyronides about the matter they threatened to break up his marriage by filing a demand to marry her as epikleros; both her husband and her son were also hampered by

this is normally emended to 1000 ([*tris*] *chilias*) because § 51 says that the dowry was not even 1/10 (*dekaton*) of Pyrrhos' fortune of 18,000 dr. The suggestion in Paoli 1961, 61–2, of emending *dekaton* to *dikaion* is unconvincing, but possibly in § 51 the numeral *d* was wrongly expanded to *dekaton*; see Wyse 1904, xlv–xlvi on such errors in the Isaios tradition. Since both engue and the dekate were private affairs, it was always possible to carry them out in questionable circumstances, of which both the principal parties and the witnesses were aware. However, if one of the principals then died, the other could try to insist on the legal implications of the ceremony, as happens here.

⁷⁰ Neither Pyrrhos' intentions nor his will can be reconstructed, but it should be pointed out that there is little foundation for the modern idea that a father who made arrangements by will for the future marriage of an epikleros was expected to adopt his prospective son-in-law. In the only attested case of adoption of a son-in-law (Dem. 41), the adoption takes place *inter vivos* and turns out badly. Cf. ch. 2 n. 64.

⁷¹ P. J. Rhodes 1978, 90–1.



Notes: Since the name is otherwise unattested, Xenainetos I may be the eponymous archon of 401/0. On the date of *IG ii²* 4442 see Byrne 2008, 128–9.

TABLE 7.5. Isaios 10

service in the Corinthian War, and by a condemnation for debt to the state. The story of the threats, designed to appeal to sentimental jurors, is extremely thin,⁷² and apparently no objection was made when, after the death of Kyronides, one of his two sons was introduced into the *oikos* as Aristarchos' adoptive heir.⁷³ I suspect that Aristomenes and Kyronides had disembarassed themselves of the *epikleros* by offering her with a generous dowry to a friend who was in need of cash. She must indeed have resented this, but her husband had accepted the bargain (§§ 5–6, 19–20) and there was little she could do about it during his lifetime. However, when the young man who had been adopted into Aristarchos' *oikos* (Aristarchos II) died without leaving an heir, she saw her chance and urged her son into action. We do not know whether he succeeded.

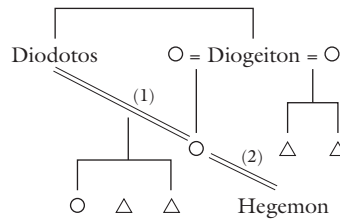
A somewhat similar compromise is proposed in Menander's *Aspis* (260–73): Chairestratos suggests that Smikrines should take the *epikleros*' property but allow the girl to marry a younger man. Smikrines rejects the idea because, he says, when she has a son he will claim that the property is his. A man who agreed to a compromise might stand by it, but his heirs would not feel themselves bound in the same way.

⁷² Maffi 1990 argues convincingly that the next-of-kin had no right to claim a married heiress; see ch. 1 n. 116.

⁷³ The speaker glosses over the fact that Kyronides himself must have recovered control of Aristarchos' estate for a time. See also the discussions of this family in chs. 2 n. 27, 3 n. 18, 29 at n. 56. If *IG ii²* 10754 (*CAT* 3. 351c), a lekythos dated c.370 (?) representing Kallistomache (seated) shaking hands with Aristarchos, Apollodoros behind her (both men standing, bearded) belongs to this family, it must represent Kyronides' widow with her brother Apollodoros and her son Aristarchos II; but in that case the family must have bought a somewhat inappropriate stock lekythos, since Aristarchos died young. Note however the conjunction of the same men's names in *SEG* 20. 504 a 1 (271 BCE), if genuine.

Case 6: The daughter of Diogeiton, Lysias 32, APF 3885 (Table 7.6)

TABLE 7.6. Lysias 32



A woman who felt herself wronged might thus have to wait some time before she could mobilize a man to champion her cause; but Attic women could be tenacious. The daughter of Diogeiton had married her uncle (FB) Diodotos, by whom she had a daughter and two sons. When Diodotos died her father remarried her, evidently to a man who was prepared to remain content with the dowry he was given and not enquire too closely into Diogeiton's management of his brother's estate on behalf of his wards. It probably was not easy for an outsider to discover how far Diodotos and Diogeiton had proceeded in dividing the property they had inherited from their father; the question did not become of practical importance until Diogeiton himself remarried and had sons by his second wife.⁷⁴ Diogeiton's daughter had to wait until her own daughter was married in order to find, in her son-in-law, an ally willing to help her sons claim their rights.

*

As in the Diokles case, the stepdaughter's loss here was the stepmother's gain. Remarriage was common in Athens; where a woman married twice she was often in a position to exert influence over the disposal of property. When a man married twice there might be friction between his two sets of children; when a woman married twice her two sets of children often felt a closer kinship with each other than the law recognized.

HALF-SIBLINGS

The orators' speeches provide information on 52 second marriages, 22 for men and 30 for women. Thirteen remarriages followed on divorce, 20 on widowhood; the antecedents in the remaining cases are unknown. As one might expect, in a society where women married in their teens and men only in their thirties (ch. 5 at nn. 58–60), we know of 15 widows who remarried, and only three or

⁷⁴ W. Thompson 1972 suggests that Diodotos' property was being diverted to stepsons of Diogeiton, sons of his second wife by an earlier marriage.

	Men	Women	Total
Divorced/Widowed	4 + ?1	5 + ?3	9 + ?4
	2 + ?2	15	17 + ?2
Reason unknown	12 + ?1	7	19 + ?1
Totals	22	30	52
With children	18	11	19
Childless	2	2	4
Unclear/unknown	5	14	19
Totals	25	27	52

TABLE 7.7. Remarriage at Athens (adapted from W. Thompson 1972)

four widowers. Nineteen second marriages produced children, and only four are known not to have done so (Table 7.7).⁷⁵

The chorus in Euripides' *Andromache* (465–70) thinks it a bad thing for a man to have two female partners; the reference is to concubines rather than second wives, but conflict between children by different mothers was likely in either case. Half-brothers by the same father might come into conflict over the division of his estate, over the conduct of an older brother as guardian of younger siblings (Lysias 10. 5?), or over the dowries brought by their respective mothers; sons by one marriage might question the legitimacy of their half-siblings. Mantitheos of Thorikos tried to persuade his father Mantias not to legitimize his sons by Plangon, and quarrels between the half-brothers over property, dowry, and other matters continued, in and out of court, for at least twelve years after Mantias' death.⁷⁶ The sons of the daughter of Kiron by his first marriage found their mother's legitimacy questioned by rival heirs supported by Diokles of Phlya, brother of Kiron's second wife (Case 3); Euktemon tried to introduce an alleged half-brother to share his

⁷⁵ We are more likely to hear when women are left widowed than when men are, because of the property settlements involved. Information on reasons for divorce is scanty. One or perhaps two men divorce their wives in order to marry epikleroi (Dem. 57. 41; Libanios, *hyp.* Dem. 30); Kallias of Alopeke divorced the daughter of Ischomachos in order to marry her mother (APF7826 XII), Perikles divorced his wife in order to live with the metic woman Aspasia, and perhaps to pacify Hipponikos II of Alopeke whose son by his first wife, Hermogenes, may have been disenfranchized by Perikles' citizenship law (ibid. IX, XVI B; ch. 4 at n. 52); Menekles (Case 13 below, Is. 2. 7–8) allegedly divorced his wife because he believed himself to be sterile; Plato's parents may have divorced when the husband, Ariston of Kollytos, decided to settle on Aigina as a kleruch (ch. 4 at n. 27); the daughter of Polyeuktos of Teithras was probably divorced from her uncle (MB) and adopted brother Leokrates as a result of family quarrels (Dem. 41, ch. 2 at n. 64); Phrastor and Theogenes both divorced Neaira's daughter Phano because they had discovered that she was not of citizen birth. Alkibiades' wife tried to leave him because of his infidelities (ch. 9 at n. 50); Euktemon (Case 1) left his wife for other company, but may never formally have divorced her. The divorces of Onetor's sister (Dem. 30. 7–11) are also somewhat suspect. List of widows in V. J. Hunter 1989.

⁷⁶ APF9667; see Maffi 1985; Humphreys 1989 and forthcoming *a*. I do not think Mantias was ever unambiguously married to Plangon. In Antiph. 1 a son whose position may have been particularly insecure (n. 37 above) accuses his stepmother of poisoning his father.

estate with his son Philoktemon (Case 1). It was particularly in such situations that litigants claimed that a man's judgment had been corrupted by a woman's influence. Even where there were no children, the brother of Menekles (Isaios 2, Case 13 below) contested his adoption of his second wife's brother on these grounds. Menekles had married her on the death of his first wife, when she was probably still in her teens; he divorced her after a short period but adopted her brother, and his kin clearly felt that she had exploited the situation.

Case 7: 'Kallias' nothos' (Tables 4.2, 4.4, Andokides 1. 124–7, APF 7826 XI–XII)

Kallias III son of Hipponikos of Alopeke had a son, Hipponikos III, by his first wife; he married a second time, with the daughter of Ischomachos, and then apparently set up a relationship with her mother Chrysilla, as a result of which Chrysilla's kin presented a baby boy to the genos Kerykes as Kallias' son. Kallias repudiated it, but was later persuaded to change his mind; by 399 the boy had been accepted by the genos on the strength of Kallias' oath that this was his legitimate son. There was gossip about the affair, and jokes could be made in comedy about the citizen body becoming full of people like 'Kallias' *nothos*' (Metagenes F 14 PCG), but in polite company he was referred to as one of 'the two sons of Kallias' (Plato, *Apology* 20a). However, it is doubtful whether he ever acquired full citizen rights, and when his father died in the 360s there was a new scandal, Athens' equivalent of the Martin Guerre story: Hipponikos III alleged that the claimant who presented himself as entitled to a half-share in the estate, after a long absence as a prisoner (or perhaps mercenary) in Thrace, was not his half-brother but a family groom who had gone north with the boy and happened to resemble him. The story implies that Hipponikos won his case.⁷⁷

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There are, however, some cases in which patrilateral half-brothers are supportive. Two defendants charged with having obtained citizenship on false

⁷⁷ Dio Chrys. 15. 15 (missed by APF; another impostor case, P. Chatterjee 2002). The boy cannot have been born before c.412, and the process of full acceptance by phratry and deme would not therefore begin until c.396; Andokides' speech will have created obstacles (Metagenes' reference should be contemporary with the oath described in Andok. 1. 127, which apparently took place at a late celebration of the *meion*, see ch. 19 n. 80, 138). The boy may have gone north with Iphikrates in 389 or 388 (Xen. *Hell.* 4. 8. 34–9); if we take Dio's story seriously, we learn from it that an Athenian force was defeated at some time in the 380s at or near Akanthos. This might be the defeat by Kotys which was followed by reconciliation and Iphikrates' marriage to Kotys' daughter, c.386 (APF 7737). It is also possible, however, that Athenians fought as mercenaries in the encounters between Sparta and the Chalkidian league in 382–79, in which Akanthos was certainly involved.

pretences can produce their half-brothers as witnesses in their favour (Isaios 12, *POxy* 2538).⁷⁸

The speaker in the Isaios case remarks that it is unusual for stepdaughters to support their stepmothers (§ 5); the cases of Diokles' sister and Diogeiton's daughter (Cases 3 and 6) illustrate this. The Diokles case also indicates, however, that a woman with sons by one husband might sacrifice to them the interests of her daughters by another husband.

It is likely enough that a woman tended to think of her children as a single group, in which sons had a right to take precedence over daughters even when they had different fathers. Similarly, the legal ruling that uterine half-brothers were only related to each other as matrikin and had no right to succeed to each other's property if there were patrikin within the degree of second cousin seemed unnatural to mothers and to boys who had grown up in the same household on close and affectionate terms. It is particularly in cases involving the remarriage of women that we can detect wives and mothers exerting their influence behind the scenes.

Diokles, as we have seen (Case 3), claimed to have been adopted by his stepfather, as was Aphareus, the youngest of the three stepsons of Isokrates.⁷⁹ Apollodoros of Leukonoion, whose estate was the subject of Isaios 7, was brought up in the home of his stepfather, who helped him in a successful suit against his guardian (FB) when he came of age; when still unmarried, Apollodoros made a will provisionally adopting the daughter of his uterine half-sister, and later in life when he had had, but lost, a son, he adopted her son, his nephew. The adoption, which had not yet been approved by the deme when Apollodoros died, was contested by his next-of-kin on the father's side, a female cousin (FBD).⁸⁰ Thus, though forbidden at law to marry his uterine half-sister, he ended his life with a son produced by her.

⁷⁸ Kallias himself had an illegitimate half-brother, Hermogenes the Socratic. W. Thompson 1968 suggests that the charge in *POxy* 2538 ([Lysias] F A 3a Carey) was that the speaker was his mother's child by an earlier marriage to a non-Athenian (the speaker says that his father met and married her in Selymbria, in the Sea of Marmora). The speaker is supported by kin (*syngeneis*), *phratêres*, and fellow-students and teachers who testify that he and his brother were educated together. The brother who was to prove that Pankleon was not a slave (Lys. 23. 9) may be fictitious. The defendant in Is. 12 (Table 7.13) was also supported by his stepmother's brother, by the husbands of his half-sisters, by other kin not precisely identified, and by *phratêres* (§§ 6, 8; Humphreys 1986a, 62–3). He was defended by an older half-brother. The case seems to arise from local deme politics.

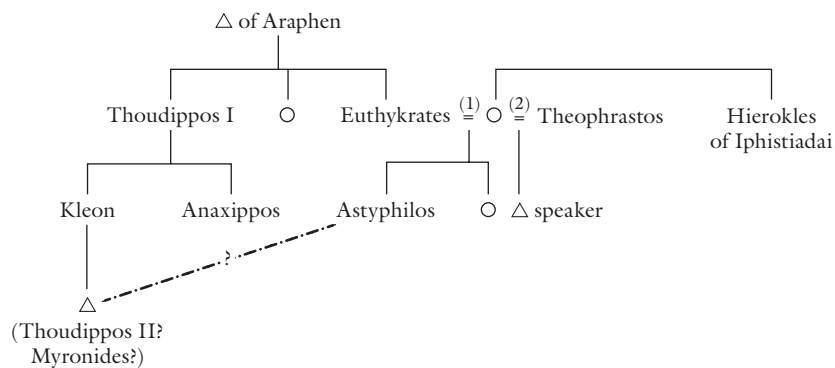
⁷⁹ *APF* 7716, cf. ch. 2, no. V i. Pasion's younger son Pasikles was on very good terms with his stepfather Phormion; Polyuktos of Kydantidai helps his stepfather, Dein. 1. 58. In *POxy* 443, if the restorations are correct, a *synégoros* appears to be creating a favourable picture of the defendant by describing his generosity to destitute uterine half-siblings (whose mother is evidently dead).

⁸⁰ *APF* 1395; chs. 2 at nn. 55–6; 3 at n. 18. The opponent probably argued that the adoption was made under the influence of a woman (Wyse 1904, 549).

Apollodoros' mother was able to drive a wedge between her son and his patrikin. Another woman who in principle was in an excellent position to employ this tactic met with more determined resistance from the kin of her first husband, and perhaps less cooperation from her son.

Case 8: Astyphilos and his half-brother (Table 7.8, Isaïos 9, APF 7252)

The mother of Astyphilos of Araphen believed that her first husband Euthykrates had died as a result of a fight (n. 34) with his brother Thoudippos over the division of their father's farm (*chôrion*). Astyphilos was brought up in the home of her second husband, by whom she also had a son. No charge for homicide or wounding with intent was brought against Thoudippos, and we do not hear of further disputes about Euthykrates' share of the family property; apparently Astyphilos did not pursue the matter when he came of age. He had died on a military expedition to Mytilene, having allegedly made when he was on the point of departure, and deposited with his MB Hierokles of Iphistiadai, a will in which he adopted a son of his cousin (FBS) and next-of-kin Kleon, son of Thoudippos. His half-brother, speaker of Isaïos 9 (Table 7.8), contended that the will was a forgery: relations between Kleon and Astyphilos had always been bad, whereas he and his father had been very close to the young man; in addition, Kleon and his sons were not Astyphilos' next-of-kin, because Kleon's father Thoudippos had been adopted into another *oikos*.⁸¹



Note: Myronides son of Kleon A. was councillor in (?) 343/2, IG ii³ 4.75.16; a Kleon A. (no patronymic) in (?) 336/5, *Agora* XV 42.74.

TABLE 7.8. Isaïos 9

⁸¹ § 33 is usually taken to imply that Thoudippos' adoption had involved a change of phratry, and that Kleon had made several unsuccessful attempts to introduce his son into Astyphilos' phratry as the latter's adopted heir. However, the boy was clearly not yet old enough for formal admission, and the phrase *pollakis eléluthoti autói oudepópote kekreanomékasi* could equally well refer to informal movement between groups within the phratry. On this view Kleon's son will have hung about with the sons of the members

Araphen was a smallish village—the deme returned only two councillors—and there were not enough local resources to keep either Astyphilos or the speaker at home. Astyphilos was a professional soldier (§ 14), and the speaker may well have followed in his footsteps; he was away on campaign when his half-brother's bones were brought home for burial (§ 3). It seems likely, however, that both fathers were local men. The speaker claims that members of the deme saw the fight between Thoudippos and Euthykrates, although he does not seem to have been able to persuade anyone to come forward as a witness to this (§ 18); he has witnesses from the deme that when Astyphilos visited the village he did not associate with Kleon at deme sacrifices (§ 21), and other witnesses probably from Astyphilos' phratry to testify that Kleon's son was not given a share of sacrificial meat by Astyphilos' *thiasos*.⁸² The speaker's father had taken care of Astyphilos' inherited property during his boyhood (§ 28). Whether Kleon also resided in the deme is less certain. His failure to play any role in Astyphilos' funeral (§ 4) may simply mean that, like the speaker, he was absent on military service; on the other hand Thoudippos' branch of the family seems to have been wealthier than that of Euthykrates.⁸³ The speaker was well supported by local witnesses, but most of them were probably kin and friends of his father; he was also supported, however, by the husband of the sister of Thoudippos and Euthykrates, Kleon's aunt (FZ), who held Thoudippos responsible for Euthykrates' death. No doubt Kleon too had his own friends in the deme.

Astyphilos, however, lived elsewhere, presumably in Athens or Piraeus. This may explain, at least in part, why no kin except his uncle (MB) Hierokles were present as witnesses when he decided, apparently on the spur of the moment, to make a will before sailing for Mytilene on what was to be his last campaign.⁸⁴ That the will was supported by the speaker's own MB Hierokles, who can scarcely

of Astyphilos' *thiasos* at phratry sacrifices, but will have been sent back to his own father's group. Thoudippos' adoption certainly had not required a change of deme, and it is likely that there had been no formal change of status of any kind: this would both justify Kleon in claiming that he was Astyphilos' next-of-kin (§ 32, *anepsios pros patros*, FBS) and allow the speaker to protest that Kleon and his father had never 'returned' from the adoptive *oikos* to that of Thoudippos' genitor (§§ 2, 33). Cf. ch. 2 n. 53; Griffith-Williams 2008, 2012.

⁸² § 33, see n. 85. The *thiasos* of Herakles to which Astyphilos was introduced by his stepfather (§ 30) may be a voluntary association unconnected with the phratry.

⁸³ On the view that Thoudippos of Araphen married the daughter of the demagogue Kleon of Kydathenaion see ch. 4 at n. 46. His sons Kleon I and Anaxippos served as treasurer of Athena in 377/6 and supervisor of the docks in 356/5, and a grandson, Thoudippos II, is attested as trierarch (*APF* 7252); Anaxippos appears, perhaps as *diaitetes*, in *IG* ii² 2388. 11, mid 4th c.

⁸⁴ §§ 7–15; § 12 suggests that the opponents are claiming that Astyphilos kept his decision secret in order to avoid recriminations from his stepkin. The 'bystander' witnesses may have been men of some reputation and authority (cf. Humphreys 1985*b*, 330–1; above, n. 68). Wills made on the eve of departure may not have been uncommon (cf. Is. 6. 27). The witness testimonies in this speech are discussed in Avramović 1990.

have been kin to Kleon, though the speaker claims that they are cronies (*epitēdeios*, § 5), was a strong point against the speaker's case, hardly countered adequately by accusations of corruption (§§ 24–5). On the other hand, his feeling of moral justification, and the local support for his claims, will have rested not only on close association and affection, but also on the fact that his father had worked and managed Astyphilos' land as part of his own holding for some thirty-five years,⁸⁵ first during Astyphilos' boyhood and then while he was absent on campaign. Kleon's claim thus threatened to deprive the speaker not only of whatever cash Astyphilos had accumulated during his military career, but also of land he had come to regard as part of the family farm. Astyphilos' perspective, however, may well have been different.

Case 9: the estate of Hagnias (1) (Table 7.9, Isaios 11 [Demosthenes] 43, APF 2129)

Here again it is uterine half-brothers who claim the property. The fact that Hagnias' mother was a cousin (FBSD) of his father put her in a particularly strong position in this case to influence the course of events by persuading her own close kin to support her. Her son by her intra-kindred marriage, Hagnias son of Polemon of Oion Kerameikon, died as a young, unmarried man, allegedly leaving a will in which he adopted a niece (*adelphidén*), and further specified that if this girl died before producing heirs the estate was to pass to Glaukon son of Glauketes of Oion, one of his two uterine half-brothers. The niece was probably the daughter of either Glaukon⁸⁶ or his brother Glaukos. One of Hagnias' cousins, his FZS Euboulides II, contested the will, but unsuccessfully;⁸⁷ however, when Hagnias' niece died in 361/0 and Glaukon had to re-claim the estate on his own behalf, the will was successfully challenged by Euboulides' daughter Phylomache II. At this point the brother and the two first cousins (FBS) of Hagnias' mother, who had previously supported Glaukon, decided to put in claims on their own behalf. Her brother and one of the cousins, Stratokles, died

⁸⁵ It is not necessary to conclude from §§ 20, 27 that Euthykrates must have died c.410; a date in the years immediately following the Peloponnesian War seems more likely (Bourriot 1982).

⁸⁶ We know of no other will naming a second heir to succeed if the first does not reach maturity, although such arrangements are provided for in Plat. *Laws* 923e–924a. In Humphreys 1986a, following APF, I took the niece to be the child of a full sister of Hagnias, but I have come round to the view, originally suggested by Grasshoff (1877, 39 n. 133), that she was the daughter of Glaukon (or of Glaukos); cf. Is. 7 (n. 80). The statement in Is. 11. 8 that Hagnias left his property to his niece and not to his next-of-kin would be odd if she had been the daughter of a full sibling.

⁸⁷ [Dem.] 43. 43–5. I find it easier to believe that Theopompos passed over Euboulides' attempt in Is. 11. 8–9 than that these witness testimonies refer to a claim that was dropped because Euboulides died before it came to court.

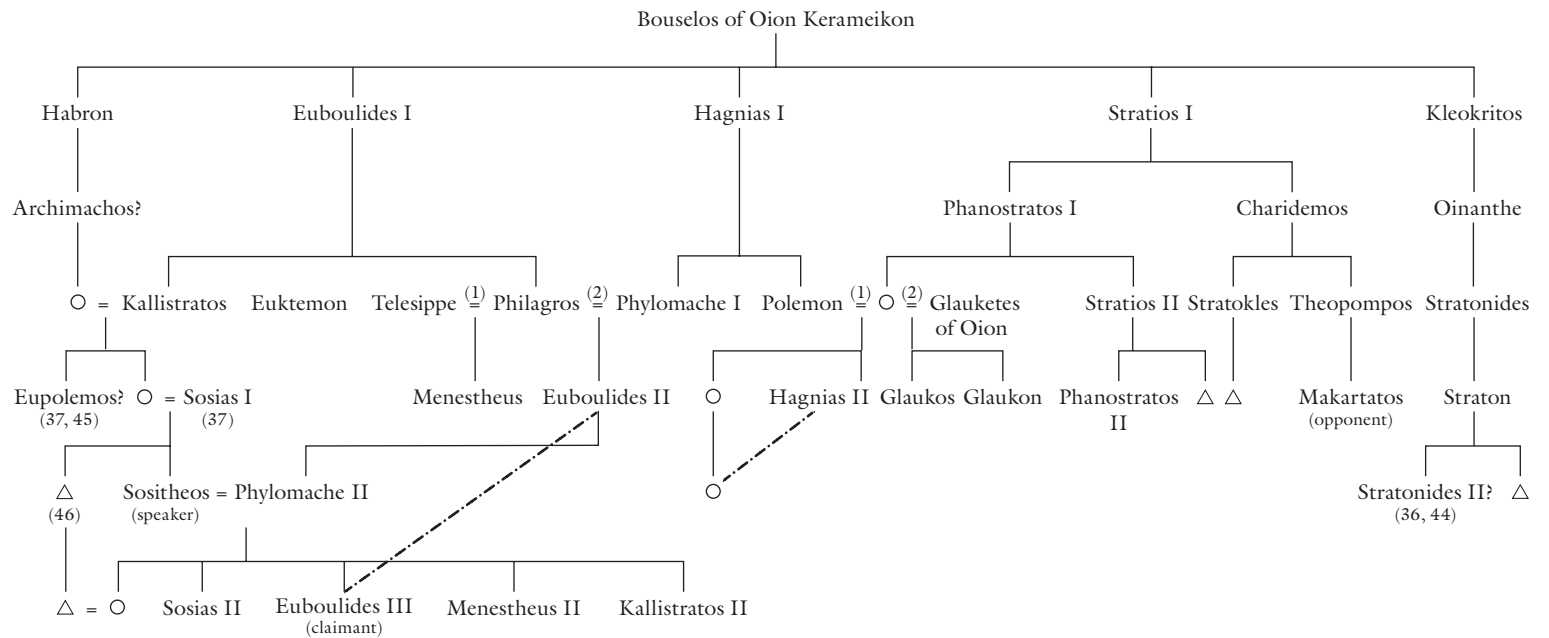


TABLE 7.9. Isaios 11, [Dem.] 43, *APF* 2921

before the claims were filed (Isaios 11. 10); the other cousin, Theopompos (FFBSS of Hagnias), convinced the court that Phylomache II was not Hagnias' first cousin (FZS) but a second cousin once removed (FFBSSD), and that as such she was outside the limits of *anchisteia*. Isaios 11 is Theopompos' speech from a subsequent case in which he employed the same argument against his nephew (BS), the son of Stratokles, in order to prevent the boy from claiming his father's share of the estate.⁸⁸ We learn from [Demosthenes] 43 (Table 7.9),⁸⁹ a speech from a later round in the contest for Hagnias' estate, that Theopompos was the witness who gave the greatest number of testimonies in support of Hagnias' will in the first case between Glaukon and Phylomache II, which may mean that it had been deposited with him. Theopompos himself emphasizes that he did not contest the will while the estate was held on behalf of the adopted daughter, nor when Glaukon claimed it (Isaios 11. 9); it was only when the estate was awarded to Phylomache II as next-of-kin that the descendants of Stratios I, in the lineage to which Hagnias' mother belonged, decided to claim the estate for themselves. Thus the widow's relationship with her brother and first cousins seems to have had a considerable effect in this case.

On the chronology suggested here Hagnias will have been close in age to his half-brothers. Age is likely to have made a considerable difference in a boy's attitude to a stepfather. Diokles of Phlya, too, may have been fairly young when his mother remarried; Isokrates chose the youngest of his stepsons to be his adopted son (*APF* 7716). Apollodoros son of Pasion of Acharnai, who was twenty-four when his father died and his mother married again, was hostile to her second husband Phormion, whereas his brother Pasikles, ten years younger, sided with his stepfather. Even so, Apollodoros does not seem to have attacked Phormion openly until after his mother's death in 360. He had had to collaborate with Phormion for a time both because Phormion managed their father's estate,

⁸⁸ Theopompos' argument was of doubtful validity (ch. 1. at nn. 99–101), but seems to have persuaded the jury. The sons of Stratos, who stood on the same footing as Theopompos' nephew (FFBSSS of *d.c.*), apparently did not try to claim. It could in theory have been argued that if the law excluded Stratos' sons then his sister, Hagnias' mother, had a right to claim as the sole surviving member of her sibling group (Theopompos' assertion in Is. 11. 17 that he had a better claim by the rule giving precedence to males was open to refutation, since he and she belonged to different lines); but her sons chose instead to put in a claim that she was entitled to the estate as Hagnias' mother, which Theopompos had no difficulty in demolishing (11. 17; in 11. 30 the hypothesis that she could have claimed as a matrilineal kinswoman, i.e. on the same basis as an MB or MZ, is raised and eliminated. The suggestion in [Dem.] 43. 7–8 that Glaukos and Glaukon each put in a separate claim for himself is contradicted by § 10, where we are told that there were only four claimants).

⁸⁹ The strategy of Phylomache II and her husband when they try to re-claim the estate in the late 340s, at Theopompos' death, will be discussed below (at nn. 141–5).

as guardian, until Pasikles came of age in 362, and because they had to work together to collect debts owed to Pasion's bank.⁹⁰

The relation between stepson and stepfather, and between the widow and her second husband, is unclear in the case of the widow of an Ischomachos who married one of the fourth-century politicians called Polyeuktos ([Demosthenes] 58. 30–2). Her son had been adopted by Aischylos of Athmonon or Aixone, who may have been her father. The father of the speaker of [Demosthenes] 58 proposed that the boy should be awarded *sitêsis* as Ischomachos' son, and the proposal was attacked as an illegal move designed to give Polyeuktos control of Aischylos' estate by nullifying the boy's adoption. The proposer of the decree was heavily fined, a charge of ill treatment of orphans was filed against Polyeuktos, and the boy, Charidemos, remained in Aischylos' *oikos*;⁹¹ however, though the move might have left the boy open to attack from collateral kin of Aischylos, Polyeuktos and his associate may have thought that they could arrange for Charidemos to inherit the property and privileges of both his *genitor* and his *pater*.

EFFECTIVENESS OF THE LAW: STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS IN FAMILY DISPUTES

The case histories discussed above show the range of factors that has to be considered in understanding how a family dispute reached the stage of court proceedings: not only the rules of written law, but also their silences and ambiguities; the structuring of lived experience, and consequently of thought, by residence patterns, especially when litigants had lived in or farmed pieces of property included in a disputed estate, and by the age of the parties concerned at various stages in a family struggle; the ability of family rivals to mobilize support, or their vulnerability to attack.

It was suggested above (ch. 1 at 'Law and the *oikos* ii') that Solon's legislation incorporated a contradictory view of women, regarded both as weak creatures towards whom the state could and should adopt a firmly protective and paternalistic attitude, and as capable of exerting a dangerous influence on men's rational management of property. Examination of the working of his laws in practice suggests that he was not entirely successful either in providing protection for women when they were weak or in eliminating their influence when they were in

⁹⁰ APF 11672. Apollodoros had threatened a *graphê hybreôs* earlier, but dropped it ([Dem.] 45. 3–4, 53. 9). Collaboration: [Dem.] 49, 52.

⁹¹ APF 436 (where the situation is misunderstood: see ch. 2 n. 30, Table 29.9). The *graphê kakoseôs* [*orphanou*] ([Dem.] 58. 32; the use of *graphê* rather than *eisangelia* probably has no significance) was later dropped.

a position of strength.⁹² Although there are plenty of examples of (grand)fathers adopting the son of an epikleric daughter (ch. 2), there are also instances of the adoption of heirs who did not marry any of the daughters of their *pater* and so deprived them and their sons of epikleric rights. This was particularly likely to happen if a man had several daughters and no sons; and it was hard for daughters in this position to organize their sons and husbands into united resistance.

On the other hand, the law forbidding marriage between uterine half-siblings, which seems to have been intended to prevent the diversion of property, when a woman married twice, from the estate of one husband to the children of the other, did not prevent manoeuvres that achieved the same result by other means: the adoption of a stepson (Diokles of Phlya, Isokrates and Aphareus) or of half-siblings (Apollodoros of Leukonoion, Isaïos 7) or of their children (the same Apollodoros, Hagnias), claims to the estate by half-brothers (Astyphilos' estate). A woman in her second marriage, who had dealt with two husbands and sets of affines and had renewed contact with her own kin, on a more mature footing, at the time when her first husband died or divorced her, was quite capable of taking an active role in family business. Her position was even stronger if, as in the case of Hagnias' mother, her affines were also her kin.

Strength or weakness depended on the configuration of the kin network especially for women and orphans. For adult males other factors might be more important. As we have seen (Case 2, Dikaïogenes), in the early fourth century those who could be accused of oligarchic sympathies were particularly vulnerable to attack (n. 47, above). Apollodoros son of Pasion of Acharnai, forgetting his own slave origins, hoped to find his stepfather Phormion an easy target as an ex-slave—but Phormion was able to secure the services of Demosthenes as speechwriter and perhaps also as *synēgoros*.⁹³ A first-class speechwriter could clearly make a great difference to a case, even if some clients provided more promising material than others; Lysias' dramatic representation of the family council at which Diogeiton's daughter defended her children's interests is particularly striking.

GROUNDINGS FOR DISPUTE

Oligarchs in the late fifth century claimed that obscurities in the wording of Solon's laws had encouraged litigation and given the courts too free a hand, but it is comparatively rare in our corpus for problems in the interpretation of the

⁹² For a broader view of the ability of women to exercise influence in family matters see Foxhall 1989; Hunter 1994.

⁹³ Deinarchos' statement that Demosthenes was the *synēgoros* is usually rejected (A. Schaefer 1858, 169), but the *chutzpah* of the ending implies a well-known, confident, and experienced speaker. Rubinstein 2000, 33 n. 28, suggests that there may have been more than one *synēgoros*.

letter of the law to be central to a case. Theopompos used the ambiguity in the rule that *anchisteia* extended *mechri anepsiôn paidôn* to eliminate his nephew's claim to a share in Hagnias' estate, on the grounds that the boy was not a second cousin but the son of a second cousin, but in other cases the basis of the dispute is factual or on the borderline between fact and interpretation. Theopompos had dispossessed a rival claimant, Phylomache II, by asserting that her paternal grandmother (FM) was not the full sister of Hagnias' father Polemon.⁹⁴ Litigants question the legitimacy of rival claimants or of their parents (Isaios 8, Case 3); they dispute the validity of wills. It is also fairly common to find controversy about the proper description of the estate being claimed. In Case 1 (Isaios 6) property left at the death of Euktemon was claimed as the estate of his son Philoktemon, who had predeceased him; in [Demosthenes] 43 Theopompos' property is claimed as the estate of Hagnias thirty years or more after Hagnias' death; in Case 4 (Isaios 3), property claimed on the death of Endios is described as the estate of his *pater* Pyrrhos; in [Demosthenes] 44 property that has descended through three generations of adopted heirs is claimed as belonging to the original *pater* Archiades of Otryne (case 12). Such counter-claims are particularly likely to arise where there has been adoption. In Isaios 10, the *archon* instructed the speaker at the *anakrasis* that he had to describe his mother as the sister of Aristarchos II, who had just died, rather than as the daughter of her father, his *pater* Aristarchos I (Table 7.5), but it seems to have been unusual for an archon to take a firm stand in such circumstances. Such descriptions show that litigants had often been clinging tenaciously for years, sometimes even decades, to visions of the distribution of property that did not correspond to the facts of possession.

Case 10: brothers-in-law in conspiracy ([Demosthenes] 48)

There seems to have been dispute over genealogical fact in the inheritance case which led to [Demosthenes] 48. The speaker explains (with surprisingly little attempt to gloss over the irregularity of the proceedings) that he and his brother-in-law (WB) Olympiodoros, the defendant, had made an agreement to combine forces in claiming the estate of a common kinsman. Olympiodoros was to claim that he was *d.c.*'s next-of-kin, the speaker and his patrilateral half-brother being more distantly related; in return for tacitly supporting this version of the genealogy, the speaker would receive half the estate.⁹⁵ They had made a formal contract

⁹⁴ Table 7.9. To judge from the indignation of the husband of Phylomache II, Theopompos had probably claimed that the mother of Phylomache I was a *hetaira* and her father unknown ([Dem.] 43. 9).

⁹⁵ The speaker says that he only had to remain silent. He seems to want the jury to conclude that Olympiodoros gave the court a false view of his own (O.'s) ancestry, and was then able to discredit the

to this effect and deposited it with a third party (§§ 9–12). However, when the estate was awarded to Olympiodoros, he refused to hand any of it over. In consequence, his brother-in-law sued him for damages. Kin of Olympiodoros and his sister (the speaker's wife) had tried to mediate, without success (§§ 3–4); they testified to this, and to Olympiodoros' extravagant spending on *hetairai*, a source of annoyance to his sister (§§ 40, 53–4). The speaker prefers to remain vague about the claimants' relationships to *d.c.*, which cannot be reconstructed.

Although it is hard not to feel that the speaker was foolish, this case has many features that recur elsewhere: the illegal compromise of which the beneficiary later takes advantage in order to make still further gains, the influence of the speaker's wife, persuading her husband to ally himself with her brother rather than his own, the friction between patrilineal half-brothers, and the possibility of dispute over genealogy even within the fairly restricted range of the jurally defined kindred, which extended only to second cousins of *d.c.*

These genealogical uncertainties probably focused mainly on the status of women and their unions. Although the right of adult males to citizen status was questioned in some cases (Demosthenes 57, Isaios 12), such challenges seem to have arisen as a result of general scrutinies or internal disputes in the demes rather than on the occasion of claims to estates. The claimant to the estate of Kallias of Alopeke (Case 7) was attacked as an impostor and not as a *nothos* who had acquired citizenship illegally. When a man had been enjoying full citizen rights for some time it was an uphill struggle to prove that he was not entitled to them, and the same was true of male ancestors. It was easier to cast doubt on the status of a woman, or of an adolescent, because their claims to legitimate citizen descent had not passed so many tests.

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Athenian litigants tend to speak as if court cases can only arise as a result of dishonesty, but it should be remembered that all epikleroi who were not yet married at their father's death (even if he had left a will naming the husband), and all estates to which the heir was not a lineal descendant or adopted *inter vivos*, had to be claimed in the Assembly, and in court if there was more than one claimant. This may well have introduced a certain bias towards zero-sum claims and against compromise into such situations, which in turn would make compromise more risky, because less in accordance with jurors' expectations and so more apt to be later rejected by a party who could gain an advantage by doing so (Isaios 6, 5, [Demosthenes] 48). Brothers also quarrelled about the division of their father's

protests of the speaker's half-brother by pointing out that the speaker was not supporting the latter. Cf. the references to agreements and conspiracy in Case 9 (Is. 11. 24, [Dem.] 43. 7).

estate—Hesiod and Perses had appealed to the local *basileis* for judgment, Thoudippos and Euthykrates of Araphen (Case 8) had come to blows—but we have no evidence from classical Athens of full brothers taking their disputes to court, although the *dikê eis daitêton hairesin* existed for settling disputes in which one brother wished to divide the father's estate and another refused.⁹⁶ One might think that there would be considerable scope for quarrels over gifts or loans made to sons by parents during their lifetime, but although Demosthenes 41 gives details of a dispute between brothers-in-law over the dowry, gifts, and loans which their wives, brotherless daughters, have received from their mother and father, we have no such evidence for brothers. Even the sons of Mantias of Thorikos, half-brothers who dispute in court over the amount of dowry the mother of each contributed to their father's estate, have apparently succeeded in agreeing over the rest of their father's estate.⁹⁷ As in this last case, the most serious conflicts are likely to have arisen where it was possible for one son to regard others as illegitimate (cf. Cases 1 and 7). On the other hand, it seems to have been relatively common for brothers to help each other against outsiders by making false or questionable claims about the ownership of property, but we only hear of one case in which such a claim leads to a dispute between the brothers themselves, and here the real cause of dispute seems to be the adoption of an outsider as heir (Case 13).

Aristophanes (*Wasps* 583–5) cites conflicts over wills in which fathers arranged the marriage of epikleroi as a typical item on the Athenian juror's agenda, but they are much less common in the surviving evidence than conflicts over estates. In the only case about which we have any details, the father had died while his two daughters were still very young and had apparently left no will; it was probably settled out of court.⁹⁸ Since one would expect speeches from such cases to make popular reading matter, it is puzzling that none have survived; but Menander's *Aspis*, which shows the potential of the topic, may also suggest that next-of-kin who were not of an appropriate age for marriage to an epikleros may have

⁹⁶ A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 243; refusal to divide may have almost disappeared by the classical period. Hes. *WD* 37–9; as sons of an immigrant (633–40), he and Perses had no kin to mediate between them. Plut. *Mor.* 483d–484b says quarrels between brothers over division are common.

⁹⁷ Dem. 39–40. Admittedly the sons were all under 20 when Mantias died, but Mantitheos was married and had leased a mine with capital provided by his father (Humphreys 1989). Apollodoros son of Pasion of Acharnai (*APF* 11672) complained about the division of his mother's dowry between the four sons of her two marriages (Dem. 36. 14–15, 32). It is not clear if such division was usual; it is possible that Kleon II of Kydathenaion, Mantitheos' uterine half-brother, had claimed a share of their deceased mother's dowry when he came of age.

⁹⁸ Andok. 1. 117–23; see above, ch. 4 n. 8. Sositheos, speaker of [Dem.] 43, had claimed his wife Phylomache II by *epidikasia*, apparently without opposition (§ 13); he was her father's FBDS. Lys. F XII Carey 2007, XI Thalheim 1913 (75 Blass 1868) concerned an epikleros left by a victim of the Thirty. The speaker in this case (Carey 2004, F 5. 5–9) claims that disputants often argue about genealogy (*genos*) versus wills.

hesitated to contest wills.⁹⁹ There is no solid evidence that a daughter already married during her father's lifetime could be claimed by his next-of-kin when he died.¹⁰⁰ In the fourth century we find men arranging by will for the remarriage of their widows and the marriage of daughters who have brothers (as Demosthenes' father did), so wills arranging for the marriage of epikleroi may have become more regularly accepted. Fathers did not necessarily arrange for their epikleric daughters to marry kin. Apollodoros of Leukonoion (*APF* 1395) made a will when young conditionally adopting the daughter of his uterine half-sister and betrothing her to a member of the *genos* Eumolpidai, Lakrateidas, who later became hierophant of the Eleusinian Mysteries; subsequently he had a son, so the project of adoption was dropped, and the girl seems to have married another man. There is no evidence that either Lakrateidas or her actual husband was kin either to Apollodoros or to the girl's father.¹⁰¹ As a potential epikleros neared the age of marriage there might well be friction between her father and his next-of-kin, if they suspected him of plans to marry her outside the family, but in this situation the next-of-kin had no legal recourse.¹⁰² Apollodoros son of Pasion of Acharnai passed over his brother Pasikles and married one of his two daughters to his brother-in-law (WB) Theomnestos of Athmonon; he was already on bad terms with Pasikles. As we have seen (Cases 2, 3), where there was more than one epikleric daughter in a family the right of the father's next-of-kin to claim them in marriage was particularly likely to be disregarded.¹⁰³ Polyeuktos of Teithras married one of his two daughters to his brother-in-law (WB), whom he adopted; this marriage broke up, and the adoption was nullified, but there is no sign that either of the two sons-in-law whose dispute is recorded in Demosthenes 41 was kin to Polyeuktos. In *Isaios* 7. 31 the speaker's opponent and her sister are criticized because they divided their brother's estate without transferring an heir

⁹⁹ We have 9 fragments from speeches that seem to have concerned *epikléroi*, with no indication of the details: *Lys.* F XII, CXVIII, CXLI Carey 2007, XI, CIV, CXXV Thalheim 1913, *Is.* XXVI, XXXIX and perhaps XXXII Thalheim 1903, *Dein.* 57–57a, 58–9, and 60 Conomis 1975. The law of Gortyn makes provision for cases where the next-of-kin is too young (VII 30–VIII 9). An older claimant could cede his rights to his son (*Is.* 10. 12).

¹⁰⁰ Ch. 1. at n. 116; Maffi 1990. Some Athenians may have believed that such claims could be made, but I suspect that the plausibility of the generalization in *Is.* 3. 64 derived partly from the association of divorce with epikleroi in the reverse situation, when a man divorced his wife in order to claim an epikleros (*hyp.* Dem. 30, perhaps only a guess; Dem. 57. 41; cf. ch. 4 at n. 4).

¹⁰¹ Lakrateidas probably belonged to Paiania, though the name turns up later in an aristocratic family with cultic connections in Ikarion (Tracy 1982, 208; ch. 20 n. 99). We do not know whether his one-time fiancée was her father's only child; her son, the speaker of *Is.* 7, claiming the estate of Apollodoros as his adopted heir, is reticent about his family of origin.

¹⁰² See Humphreys 1989 on Dem. 39–40 and ch. 4 on the Danaidai in Aesch. *Suppl.*

¹⁰³ In Case 2 (*Is.* 5) Dikaiogenes III, who was adopted as heir to one-third of the estate of the childless Dikaiogenes II, was the next-of-kin of Dikaiogenes II and his father Menexenos if we disregard the offspring of Menexenos' four daughters; he was too young to marry any of these daughters, who in any case may have been married before their brother died.

by posthumous adoption to ‘continue his *oikos*’, but it was really not possible to combine division and adoption in these circumstances.

The right of a man without sons to dispose of his property as he wished was more likely to give rise to disputes in the case of adoption than in the case of the marriage of potential epikleroi because adoption could be postponed until the testator’s death, whereas the marriage of a daughter could not. Furthermore, whereas a married daughter was expected to start bearing children immediately—and the law provided some measures in the case of an epikleros to ensure that she did—an adopted son was under no obligation to produce an heir at once; and since when such an heir reached civic adulthood the father might return to his *oikos* of origin, leaving his son in his place, there was some reason for kin of an adopter to hope that the adopted heir would die without children and give them an opportunity to claim the estate. The marriage of a daughter thus settled the disposal of her father’s estate rather more definitively than the adoption of an heir; the feeling that a daughter continued her father’s line in a more satisfactory way than either an adopted son or a collateral to whom it was awarded as next-of-kin may also have made the estates of men with daughters less likely to provoke dispute than those of men with no children at all.

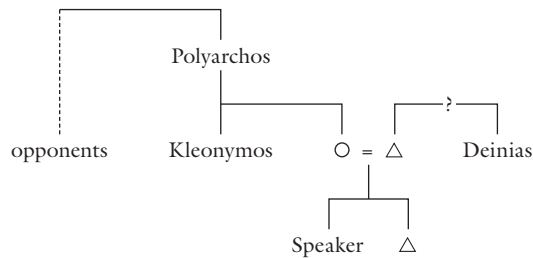
One might expect that most court cases over estates would pit the next-of-kin against an adopted heir who was a more distant kinsman or affine, but there are some exceptions. The speaker of *Isaios* 4 claims that his opponent, who has a will in his favour, is not kin to *d.c.* at all; however, *d.c.* was a professional soldier, and this is hardly a typical case. Numerous claims to the estate had been put in, on a variety of bases (§§ 7–10). The speaker of *Isaios* 9 (Case 8) could not claim either to have been adopted by will or to be the next-of-kin of *d.c.*, *Astyphilos*, who was his uterine half-brother; he had however grown up with him in the same household. The speaker of *Isaios* 8 had to defend his claim to be *d.c.*’s grandson (DS) against a collateral who alleged that the speaker’s mother was illegitimate and he, the opponent, was the next-of-kin; in *Isaios* 3 (Case 4) *Phile*’s claim to be the legitimate daughter of *Pyrrhos* was similarly challenged.¹⁰⁴ *Theopompos* had defeated *Phylomache* II in the contest for *Hagnias*’ estate by questioning her claim that her maternal grandmother *Phylomache* I was a legitimate sister of *Hagnias*’ father. As noted above, women were especially likely to be the target of such attacks.

Case 11: Kleonymos’ will (Table 7.10, Isaios 1)

The claimant in this case was the nephew (ZS) of *d.c.*, *Kleonymos* (Table 7.10), attacking a will by which remoter kin of *d.c.* inherited. The unusual feature of the

¹⁰⁴ The speaker of *Isokr.* 19, a Siphnian adopted by will by a fellow-citizen (his father’s sister’s stepson) and married to the latter’s sister, the sole surviving member of her family, is opposed by a woman who claims to be a patrilateral half-sister of *d.c.* but who according to the speaker is illegitimate (another example of the ease with which such charges could be made against women): Table 2.8.

TABLE 7.10. Isaios 1



case is that instead of arguing that the will was not authentic, the speaker claims that Kleonymos had tried to alter it when he felt himself to be dying. He admits that Kleonymos had broken off relations with his sister and her children as a result of a quarrel with the children's guardian, their uncle (FB?) Deinias, but he claims that friendly relations had been restored after Deinias' death. This would certainly have put Kleonymos in a difficult position. An Athenian will in which an heir was adopted, though conditional in the sense that it would be invalidated by the birth of a legitimate son to the testator, was nevertheless a form of contract with the designated heir (the same term, *diathékē*, was used for both wills and contracts), which could not be unilaterally nullified at a whim. In addition, it appears that Deinias had attacked Kleonymos in the Assembly for disinheriting his wards, and as a result the existence of the will had become public knowledge. Kleonymos tried to give his change of heart an equally public character by sending for one of the *astynomoi*, minor officials responsible for public order in the city, but according to the speaker supporters of the heir(s?) named in the will frustrated this attempt.¹⁰⁵

Kin and friends of both parties tried to mediate, suggesting a per capita division of Kleonymos' estate among the various claimants, by which the speaker and his brother would have got one-third of it; these arbitrators testify for the speaker in court (§§ 2, 16). The opponents, however, not only refused to compromise but also accused the speaker and his brother of holding cash or other items that belonged to Kleonymos (§ 2).

Both the account of the last-minute attempt to annul the will and the accusation that the speaker and his brother already held some of Kleonymos' property

¹⁰⁵ The references to the Assembly (§ 11) and the *astynomos* (§§ 3, 14–15) should not be taken to imply that it was possible at Athens in the first half of the 4th c. to deposit a will in a public record office. In my view Deinias, having heard about the will through one of the witnesses to it, tried to put pressure on Kleonymos to change his mind by proposing in the Assembly to prosecute him for ill-treatment of orphans. An *eisangelia* made in the Assembly could be dismissed as unfounded, and this may be what happened here; Deinias' intervention certainly did his wards no good. The *astynomos* was called in not because his board had any special responsibility in the matter but, probably, because he was on duty and readily available (Kahrstedt 1936, 205), and Kleonymos wanted a public official present to witness his decision and prevent the claimants to his estate from coming to blows. Cf. the analysis of Euktemon's attempt to annul his will in Case 1 above, and ch. 9 at n. 50.

(either because he had given it to them or because they had helped themselves) seem plausible enough. Although it was possible to make a secret, sealed will and authenticate it by witnesses who did not know its contents (Isaios 4. 13, cf. 9. 12), it would be very easy in court to attack such a will and argue that a different document had been substituted. Oral testimony had more authority than written record, and will-making was normally an oral rite, though it might well be supplemented by a written document designed especially to preserve an accurate record of debts, credits, and monetary legacies (e.g. dowries; cf. Case 2 above). There was no recognized procedure for annulling or changing a will, and the testator's right to change his mind about the choice of an adoptive heir was not clear. Kleonymos had thus been trapped, both by the hostility to Deinias that had prompted the will and by his public refusal to change his mind, into an engagement from which it was difficult for him to escape. The heirs named in the will had every reason to suspect that quiet transfers of cash or other valuables to the nephews had already taken place.

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A somewhat similar situation may have formed the basis of Isaios' speech against (*pros*) Aristogeiton and Archippos (F III Thalheim 1903, 6 Baiter-Sauppe 1850). Here the brother of *d.c.* had claimed the estate and had also filed suit to have 'invisible property' that had already been appropriated returned for adjudication. The holder of this property replied with a *paragraphê* stating that he was not obliged to return the property because it had been left to him by will. Here it is the heir instituted by will, foreseeing that *d.c.*'s brother will try to upset the will and claim as next-of-kin, who is accused of forestalling judgment and taking possession of some of the cash and credits in the estate immediately.¹⁰⁶

Brothers may well have been particularly tenacious in their determination to fight heirs adopted by will, because they tended still to think of their father's estate as a single unit. The same attitude could on occasion influence even uterine half-brothers, as we saw in the case of Astyphilos (Case 8), whose property had been continuously managed and worked by his stepfather with the latter's own land. Daughters, who moved out to live with their husbands, were not expected to have the same attachment to property. In Isaios 8 a grandson (DS) of *d.c.*, Kiron, has to defend his claim to Kiron's estate against a nephew (BS) who has the support of Kiron's widow and her brother Diokles of Phlya for his assertion that the speaker's mother was not Kiron's legitimate daughter. In Isaios 2

¹⁰⁶ 'Invisible' property included cash and debts owed to *d.c.* It is not clear why there were two defendants in the *paragraphê* hearing: perhaps the second was the heir's guardian, or a witness to the will. The speaker of Is. 6 (§ 39) accuses his opponents of making off with some of Euktemon's property illegally.

the heir to Menekles' estate, adopted *inter vivos* twenty-three years earlier, still has to defend his rights against a claim by Menekles' brother that the adoption was made under the influence of a woman and was therefore invalid.¹⁰⁷

The speaker of Isaios 7 (Table 2.1), whose adoption by his mother's uterine half-brother Apollodoros of Leukonoion had been interrupted by Apollodoros' death (between presentation of the young man to Apollodoros' phratry and his introduction to the deme), may also have had to contend with claims that a woman's influence was responsible, though in this case the next-of-kin was also a woman (Apollodoros' FBD). However, a distinction should be made between accusations of undue influence directed at *hetairai* and those aimed at respectable women of citizen descent. The stereotype of feminine influence had a strong sexual component, as we see in the account of Alke's influence over Euktemon in Isaios 6 (§§ 18–21, cf. § 29; Case 1) and Apollodoros' account of Phrastor's relations with the *hetaira* Neaira and her daughter in [Demosthenes] 59 (§§ 55–8); there is no suggestion that a wife might influence her husband's decision by such means. The claim to Kiron's estate made by his nephew (BS) against the speaker of Isaios 8, a grandson (DS), is not attributed to the influence of Kiron's widow but to her brother Diokles of Phlya; and even Chrysilla, who replaced her daughter in the house of Kallias III of Alopeke and persuaded him to acknowledge paternity of her son (Case 7), is handled in Andokides 1. 125–7 with some restraint.

We have, of course, no means of telling how many Athenians disposed of their estates by will without any counter-claim being made in court, but the flimsiness of some of the arguments made against wills in forensic speeches suggests a certain tendency to regard any will with suspicion (W. Thompson 1981*b*). The opponents of Dikaiogenes III (Case 2) decide that since Dikaiogenes himself has substituted a new will for that under which his adoption to *d.c.* was originally recognized, they are entitled to treat both wills as invalid. Theopompos (case 9) had testified to the authenticity of Hagnias' will, but put in a claim to the estate on his own account, as next-of-kin, when the will had been rejected by a court. The speaker of Isaios 9 (Case 8) claims that Astyphilos cannot have made a will in favour of a son of his cousin (FBS) Kleon, because Astyphilos' father had died as a result of a fight with Kleon's father.

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Adoption by will was thus apt to arouse resentment that took a long time to die down. By law, as interpreted in the classical period, an adopted son could not

¹⁰⁷ Case 13 below. The adopted heir was the brother of a young second wife whose marriage to Menekles had lasted only a short time, so there were certainly grounds for suspicion at the time when the adoption took place.

adopt in his turn, so the next-of-kin of the *pater* continued to hope that the adopted heir would die childless and the estate would finally come to them. In Cases 4 and 5, women whose husbands had accepted them with a dowry when they might have laid claim to the estates of their fathers (Pyrrhos and Aristarchos) took advantage of the death of adopted heirs to revive their claims. In each case the daughter was opposed by a brother of the adopted heir; the legal rule that adoption broke the adopted son's ties with his family of origin could not prevent brothers from continuing to feel close to each other. In fact, their closeness may have been increased by the fact that they were no longer rivals in their father's oikos.¹⁰⁸ The brother of Pyrrhos' heir Endios (Case 4) was able to claim on behalf of his mother as Pyrrhos' next-of-kin; in Case 5 (Isaios 10, Table 7.5) Aristarchos I's son Kyronides had been adopted out into the oikos of his maternal grandfather, but had married back into his genitor's family (his FBD) and had recovered his genitor's property; when he died his son Aristarchos II had been installed in the oikos of Aristarchos I as adoptive heir (§ 6). By this time, this side of the family may well have felt that it had secured its hold on Aristarchos' property to the point where the laws limiting the rights of adopted heirs no longer applied; when Aristarchos II died, childless, he left a will naming his brother Xenainetos II as heir. The speaker of Isaios 10 is aware that his parents' failure to claim the estate of Aristarchos I earlier will count against him (§§ 18–20), and he does not cite the law that forbade an adopted son to make a will; he apparently feels that the intrafamilial character of the adoption and Aristarchos II's fine war record (§ 22) will persuade the jury to accept the will. He argues instead that Aristarchos II never had any (moral) title to the property.

Case 12: the heirs of Archiades (Table 2.2, [Dem.] 44, APF 5638)

Leokrates I of Eleusis had been adopted by his great-uncle (MMB) Archiades of Otryne (§ 19), and he and his heirs had controlled both Archiades' estate and that of Leokrates' *genitor* for two generations. It was considered legal for an adopted son to return to his oikos of origin if he left a son to take his place in his *pater*'s oikos,¹⁰⁹ and this Leokrates I had done, leaving Leostratos II in his

¹⁰⁸ It was generally held that adoption did not break a boy's tie of kinship with his mother (Is. 7. 25, probably part of the oral lore of the courts rather than written law), and this would imply that brothers separated by adoption would be in the same legal position as uterine half-brothers, though this deduction is nowhere explicitly made in our sources. In [Dem.] 43 the claimant, posthumously adopted to his MF and not yet old enough to plead for himself, is formally represented by an older brother (§ 15).

¹⁰⁹ The rule was probably stated negatively, forbidding an adopted son to return unless he left a son in his place (Is. 6. 44, cf. M/L 20. 7–8). The 'return' of the adopted son is a rare example in Athenian law of the development, through interpretation of the law in practice, of an institution somewhat similar to Roman legal fictions like the emancipation of a son through sale. Adoption, like some other changes of

place. Leostratos II in turn had returned to the original oikos, leaving his son Leokrates II in the oikos of Archiades; but Leokrates II had died young without leaving an heir.¹¹⁰ Leostratos II had first tried to return to Archiades' oikos himself, and then, when he met opposition from another branch of the family, persuaded the deme Otryne to accept his second son Leochares as heir to Archiades' status and estate in his brother's place. The opponent, Archiades' great-nephew (BDS) Aristodemos of Pallene, argued that as an adoptive heir Leokrates II could only transmit the estate to a direct descendant; but it could be argued that this rule was not intended to apply to an heir who was the grandson of the heir originally adopted. The failure of Leokrates I's descendants to establish a separate lineage in Archiades' oikos created an unusual situation not foreseen by the laws.

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The rule that transmission of an estate to a new line of heirs by adoption could only become secure from attack by the *pater's* collaterals through the solid establishment of a new lineage in the *pater's* oikos makes explicit, for once, a feature of Athenian law that can also be seen in other contexts: it was not very effective at providing definitive solutions to disputes. Family relationships and family property give rise to strong emotional ties and reactions, and it takes time for people to come to terms with loss and change; a legal system in which there was very little restriction on reopening cases decided in the past, and in which courts were not bound by past decisions, encouraged Athenians (noted, according to Thucydides, for their optimism) to cherish hopes of regaining their rights and pictures of family relationships or property distribution that did not correspond to the currently recognized state of affairs.

It was possible in theory to charge a man at any time in his life with having obtained citizenship under false pretences, so one could cling to the belief that a rival claimant was the product, directly or indirectly, of an irregular union; such allegations could, moreover, be made in cases that turned on genealogical details

status (marriage, the acquisition of legitimacy), was not a single definitive act but a process. This process was not completed until the adoptee had been accepted by the phratry and deme of the adopter (cf. Is. 7). A minor could be adopted, but his or her status remained somewhat anomalous until this completion had been achieved (the equivalent for a girl would be betrothal by her pater or by epidikasia). It therefore seems unlikely that an adopted son could return to his own oikos until his child had completed the process of being accepted as substitute, or at least been accepted by the phratry, although we have no explicit source statement on this point (which does not seem to have been considered by modern scholars). An earlier 'return' would have created additional uncertainties, since the boy's position in the pater's oikos could not be confirmed until he had been accepted by the pater's deme at 18.

¹¹⁰ Cf. ch. 2 at n. 37. *IG ii² 7016* (ch. 24 n. 17) was found at Laureion, an interesting indication of the family's possible residence. Otryne has been thought to be a coastal deme of Aigeis, but has not been located. Archiades had lived on Salamis, and Leokrates I's deme was Eleusis. The family may have had mining interests.

without following up their logical implications by taking action to expel the rival from the citizen body.¹¹¹ Stepfathers and half-brothers could believe that the son of a woman's first marriage had been definitively separated from his patrikin and incorporated into a new set of familial ties based on residence and cooperation, while the patrikin still felt him to belong to their lineage.¹¹²

Imaginary maps of relationships were accompanied by imaginary maps of the distribution of property. The speaker of [Demosthenes] 43 took a witness c.340 (?) to attest that olive trees had been cut down on land that he regarded as his by right because it had been owned, for a few months at most, by his wife's mother in 361/0; he regarded the land as part of the estate of Hagnias, who had died in the 370s (Case 9). The sisters of Dikaiogenes II were still in 389 trying to regroup the pieces of property left by their brother in 412/11 and lost by them in 399 (Case 2). Nor were such thoughts confined to kin who might have claims on property. Neighbours, too, might continue to associate fields and farms with past owners.

An earlier generation of scholars, encouraged by the rhetoric in forensic speeches about the sacred duty of the adopted son to 'continue the oikos' of the man without heirs, was inclined to claim that Athenians attributed a transcendental, diachronic reality to the oikos.¹¹³ It may be more helpful to think of the reification of the oikos in more concrete terms, as a collection of fields, trees, buildings, and attached social relationships that time had conglomerated into a whole and that only time could, eventually, split up.¹¹⁴ Where there was tension between lived experience and legal decisions, the expectations generated by experience were slow to give way.

The appearances in court for which our forensic speeches were produced represent points of climax or crisis in manoeuvres that had begun much earlier and would continue long after the jury had given its decision. Some of the process of jockeying for position that went on behind the scenes can be traced in the speeches.

¹¹¹ As Maffi 1989 and C. B. Patterson 1990 have stressed, there was no category of 'recognized *nothoi*' at Athens (except in the generation disenfranchized by Perikles' citizenship law: Humphreys 1974, ch. 19 n. 76; Case 7 above). If a father recognized a child as his, he recognized it as legitimate; if not, it was fatherless.

¹¹² Cf. Sir J. Miles 1952. Such ambiguities were particularly easy to maintain if, as may have been the case with Astyphilos (Case 8), the stepfather belonged to the same deme and phratry as his stepson.

¹¹³ Such claims are not entirely avoided by Wolff 1978, though the article provides an essential starting point for rethinking Athenian conceptions of property and the oikos. See now Rubinstein 1993.

¹¹⁴ For such feelings to develop, it was not essential for the oikos to be spatially coherent; landholdings were often scattered (ch. 5 n. 6) and economic activity might be diversified (W. Thompson 1982*a*). Most enterprises or parcels of land had slaves attached to them, who retained memories of the previous owner, as did neighbours or business clients; all this contributed to conferring a personal character on property. Cf. A. Ryan 1983 for the idea of a 'dramaturgical concept of property'.

MOBILIZING SUPPORT IN FAMILIAL DISPUTES:

(1) MEDIATION

Since kin were expected to be on friendly terms with each other, attempts were normally made to settle differences without coming to court. Many such informal settlements, presumably, were successful enough to leave no trace in our records; but even in speeches that come from court cases we learn of attempts to arrive at a compromise through the use of kin and friends as mediators and arbitrators, either before a formal suit was filed or during the process of bringing a case to court, and of consultations with friends and kin. Many Athenians were nervous of going to court, and in a family conflict it would have been particularly foolish to do so without sounding out potential supporters first.

Recourse to private arbitration seems to have been common at Athens in all types of dispute, but in conflicts between kin other members of their kindreds were especially likely to find themselves called on for advice, drawn in to act as mediators, or subjected to attempts by both parties to enlist their support as witnesses. They could be expected to be well informed on genealogical questions, and their participation in rites de passage (ch. 9) and shared membership of deme and phratry enabled them to testify on marriage, the recognition of a wife by phratry and deme in the form of the sacrifice of *gamêlia* in the phratry and her participation in the Thesmophoria of the deme (chs. 19 n. 48, 12 n. 31), the celebration of *amphidromia* and *dekatê* for a new child, the offering of *meion* and *koureion* in the phratry, the presentation of a son to his father's deme, and the roles taken by kin at funerals. A family council might be convened either in an attempt to settle a dispute out of court, or in order to discuss strategy. We are already told of kin attempting to mediate between Phoinix and his father in the *Iliad* (9. 464–73), and though the three-actor rule limited the scope for such interventions in drama we find Orestes' maternal grandfather (MF) Tyndareus and his father's brother Menelaos pleading for Klytaimnestra and for Agamemnon in Euripides' *Orestes*;¹¹⁵ in the *Andromache* Menelaos arrives to support his daughter Hermione against her rival Andromache, who is championed by the grandfather (FF) of Hermione's husband Neoptolemos.

The daughter of Diogeiton (Case 6), when her older son came of age, had gathered kin and friends (*epitêdeioi*, § 12) to a meeting at which she accused her father of appropriating property belonging to her sons, his wards, and implored him to make restitution and avoid a court case. Those who were present came to court to testify for her in the subsequent case, in which the wards were represented by their brother-in-law (ZH); since the witnesses are not precisely identified they

¹¹⁵ Menelaos was also the husband of Klytaimnestra's sister or half-sister Helen (Table 4.5).

may have been kin of this son-in-law, and perhaps of the mother's second husband, rather than of Diogeiton himself.

Cases brought against guardians by wards when they came of age would presumably always involve consultation with older kin or family friends. Apollodoros of Leukonoion was helped in his suit against his uncle (FB) Eupolis by his stepfather (Isaios 7. 7), and Demosthenes was aided by his uncle (MZH) Demochares (Demosthenes 27. 15–17; cf. [Dem.] 29. 58, on which see below, n. 145).

The speaker of Isaios 1 (Case 11) asserts that when his uncle (MB) Kleonymos died leaving a will in favour of more distant collateral kin, which he had tried to annul during his last hours, kin (*prosékontes*) of the heirs had proposed that instead of taking their claims to court the contending parties should compromise and divide the estate, two-thirds going to the heirs named in the will and one-third to the speaker and his brother. If he had been able to prove convincingly that even his opponents' kin had thought it equitable that he and his brother should get a share of Kleonymos' estate, he might substantially have strengthened his case; but these mediators do not testify for him, and the other side's view of the suggestion may well have been different.¹¹⁶

In the dispute between Apollodoros son of Pasion of Acharnai and his stepfather Phormion, Apollodoros' father-in-law Deinias and his brother-in-law (WZH) Nikias had tried to mediate (Demosthenes 36. 15, 17; Table 4.4). In Case 1, when Philoktemon of Kephisia had obstructed his father's attempt to sacrifice the *koureion* in their phratry for the older of the 'Lemnian' boys, kin and friends (*anankaioi*, Isaios 6. 23, cf. § 26 *oikeioi*), presumably those who had been present at the phratry meeting, met with them and persuaded them to compromise. When Boiotos-Mantitheos threatened to take Mantias of Thorikos to court for failing to present the boy to his phratry, Mantias agreed to settle the matter by challenging Boiotos' mother Plangon to swear an oath that he was the father.¹¹⁷

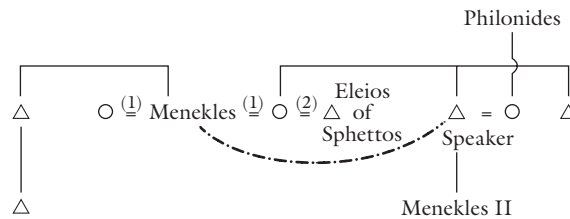
Case 13: Menekles and his brother (Table 7.11, Isaios 2)

Menekles, *d.c.*, (Table 7.11) had married the speaker's sister as a widower; he had been a close friend (*philos kai epitêdeios*) of the speaker's father (§§ 3–5). After some time, when his wife did not become pregnant, he allegedly decided that he himself must be unable to beget children (cf. ch. 2 n. 12), and proposed to her brothers that he should divorce her and adopt one of them as his heir. The speaker insists that his sister was very reluctant to agree to this proposal, but eventually she was remarried and he was adopted as Menekles' son. The adoption

¹¹⁶ Is. 1. 2, 16. They may, for example, have reckoned that the speaker was already in possession of one-third of the estate.

¹¹⁷ Dem. 39. 3–4. Mantias' other son Mantitheos claims that Plangon had agreed, in return for a payment of 3000 dr., to refuse to take the oath, but we have only his word for it (Humphreys 1989).

TABLE 7.11. Isaios 2



was resented by Menekles' brother, who had expected Menekles' property to revert to him and his son as next-of-kin;¹¹⁸ when Menekles needed to sell or mortgage property in order to raise cash to pay money owed to an orphan, his brother had obstructed the transaction, claiming that he was part-owner of the land.¹¹⁹ Menekles filed a suit contesting his brother's right to obstruct the sale (§ 29, *aporrhêsis*), and after a series of quarrels the brother's *kêdestês* (WF or WB) and other friends were asked to arbitrate.¹²⁰ Their recommendation was that Menekles should cede the disputed portion of the land to his brother and that the two should take an oath to live at peace with each other in future. This, as far as we know, they did; but when Menekles died his brother contested the adoption on the grounds that it had been made under the influence of a woman—an interesting indication of the extent to which adoption and wills had become identified in Athenian minds, since there is no evidence that the law provided for such a complaint about an adoption carried out *inter vivos* twenty-three years before the death of the adopter. It must be recognized, however, that Menekles' second marriage to a wife no doubt much younger than himself, his apparently rather rapid divorce, her remarriage, very possibly with a contribution from Menekles to her dowry,¹²¹ and the adoption of her brother, could easily be made to look sinister.

*

¹¹⁸ The speaker stresses that Menekles' brother had only one son, and claims that if Menekles had adopted the boy his father would have been left without an heir; but of course formal adoption was quite unnecessary in such circumstances.

¹¹⁹ Apparently Menekles had leased an orphan's estate and had used part of his father's property as *apotimêma*. Since he had no children, he and his brother may not have made a formal division of their inheritance (cf. [Dem.] 44. 10, 18; ch. 5 n. 62), though presumably there was a *de facto* division of responsibilities. In other cases we find brothers deliberately playing on such uncertainties about ownership in their dealings with third parties.

¹²⁰ The arbitrators took their oath on the altar of Aphrodite at Kephale (§ 31); it seems likely that they were fellow-demesmen of the two brothers, and that the latter still owned land in their deme. The speaker insists that the arbitrators undertook to decide only what was in the interests of all parties (*ta sympheronta pasin*), and not what was just (*ta dikaia*, § 30); if this has any precise reference, which is doubtful, it may mean that the arbitrators were not willing to open up the whole question of the division of inheritance.

¹²¹ This can perhaps be deduced from the opponent's claim (§ 5) that the speaker had given his sister to Menekles without a dowry.

Other references to arbitration are frequent, but provide less detail. In a situation not dissimilar to that of Menekles, Archiades of Otryne had adopted a great-nephew (ZDS) and *oikeioi* had persuaded his brother Meidylides not to object ([Demosthenes] 44. 19); Meidylides' heirs had nevertheless continued to feel that Archiades' estate should have been theirs, and finally found an opportunity to claim it (Case 12). Polyektos of Teithras, who adopted his brother-in-law (WB), married him to one of his daughters, and later wanted to break off both the marriage and the adoption, managed to settle through private arbitration after the adopted son had threatened to bring a court case (Demosthenes 41. 4); after Polyektos' death the current husbands of his daughters had tried to settle their dispute over the division of his estate by arbitration, between the first threat of a court case and the eventual hearing (ibid. §§ 12, 14).

Discussions with kin may well have been involved in some of the other compromise arrangements we have met—Pyrrhos' adoption of Endios,¹²² Dikaiogenes II's adoption of Dikaiogenes III, the dowering and marriage of the mother of the speaker of Isaios 10—but we are not explicitly informed about their role. Cases where charges of wounding with intent to kill were brought and then dropped may also have involved mediation.¹²³ On the other hand, litigants who threaten legal action in order to put pressure on kin with whom they are in conflict seem to make direct contact rather than using go-betweens.¹²⁴

MOBILIZING SUPPORT: (2) PLANNING FOR LITIGATION

Kin were perhaps especially likely to meet to draw up a plan of campaign in cases where an epikleros or estate was open to claims from collaterals. When the daughters of Epilykos son of Teisandros were approaching the age when they could formally be claimed as epikleroi, Andokides contacted his cousin (MZS) Leagros and proposed that each should claim one. Leagros was apparently also approached by Kallias III of Alopeke, who wanted to claim one of the girls for his son (Table 4.2).

As we have seen (Case 10), the speaker of [Demosthenes] 48 met with his brother-in-law (WB) Olympiodoros to plan their strategy in claiming the estate of

¹²² Pyrrhos' uncles (MBs) testified that he had adjured them (*epeskēpsen*, Is. 3. 69) to take care of Phile, which may mean that they were to see that Endios either married or dowered her. See above, Case 4.

¹²³ Arbitration in a dispute over a *hetaira*, Lys. 4. 1–2; in a property dispute, Lys. F XX Carey 2007, F XXXVII Gernet/Bizos 1926 (16 Thalheim 1913); over a trumped-up adultery charge, [Dem.] 59. 64–71.

¹²⁴ Direct contact is implied in Is. 10. 19. But Kallias approaches Andokides through his friends with an offer to drop his prosecution for impiety and compensate Andokides for the trouble he has caused him if the latter will drop his claim to the epikleric daughter of Epilykos (Andok. 1. 122).

a common kinsman. They decided that Olympiodoros would claim as next-of-kin, which apparently involved attacking the genealogical basis on which the speaker and his patrilineal half-brother considered themselves entitled to the estate. The speaker would not oppose Olympiodoros (thus weakening his brother's case), and in return Olympiodoros would share the estate with him. A written contract to this effect was drawn up, witnessed by kin and friends (*oikeioi*, §§ 7, 11) and deposited with a third party, Androkleides of Acharnai (*APF* 849). Androkleides testified for the speaker in court when he sued Olympiodoros (§ 11), but the other witnesses did not; perhaps they supported Olympiodoros.

Theopompos of Oion Kerameikon (Case 11) also seems to have done well by persuading less litigious kinsmen to let him take their claims in hand. When the estate of Hagnias had been awarded to Phylomache II, he had arranged with his brother Stratokles and his cousin (FBS) Stratios that they would challenge her right to hold the estate; all three were related to Hagnias in the same degree, as second cousins (FFBSS). Stratokles and Stratios died before they had an opportunity to present their claims, and their heirs were apparently taken by surprise when Theopompos decided that, as sons of second cousins of *d.c.*, they were not entitled to a share of the estate.¹²⁵ Theopompos had also made a written contract with Hagnias' uterine half-brothers and with another kinsman (*epitêdeios*), Eupolemos. We hear of this only from Sositheos, speaker of [Demosthenes] 43 (§ 7), who names the man with whom the contract was deposited but fails to produce him in court as a witness. These claimants presumably agreed to support each other with testimony against Sositheos' claim that his wife's grandmother (FM) Phylomache I was a full sister of Hagnias' father Polemon; it is not clear what Theopompos was offering in exchange.

Many discussions must have taken place between the sisters of Dikaiogenes II (Case 2) and their husbands and sons about the best way of proceeding against the cuckoo in their nest, Dikaiogenes III; here too there was a danger that the man chosen to represent the group in court would succumb to the temptation to settle privately and leave his allies to fend for themselves (Isaios 5. 13–14).

It is less common for kin to join together in a campaign of harassment in the courts in familial disputes than in political rivalries, but the speaker of Demosthenes 55 complains that he has already been sued by his opponent's brother and by his cousin (*anepsios*, §§ 1–2, 31) in a combined attempt to drive him off his land, which was adjacent to theirs (cf. ch. 5 at nn. 84–5).

Many of these references to private discussions and contracts are poorly supported by testimony. It seems to have been something of a *topos* to claim

¹²⁵ The claims apparently had to wait for the beginning of the archon year (Is. 11. 37); the orphans and their guardians appear to have assumed that Theopompos would present the claim in the name of all three families.

that one's opponents had tried to circumvent due process by making private arrangements,¹²⁶ just as it was a *topos* to make the not very dissimilar claim that one had oneself tried to settle a dispute with kin amicably without a confrontation in court. There is no reason to doubt, however, that a great deal of private consultation and discussion did in fact take place.

MOBILIZING SUPPORT: (3) MOBILIZING WITNESSES

An Athenian litigant had no effective means of compelling witnesses to appear in court to support him, and therefore had to ensure, whenever he engaged in any activity that might in future lead to litigation, that he was accompanied by witnesses who could be trusted to come forward when needed. Kin were naturally invited to attend as witnesses in family matters, and often in other dealings also, though to rely only on close kinsmen such as brothers or brothers-in-law might be considered suspicious (Humphreys 1986*a*, 74). They might also become involved in disputes through having looked after the property and affairs of a man on service overseas ([Demosthenes] 49. 40–1).

Thus, although in some cases a litigant had to seek out kin who had been present simply as guests at a family gathering on some past occasion, or who could be presented as well informed on genealogical matters, in many instances the likelihood that witnesses might be needed in court was already foreseen. Pyrrhos had impressed on his uncles (MBs), present at his betrothal to the sister of Nikodemos and at the naming of her daughter Kleitarete-Phile, that he was trusting them to watch over the child's interests (Case 4, Isaios 3. 69). The speaker of Isaios 8 took a cousin of his father to the home of *d.c.*, his grandfather (MF) Kiron, when he tried to remove Kiron's body to his own house for the funeral, a move predictably resisted by Kiron's widow. The cousin testified in court on this point and also, with others, bore witness that at the funeral the speaker had accused Kiron's brother-in-law (WB) Diokles of depriving him of his inheritance (Case 3, Isaios 8. 21–4, 27).

A man making a will, whether oral, written, or some combination of the two, would take care to invite the beneficiaries, and probably some independent witnesses as well. The will of Euktemon of Kephisia, probably made at the insistence of his two sons-in-law, was witnessed by them and others, and deposited with Euktemon's kinsman and fellow-demesman Pythodoros (Case 1, Isaios 6. 27). The will of Euktemon's son Philoktemon in favour of his nephew (ZS)

¹²⁶ The speaker of Is. 9 (Case 10) claimed that his opponent's principal witness, the speaker's MB Hierokles, had offered to produce a will attributed to *d.c.*, Astyphilos, in favour of anyone who would share the estate with him (§ 24).

Chairestratos was deposited with the husband of Philoktemon's other sister, Chaireas; other witnesses were also involved (6. 7). The will of Astyphilos of Araphen was deposited with his uncle (MB) Hierokles, who was also MB to Astyphilos' half-brother, the speaker of Isaïos 9, who was not selected as heir and contested the will (Case 10, Isaïos 9. 22). The oral will of the widow of Polyeuktos of Teithras was made in the presence of her two brothers as well as the heirs, her two daughters and their husbands.¹²⁷ The will of Demosthenes' father was witnessed by the guardians appointed for his children, two of whom were his nephews (BS and ZS), and by his brother, father of the younger nephew.¹²⁸

Case 9 continued: Sositheos' witnesses (Table 7.9, [Demosthenes] 43, APF 2921)

Sositheos, speaker of [Demosthenes] 43, had presumably been preparing to claim the estate of Hagnias at the death of its holder, Theopompos, ever since Theopompos had won it from his wife Phylomache II in 361/0. (An attempt to prosecute Theopompos for false testimony, c.360, Is. 11. 45, had apparently failed.) Theopompos had lived on for more than sixteen years, and during this time Sositheos seems to have worked hard at cultivating relations with other branches of the family. Theopompos' unscrupulous treatment of his young nephew and cousins, the sons of Stratokles and Stratios, may have caused family sympathy to swing back to Phylomache II and her husband.

Bouselos, the common ancestor, had had five sons. The line of Hagnias I had died out with Hagnias II, whose estate was the subject of this long-drawn-out family struggle. The line of Stratios I was represented by Theopompos and his son Makartatos, Sositheos' opponent, but also by Theopompos' nephew (BS), the son of Stratokles, and by the two sons of Theopompos' first cousin (FBS) Stratios II. Although Theopompos had deprived them of shares in Hagnias' estate to which they had a claim, they did not support Sositheos and may therefore have supported Makartatos.¹²⁹ Sositheos, however, could count on the line of Habron, into which his father had married; indeed, he himself with his brother represented the lines of both Habron and Euboulides I. Sositheos had also recruited as witnesses Stratonides II and his brother, who probably descended

¹²⁷ Dem. 41. 9. The term *diathékē* is not used, but the dying woman went over her affairs and the money she had advanced to her sons-in-law point by point, in the presence of witnesses, in the hope of preventing later conflicts. One of the witnesses may have been Leokrates, earlier married to one of her daughters and then divorced.

¹²⁸ Dem. 28. 15–16, cf. ch. 3 at n. 23.

¹²⁹ The Phanostratos attested as councillor in 371/0 (*Agora* XV 13a, *SEG* 28. 148) was probably Phanostratos I. It is of course possible that Stratios II's sons and Stratokles' son were dead by the time of [Dem.] 43.

from Bouselos' fifth son Kleokritos;¹³⁰ they had never, as far as we know, made any attempt to claim Hagnias' estate, and they stood in the same relationship (third cousin once removed, FFFBDSSS) to Makartatos as to Phylomache II. This structural neutrality made their support particularly valuable. Sositheos had named his four sons after his father, his wife's father, his wife's father's patrilineal half-brother, and his mother's father (who was also one of the Bouselidai); his daughter had been married to her first cousin (FBS).

Some of Sositheos' witnesses, as already noted, had been taken by him to see that Theopompos had cut down olive trees on land belonging to Hagnias' estate (§ 70). The others appeared in court to support Sositheos' claim that his wife's paternal grandmother (FM) Phylomache I had been the full sister of Hagnias' father Polemon. This was the relationship that gave Sositheos' wife Phylomache II a better claim to Hagnias' estate than Makartatos or other members of the family, and it was by casting doubt on it that Theopompos had secured the estate c.360.¹³¹ According to this claim, Phylomache II was related to Hagnias through his grandfather (FF) Hagnias I, being Hagnias' FZSD, whereas other claimants were only related to him through his great-grandfather (FFF) Bouselos. The witness testimonies, however, do not go into any detail on this crucial point, though they contain a great deal of other genealogical information of very marginal relevance to the case. The testimonies seem to be worded with the aim of persuading the jury that Sositheos' claim is solidly supported by a large body of well-informed kin, without actually laying any of the witnesses open to a charge of perjury, or pressing them to declare themselves on doubtful points. The witnesses explain their own descent, and supply genealogical detail about dead kin who did not put in claims to Hagnias' estate, the implication being that they recognized Phylomache II as having prior rights.¹³² Furthermore, in the published version of the speech Sositheos does his best to conceal the fact that the witnesses from the descent lines of Habron and of Euboulides I are his father

¹³⁰ See Humphreys 1986*a*; I have assumed that one of Sositheos' witnesses was Stratonides of Oion, father of Straton, ephebe in 330/29/8 (*IOrop* 353; cf. Humphreys 2009).

¹³¹ Sositheos actually claimed the estate for his second son Euboulides III, presented as the adopted son of his MF Euboulides II, presumably relying on the rule that the sons of an epikleros inherited her father's property at 18; the posthumous adoption also contributed to his presentation of himself as a model of familial piety. At law the boy's claim stood on exactly the same footing as that of his mother had done.

¹³² These dead kinsmen, Euktemon and Menestheus, were half-brothers respectively, of Phylomache II's FF Philagros and of her father Euboulides II, and were apparently childless, so it is perhaps not surprising that they were prepared to waive their rights in favour of Phylomache II. She may have been Menestheus' heir, since one of her sons was called after him. Litigants drafted testimonies in consultation with their witnesses before the hearing, and there was no opportunity to cross-question witnesses in court. On the problems of assessing the relevance and validity of witness testimonies see Todd 1990, 31.

(§ 27) and his brother (§ 46), and to suggest to the reader that he had two sets of witnesses where in fact he called the same set to testify twice.¹³³

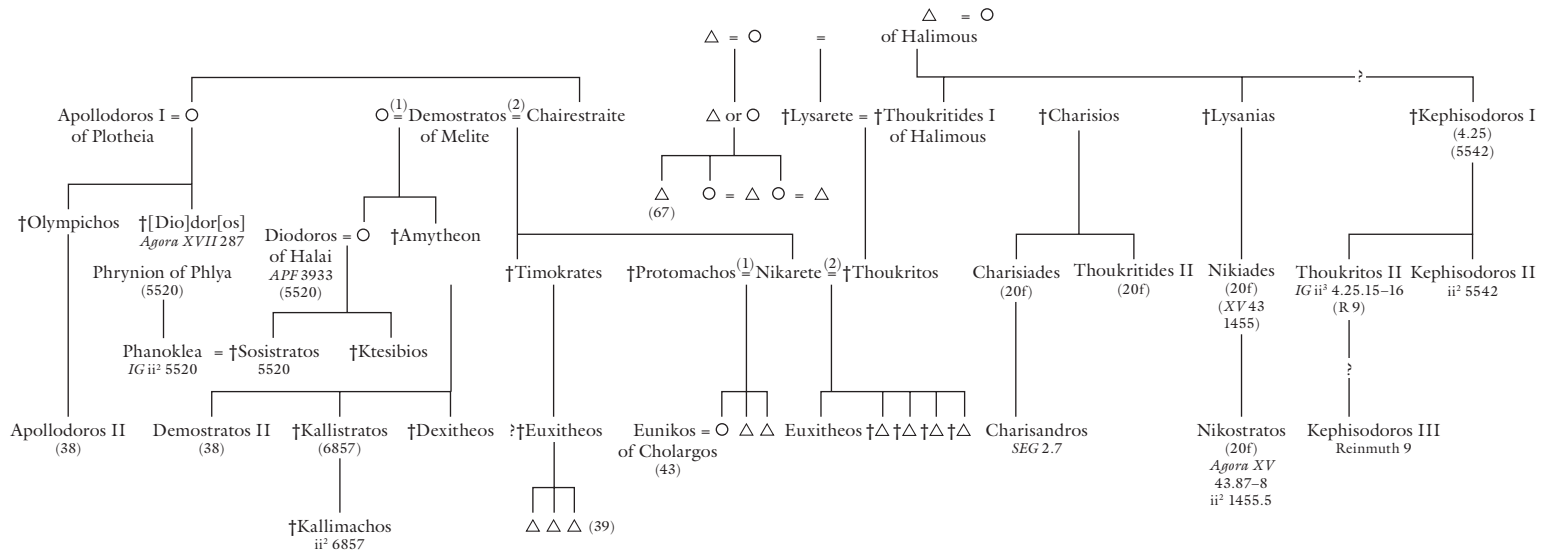
Although Sositheos' use of this tactic is exceptionally elaborate and extensive, it may not have been uncommon for published versions of speeches to conceal close relationships between litigants and their witnesses. It is likely that the claimant's *genitor* testified for his son in Isaïos 6. 34, and perhaps elsewhere, and in Isaïos 7. 7–10, where the witnesses are not precisely identified.

Case 14: Euxitheos' witnesses (Table 7.12, Demosthenes 57, APF 3126)

Euxitheos, the speaker of Demosthenes 57 (Table 7.12), was appealing against the decision of his deme Halimous to expel him as having acquired citizenship under false pretences. He does not, of course, explain precisely what the charge was, but it seems to have concerned his filiation (or his father's identity) rather than the citizenship or marriage of the couple whose son he claims to be.¹³⁴ He was able to produce an impressive array of fifteen kinsmen to testify that his parents were of legitimate Athenian birth and duly married: three first cousins (FBS) of his father, and the son of one of them, all members of his own deme; a stepcousin of his father (son of a uterine half-sibling of Euxitheos' paternal grandmother, FM), and the husbands of this cousin's two sisters; his own two uterine half-brothers and the husband of their sister; three grandsons (SS) of his mother's brother; the son of his mother's patrilateral half-brother (Damostratos II of Melite); and a second cousin on his mother's side (MMBSS), Apollodoros II son of Olympichos of Plotheia. Other members of his father's and maternal grandfather's demes and phratries may also have testified. One of the motives encouraging these kin to testify may have been that it gave them the chance to

¹³³ See Humphreys 1986*a*, 60–2; W. Thompson 1971*b*. In court witnesses were present in person, and would have been identified by name, patronymic, and demotic, so the duplication, and some of the relationships between Sositheos and his witnesses, could hardly have escaped notice.

¹³⁴ The charge may have been that he was an illegitimate child of his mother, conceived while his father was absent (or to an impostor accepted in the father's place? cf. above at n. 77). The uncles (FB) of Thoukritos (Euxitheos' father) perhaps did not expect to see him again when he disappeared during the Dekeleian War, and the share of the family property that they handed over when he came back may have been small (it was not in Euxitheos' interest to admit this), since he returned to military service after marriage, leaving his wife and two children almost destitute. His FB Charisios, whose descendants seem to have been wealthy, named one of his sons Thoukritides, after Euxitheos' father, which might indicate that he had believed this line of the family to have died out leaving no heirs. In the event the returning prisoner was accepted as Thoukritos, but there may have been suspicions, compromise, and gossip, which died down but was resuscitated at Euxitheos' trial. D. Cohen 1998 accepts Euxitheos' version of his opponent's case too easily. Euxitheos could prove that his mother was of citizen parentage; it was much harder to rebut suggestions that economic hardship would have encouraged her to take a lover or welcome an impostor. Deme rivalry was involved: see below, ch. 26 at nn. 14–19. If there had ever been doubts about the legitimacy of his FM Lysarete (ch. 4 at nn. 31–2), they were not mentioned at this date.



Note: Since Diodoros is such a common name, there is only a slight possibility of a link to Epigonos son of Diodoros of Halai Aixonides, ephebe in 333/2/1, *IG* ii³ 4.337.

TABLE 7.12. Demosthenes 57, *APF* 3126, 3933 (revised)

stress that a decision against Euxitheos could not affect their own solidly established credentials to citizenship. Some of them—his paternal next-of-kin and/or his uterine half-brothers—may also have hoped to inherit from him, since he does not seem to be married.¹³⁵ Their testimony concerns the citizenship, legitimacy, and marriage of his parents, and—in the case of those witnesses who were members of his own phratry and deme—his introduction to these bodies; none of these points need have been in question. There is no testimony that kin had been present when he was named, or other evidence about his childhood. It is also likely that one line of kinsmen in the deme had refused to testify for him;¹³⁶ the deme was evidently divided between Euxitheos' supporters and the group led by his opponent Euboulides, the current demarch.

The caution with which witness testimonies seem to be worded in these two cases indicates that Athenians were not on the whole prepared to stand up in court and subscribe explicitly to a lie, unless interests very close to home were at stake. On the other hand, if litigants expected to impress jurors by the number of witnesses they recruited, irrespective of the relevance of their testimony, this does not necessarily mean that they thought jurors were fools. Witnesses could not be compelled to testify,¹³⁷ and if a witness agreed to come to court this implied that he felt he would be testifying in a respectable case, even if he was not fully certain that the litigant was in the right. It was not unreasonable for jurors to assess a litigant's genuineness partly by the number and character of the witnesses who supported him (Humphreys 1985*b*).

In another appeal against expulsion from the deme, Euphiletos (Table 7.13), defendant in the case for which Isaios 12 was written, was able to produce testimony from his father, his father's first wife's brother, three patrilineal half-brothers (one of whom acted as his *synégoros*), the husbands of two patrilineal half-sisters, three other *oikeioi* presented as 'never having been involved in anything disgraceful' (§ 6), and members of the phratry to which Euphiletos had been admitted (§ 8).¹³⁸ Deme rivalries were involved in this case, too (§ 10); the charge was apparently that Euphiletos was his mother's son by an earlier union (§ 5). In this case his half-brother insists that he has known Euphiletos from

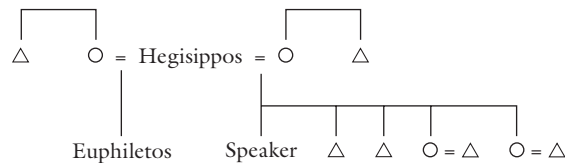
¹³⁵ He expects his opponents to make this point, §§ 52–3. There are no affines among his witnesses, and he makes no appeal to the jury to consider the effects of an adverse decision on his children.

¹³⁶ The descendants of Kephisodoros I (buried on Salamis, *IG* ii² 5542; see Humphreys 1986*a*). Charisandros son of Charisiades, acting demarch in the 320s (*SEG* 2. 7, Whitehead 1986*a*, 435, ch. 26 n. 21) and his (?) brother Charisios II, perhaps attested as trierarch *c.*354 (*SEG* 45. 147 II 6) are also absent from the list of witnesses, but their father is present.

¹³⁷ If a person was present in court, he could be challenged to testify or to take an oath saying that he did not know the answer to the question put to him; but he could not be compelled to come to court. If a man had been specifically invited to witness an earlier transaction, he could be sued if he later refused to testify about it. See Humphreys 1985*b*, nn. 27, 55.

¹³⁸ The three named *oikeioi* may also have testified as phrateres. Cf. ch. 26, section 'Halimous'.

TABLE 7.13. Cf. Table 24.4



birth, having been thirteen when he was born; the testimony from the brother of Euphiletos' father's first wife is also impressive.

Such structurally neutral witnesses play an important role, but otherwise it seems to be assumed, in cases where genealogical knowledge is called on, that it is equally distributed. There is no recognized role of 'kin-keeper'. Information about family relationships within the limits of *anchisteia* was of practical importance to everyone in the property-owning class, though outside this range information might rapidly become vague and inaccurate.¹³⁹

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As we shall see (ch. 9), an Athenian acquired his or her identity, during childhood and adolescence, through a series of rites de passage carried out in the presence of kin and close associates of the family. Identity was, initially, a place in a kin network, and status depended on descent. Even in adulthood a man could not afford to isolate himself from his kin, and if they behaved disgracefully he would not be allowed to forget it or dissociate himself. To have kin as witnesses in court was thus important both because they could testify to the proper performance of rites de passage and because their presence helped to consolidate the respectable *persona* that the litigant needed to present to the jury.

The speaker of *Isaios* 8 had to find witnesses to testify that his mother was duly married as the daughter of an Athenian citizen. *Prosēkontes* of his father testify in §§ 18–20 that they were invited to a feast (*hestia*) to celebrate the marriage of his parents, and that his mother was married with the formality of *enguê*; her first husband's *prosēkontes* testify that her first marriage was also preceded by *enguê*.¹⁴⁰ The husband of Phile (Case 4, *Isaios* 3) has testimony from the uncles (MBs) of her father Pyrrhos that they were present when she was named (§ 30) and at the

¹³⁹ The 'kin-keeper' in modern western society is often a woman (Firth, Forge, and Hubert 1969, 139–42), but this may merely be an indication that genealogical knowledge is considered to be of only sentimental significance. It is not clear how far Athenian men relied on women for information about affines and cognatic kin. The speaker of [Dem.] 48 claims not to have known that his WB Olympiodoros was related to his own kinsman Komon (§ 5), but he may be lying. On inaccuracy in information about famous ancestors see R. Thomas 1989, ch. 2, especially 139–44.

¹⁴⁰ §§ 8–14. The testimony may have concerned her dowry, over which there had been some dispute when the husband died (§ 8) rather than the actual formalities of *enguê*, but the two normally went together.

enguê of her mother (§ 26); her own uncle (MB) Nikodemos had testified that he gave her mother by *enguê* to Pyrrhos as his lawful wife. Nikodemos had not, however, been able to produce very convincing testimony of the *enguê* of Phile herself, supposedly performed by *d.c.*, Endios; his only witness had not appeared in court, and the speaker asserts that he was disclaiming the deposition (*ekmartyria*) that had been produced.¹⁴¹ In fact it is not clear that *enguê* was a markedly public act; when a witness to *enguê* is called it is normally either the woman's *kyrios* or the father of the man who became her husband.¹⁴² Euxitheos, however, claims that when his mother's brother betrothed her to his father, the latter's two paternal uncles (FBs) were present with other witnesses (Demosthenes 57. 41).

Suspicion could be cast on witnesses called to testify about familial occasions if they were not kin or close associates of the family. Mantitheos of Thorikos scored a debating point against his half-brother Boiotos by arguing that the witnesses who testified that Boiotos was named Mantitheos were neither kin nor friends of their father Mantias; one, indeed, was Boiotos' contemporary, and could therefore have no reliable knowledge about the *dekatê* ceremony at which Boiotos claimed to have been named.¹⁴³

On the other hand, there seems to be a certain tendency for litigants to identify only as phrateres witnesses who may have had some traceable genealogical or affinal connection to them. Phrateres testify in *POxy* 31. 2538 (iii 2ff., iv 21ff.) that the speaker had been duly introduced to their phratry, in Demosthenes 57. 23 and 43 that Euxitheos had been elected phratriarch and that his father had celebrated *gamêlia* for his mother; in the latter case we are told that the witnesses are *syngeneis* and *oikeioi*, which suggests that they were members of Euxitheos' *thiasos*, and they may have been quite close kin. The phrateres who testified in Isaios 3. 76 that Pyrrhos did not celebrate *gamêlia* for the sister of Nikodemos need not have been so close.¹⁴⁴

A litigant would also try to find ways of recruiting witnesses who were kin or affines of his opponent, or who had ties to both parties, in order to persuade

¹⁴¹ § 18. *Ekmartyria* was an accepted procedure, and the speaker produces no evidence of the disclaimer. It is not clear if it is this testimony that is re-read in § 53.

¹⁴² The husband of the speaker's elder sister may have testified in Is. 2. 3–5 that she had been dowered; one of Mantitheos' MBs (Table 7.2) probably testified about the dowry of his sister, Mantitheos' mother, in [Dem.] 40. 7 (cf. 24). The witnesses in Dem. 41. 26, testifying about the opponent's dowry, are unidentified, as are the witnesses to *enguê* in Is. 9. 29.

¹⁴³ Dem. 39. 22, 40. 59. Boiotos' witnesses may have testified that he was known as Mantitheos during his childhood rather than that they were present at his *dekatê*. Mantitheos unfortunately does not identify the witnesses who testified about his own *dekatê* (39. 20). Cf. the insistence in Is. 4. 23 that the opponent's witnesses are his own kin and not *epitêdeioi* of *d.c.*

¹⁴⁴ *POxy* 2538, Isaios? Carey 2007 A 3a (n. 78). They may have testified only that they had not heard of Pyrrhos doing so. Further references to testimony by kin, phrateres, and demesmen whose relationship to the litigant is not specified are collected in Humphreys 1985*b*, 1986*a*.

the jury that even those whose loyalties might bias them against him, or lead them to favour compromise, considered his case irrefutable. Demosthenes got testimony from his guardians Demophon (his FBS) and Therippides against his third guardian Aphobos, and from Onetor's ex-brother-in-law (ZH) Timokrates against Onetor.¹⁴⁵ Phormion was supported in his case against his stepson Apollodoros by Apollodoros' brother Pasikles and by a cousin (FZS) of Apollodoros' wife. In his subsequent suit against this witness, Stephanos, Apollodoros gets Stephanos' uncle (MB) Deinias to testify that he is Apollodoros' father-in-law and had not heard about the will which is the subject of dispute. Deinias is presented as a reluctant witness, and the testimony is of no importance in establishing the facts of the case, but Apollodoros hopes to establish that Stephanos' kin disapprove of his support for Phormion.¹⁴⁶ In Hyperides 3 *Athenogenes* 34 the speaker, involved in a business dispute, persuades a *kêdestês*¹⁴⁷ of his opponent Athenogenes to appear as a hostile character witness. A *kêdestês* of the opponent testifies for the speaker of Isaios 2 (29–34; Case 13) concerning the arbitration between the opponent and *d.c.*, Menekles, in which he played a part. In the case over Astyphilos' estate (Case 8), the speaker's uncle (MB) had appeared as witness for the opponent, Kleon, testifying to the validity of Astyphilos' will, a particularly damaging testimony for the speaker's case; conversely, the husband of Kleon's aunt (FZ) supported the speaker with testimony that Astyphilos' father had maintained his hostility to Kleon's father until his dying day (Isaios 9. 19). The witness who testified in Demosthenes 41 concerning his sister's will was structurally neutral, being uncle (MB) to the wives of both litigants.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ Dem. 27. 14–17, 30. 9. Demophon and Therippides were unavoidably present in court; Timokrates had initiated the divorce himself, but may have welcomed an opportunity to get public acknowledgement that he was paying interest on the dowry (Dem. 30. 7–9). In view of Onetor's wealth one would expect his ZH to be in the liturgic class, so Timokrates may have been either *APF* 13769 or 13772. Either identification might imply that Timokrates had a son by Onetor's sister before divorcing her. That Demosthenes was a political opponent of 13772 by 353/2 is irrelevant. In [Dem.] 29. 3, 15–18 (cf. §§ 23, 25) we are told that Demosthenes had compelled Aphobos' brother Aisios to testify against him, in an earlier suit, but there is no trace of this testimony in Dem. 27–8 and I regard this statement as evidence that 29 is a rhetorical exercise (Humphreys 1986*a*, 75; 1985*b*, nn. 69–70). The speech is defended by MacDowell 1989*a* (followed by Rubinstein 2000). We are also told ([Dem.] 29. 20, 33, 36, 52, 56) that Demosthenes was supported by Demon. Demosthenes may well have been trying to detach Demon and his son Demophon from Aphobos, but the statement in [Plut.] *Mor.* 844d that he let Demophon off may come from a political opponent (cf. n. 35).

¹⁴⁶ [Dem.] 45. 55–6. Deinias is not being forced to take an oath that he knows nothing of the affair, he is giving a voluntary testimony (with a show of reluctance) to this effect; testimony that the witness has not heard of something which would be likely (if true) to have come to his attention occurs elsewhere in Athenian cases. Cf. Is. 6. 11.

¹⁴⁷ Perhaps ZH, see Humphreys 1986*a*, 80.

¹⁴⁸ Dem. 41. 8–10, 17*f.*, 24, and perhaps 11, 26. The allusion in § 15 to *philoi* who know the whole story and support the speaker may refer to this witness, who may conceivably have had less sympathy for the wife of Spoudias (the speaker's opponent) who had divorced his brother.

If kin refused to get involved in a dispute, their silence could still be turned to account. The speaker of Isaios 7 (§§ 18–21) argues that the failure of Thrasylochos of Lousia to put in a claim to Apollodoros' estate, though he stood in the same relation to Apollodoros (FBDS) as the speaker's opponent, constitutes *de facto* testimony that the speaker is in the right.¹⁴⁹

MOBILIZING SUPPORT: (4) FORMAL PROCEEDINGS

When a disputant decided to take formal action, kin might act as summoners, *klêtêres*; they might also help by intervening in the early stages of the process with delaying tactics or objections. The speaker of [Demosthenes] 48, who was at the time in cahoots with his brother-in-law (WB) Olympiodoros, asked for a delay in hearing claims to Komon's estate because Olympiodoros was away on military service (§ 25; Case 10). *Diamartyriai* asserting that the estate was not subject to *epidikasia*, because *d.c.* had left a legitimate son, had been made in Case 13 (Isaios 2) by the son's father-in-law and in Case 1 (Isaios 6) by Androkles, a kinsman of *d.c.*¹⁵⁰

A *diamartyria* had the effect of transforming the supporter who made it into the defendant in a preliminary case in which he was accused of perjury; this was one mechanism by which a nervous litigant could put forward an older man with greater skill and experience to argue his case for him.¹⁵¹ He could also, however, ask an older kinsman or friend to act as supporting speaker, *synêgoros*. There were no rules governing the division of the allocated time between a speaker and his *synêgoros* (or *synêgoroi*); in some suits a *synêgoros* virtually takes over the whole presentation of the case.

The claim to Hagnias' estate made on behalf of Euboulides III, a minor, by his elder brother (acting as his *kyrios*) was argued in court by their father Sositheos ([Demosthenes] 43. 9, 15, Case 9); the case of Diodotos' sons against their

¹⁴⁹ Thrasyboulos seems to have inherited estates both from his *genitor* and from his *pater*, and may have feared that this would prejudice a court against him; he may even have come to a private agreement with the opponent (cf. Case 10 [Dem.] 48), and for all we know may have testified for him.

¹⁵⁰ In Case 2 (Is. 5) a *diamartyria* on behalf of Dikaiogenes III had been made by Leochares, whose relation to Dikaiogenes is unknown; in Case 4 (Is. 3) a *diamartyria* had been made on behalf of *d.c.*'s daughter Phile by her husband Xenokles. In [Dem.] 44. 54 (Case 12) the opposing claimant, Leochares, had made a *diamartyria* on behalf of himself and his father. In origin the *diamartyria* was probably a formal affirmation by a person of standing in the community that a claim or charge had no foundation (against Gernet's ideas on oath-helping see Humphreys 1985b n. 33); after a period of some confusion in the late 5th and early 4th c. (Lys. 23. 13, Isokr. 18. 11f; Is. F III Thalheim 1903, *paragraphe* in an inheritance case) it became customary to use *paragraphe* for objections in most types of case but to retain *diamartyria* in inheritance claims. By this time the reason for asking a third party to make the objection was no longer evident, and some claimants act for themselves. See Appendix 5.

¹⁵¹ In Is. 2, however, the claimant acts as *synêgoros* for his WF, who had made the *diamartyria*.

grandfather (MF) and guardian Diogeiton was argued by their brother-in-law;¹⁵² the defendant in Isaios 12, who had been expelled by his deme, was represented by an older patrilateral half-brother;¹⁵³ the speakers' opponents in [Demosthenes] 44 (§ 27) and Isaios 9 (§ 2) were represented by their fathers. The speaker of [Demosthenes] 44, however, was a son acting as *synēgoros* for his father, represented as poor and unaccustomed to public speaking (§ 4). In several speeches a single brother seems to have spoken for himself and his siblings, and the speaker of Isaios 5 (Case 2) seems also to be representing his aunts (MZs) and cousins; it is possible that this was required in *epidikasiai* where several heirs were claiming an estate on the same basis, but in other types of case litigants may have been able to choose whether to combine forces or not.¹⁵⁴

The extent of the help given to Apollodoros of Leukonoion by his stepfather when he sued his guardian (FB) is unclear.¹⁵⁵ In Isaios 6 and 4 family friends act as *synēgoroi* for claimants in inheritance cases; in the former case the speaker has to make embarrassing disclosures about the behaviour of *d.c.*, Euktemon, in old age (Case 1), and in the latter an inordinate number of claims to the estate had been made, which may have prompted the claimants to look for a respectable and disinterested advocate.

In the closing section of a case in which the unsuccessful defendant stood to pay a penalty or damages, his kin or friends might intervene to plead for leniency or to bargain with the plaintiff, promising to guarantee payment if the sum imposed was not too high. Plato's *Apology* is the only example we have of a speech supposedly delivered in the debate on a defendant's sentence (*timêsis*); in most cases defendants may have preferred not to circulate a speech which

¹⁵² ZH: Lys. 32. 2, Case 6; one or perhaps both boys had recently come of age (§§ 1, 9). ZH speaks for WB in a homicide case, Lys. 13.

¹⁵³ Their father Hegesippos was still alive, and appeared as a witness (Is. 12. 1–3, 8–9); this may be a case where there were accusations that an older husband had been bamboozled by a young wife, cf. Is. 2. Support from a patrilateral half-brother also in *POxy* 2538 (n. 78).

¹⁵⁴ This question does not seem to have been much considered. There could certainly be more than two claimants in a *diadikasia* over an estate, but probably only if the basis of their claims was different. Sositheos implies in [Dem.] 43. 7–9 that Glaukos and Glaukon made separate claims to the estate of their uterine half-brother Hagnias, after it had been awarded to Phylomache II, but contradicts this suggestion in § 10. Claims by one brother on behalf of a sibling group in Is. 1, 4, 8 (cf. Lys. 18); action was taken against Dikaiogenes III first by Polyaratos of Cholargos (Is. 5. 9), husband of one of the sisters of Dikaiogenes II, then by Menexenos son of Kephisophon of Paiania, son of a second sister (§§ 12–14), and finally by Menexenos son of Polyaratos (§ 5). In [Dem.] 38 the twin sons of Nausikrates of Paiania (*APF* 11263) each brought a separate suit against each of the four sons of their ex-guardian Aristaichmos. The twins by this time were forty (§ 6); their opponents presented themselves as young and inexperienced (*ibid.*), but may have decided to divide their inheritance to make things more difficult for the plaintiffs. See ch. 3 at nn. 8, 27.

¹⁵⁵ Is. 7. 6–7, 10, 13. Women are represented in surviving speeches by their husbands or sons (Humphreys 1986*a*), though a father or brother could also have acted as *kyrios* in a court case. On *synēgoroi* see further ch. 14 nn. 49–51.

implied that the first vote had gone against them. But we have several references to appeals for mercy and to the Athenian equivalent of plea-bargaining. In the dispute between Dikaiogenes III and his kin (Case 2), when Leochares was being prosecuted for perjury after his *diamartyria* in favour of Dikaiogenes, they managed to persuade their opponents to compromise before the votes were counted (Isaios 5. 18). Leochares and Mnesiptolemos guaranteed that Dikaiogenes would restore two-thirds of the family property to his opponents; arbitration by a *kêdestês* of Leochares (Diopeithes) and by the brother of Mnesiptolemos, with two representatives appointed by their opponents, followed, before Leochares was sued in the case for which Isaios 5 was written (§§ 31–3). In Demosthenes' suit against Aphobos the latter's brother-in-law (WB) Onetor appealed for leniency and offered to guarantee payment if the damages were limited to one talent.¹⁵⁶ Subsequently he helped Aphobos by erecting horoi on part of the property claimed by Demosthenes, and asserting that it had been ceded to him as security for his sister's dowry, which he was due to recover because (allegedly) her marriage to Aphobos had been terminated by divorce. Demosthenes took him to court.¹⁵⁷

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As these last examples imply, the seeds of further cases were often sown before the current proceedings had come to an end. Intention to prosecute witnesses for false testimony had to be stated in court when the testimony was produced.¹⁵⁸ The speaker of Isaios 3 (Case 4) had already successfully prosecuted Phile's husband Xenokles for making a false *diamartyria*, and was now prosecuting his chief witness, Phile's uncle (MB), Nikodemos, for false testimony. Apollodoros son of Pasion of Acharnai prosecuted Stephanos son of Menekles, of the same deme, for false testimony concerning Pasion's will, even though his stepfather Phormion had defeated him so resoundingly that he can hardly have hoped to reopen the case (Demosthenes 36, 45–6). After a case in which Philotades of

¹⁵⁶ Dem. 30. 32. *Pace* APF 3597 XVIII, Demosthenes may well have been right in treating Aphobos' offer before the public arbitrator to demonstrate that the guardians had handed over 10 tal., or make up any shortfall (Dem. 27. 50), as mere bluff and not as a serious attempt at settlement.

¹⁵⁷ Dem. 30–1. It is not clear to me why they felt that Onetor's claim to the land had to be strengthened by a divorce. (This may be why APF 11473, p. 423, thinks the whole story of divorce from Timokrates, marriage to Aphobos and divorce from Aphobos is fictitious; but Demosthenes himself shows no sign of taking this view.) [Dem.] 29. 3 says that a multiple dwelling (*synoikia*) owned by Aphobos was claimed by his brother Aisios, but though such claims were often made the speech may not be genuine (see n. 145).

¹⁵⁸ A. R. W. Harrison 1971, 192–3; it may have been fairly common for litigants to change their minds after the end of the case. Unlike prosecution for perjury in a *diamartyria*, a prosecution for false witness did not halt the case in which it was announced, and there do not seem to have been clear rules about the implications of successful prosecution for the preceding court decision (*ibid.* 193–7).

Kydathenaion was expelled from his deme on the grounds that he had been the slave of Timarchos of Sphettos, Timarchos was prosecuted for having taken bribes from a *kêdestês* of Philotades.¹⁵⁹

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Family disputes often lasted a very long time. The speaker of [Demosthenes] 44 (Case 12) was claiming in the 320s an estate that had passed to another branch of the family by *c.*370 at the latest, and probably well before that date. Sositheos, in [Demosthenes] 43 (Case 9) was claiming *c.*340 the estate of Hagnias, who had died in the 370s, from the heir of Theopompos, to whom it had been awarded *c.*360 (§ 31). The sisters of Dikaiogenes, who had died in 412/11, were still in 389 trying to recover a share of his property. The sons of Mantias were involved in intermittent litigation for at least twelve years after their father's death, during most of which period they shared and resided together in the house that was one of the main subjects of their dispute.¹⁶⁰ The opponent of the speaker of Isaïos 2 (Case 13) was contesting an adoption carried out twenty-three years earlier (§ 15); the family of Thoudippos and Euthykrates of Araphen was still divided some thirty-five years after the fight between them over the division of their father's estate which (it was claimed) had caused Euthykrates' death (n. 85 above); Apollodoros of Acharnai and Nausimachos II and Xenopeithes II of Paiania were still pursuing claims against guardians ten and twenty years after the latter's responsibilities had ended.

EXPERIENCE, EMOTION, AND FANTASY

It would be satisfying to be able to conclude this chapter by pointing to the structural factors that were commonly likely to bring particular categories of kin into conflict with one another; but no simple picture of these emerges. There were, certainly, structural rules that helped to shape Athenians' experience and emotions: the inevitable association with agnates in deme and phratry, the order of succession in intestate inheritance which influenced a man's chances of acquiring additional property by inheriting from a collateral kinsman or his

¹⁵⁹ Aisch. 1. 114–15, wrongly interpreted in Humphreys 1986*a*, 80. Philotades had appealed, and Timarchos had appeared as witness for the deme, taking an apparently voluntary oath.

¹⁶⁰ Humphreys 1989. Mantitheos continued privately to regard his two half-brothers as illegitimate during this period (359–347), but may have been inhibited from attacking their claims to citizenship by a public debt incurred by their father, which the three paid jointly *c.*342/1 (*IG* ii² 1622. 442–3). Mantitheos-Boiotos and Pamphilos had probably also succeeded in building up support in their father's deme and phratry.

search for an heir, the division of property between sons which might lead to neighbourhood between agnates.¹⁶¹ On the other hand, since Athenians could marry within their phratry and deme, these groupings often contained cognatic kin and affines as well as agnates; the rules of intestate succession gave daughters and their children a right to succeed, in the absence of sons, in each generation; and from the time of the Peloponnesian War onwards there was a good deal of residential mobility (ch. 5). Athenians did not make strong distinctions between agnates and other kin, between patri- and matrikin, or between kin and affines; indeed, although *prosékontes* and *syngeneis* seem to be used only to refer to kin, kin are also referred to by terms which also cover close family friends: *oikeioi*, *anankaioi*, *epitédeioi*.

An attempt to quantify conflict and cooperation between kin in the courts shows that affines and matrikin are almost as likely to be involved in such relations as patrikin, and seems to indicate a difference in frequency between relations with those who have at one time lived in the same household as Ego, and more remote kin.¹⁶² The essential point, however, is that Athenians needed support from kin, but had a wide range of kin and affines to choose from (Table 7.14).

As the dispute between Mantitheos and Mantitheos-Boiotos of Thorikos shows (Demosthenes 39–40), an Athenian could not even be sure of remaining firmly attached to his name unless he could produce witnesses that he was entitled to it. For a pre-industrial society Athens had a comparatively high level of literacy and the use of written record, and Boiotos' predicament was unusual for the propertied classes; but even at this level women's names were unstable, as were those of slaves, and probably of metics and the poorer citizens (ch. 8). There was no centralized registration either of persons (births, marriages, deaths) or of property. Civil status was acquired by registration on the lists of phratry and deme, and the decisions of these bodies were open to challenge.

A boy, asked who he was, would identify himself by reference to his father, and this reference continued to be part of his public name and identity in adulthood; even in informal encounters, introductions must often have been referential, a new acquaintance being situated by reference to a kinsman or friend of his who was already known to the grouping. In place of the centralized authority of carefully supervised written record, Athenians relied on the diffuse authority of kin

¹⁶¹ Evidence, by the classical period, is hard to find (ch. 5 at nn. 76–9).

¹⁶² Nothing can be 'demonstrated' by quantitative analysis of such a small sample, in which a few cases such as the dispute over Hagnias' estate (Case 9) or Euxitheos' defence of his right to citizenship (Case 14) contribute a disproportionate amount of the data. There are also problems in dealing with cases where the attitude of kin changes from conflict to cooperation, or vice versa, over time. Cf. Humphreys 1983a/1993, 70–1 on the difficulty of quantifying representations of relationships within the nuclear family in Attic drama. Visual representation, however, is useful in giving an impression of the range of kin identified by precise genealogical reference, and of relative frequencies.

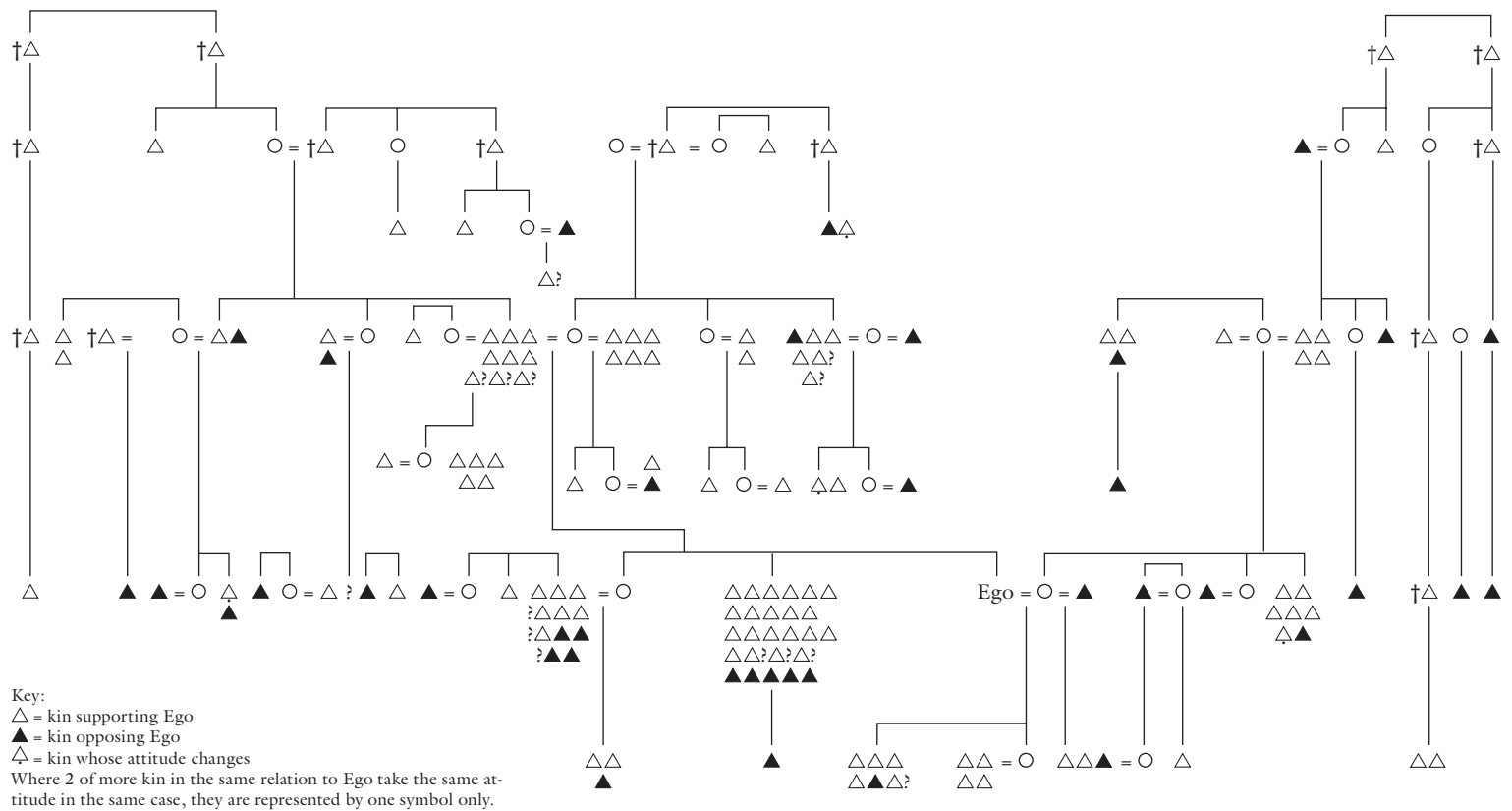


TABLE 7.14. Kin in lawsuits, Ego male (Humphreys 1986, 68)

networks to establish identity, and this dependence of identity on acceptance by others must have been internalized.¹⁶³

Identity was also closely bound up with property and potential property interests.¹⁶⁴ Land was not just an expanse of soil, but relationships with kin and slaves who had helped to work it and neighbours by reference to whose holdings its boundaries were established. A son or daughter represented, from birth, a claim on the family estate in terms of eventual division, as well as maintenance. Fields and farms might have come into the family's possession from different sources, and might be destined to fall again into separate ownership. Some were marked with *horoi* denoting that they were committed as security for a woman's dowry, or for a loan. Relations with kin were shaped not only by their position on the map of social experience—as members of the household, close neighbours, residents in the same community, absentee members of *deme* and *phratry* encountered only at religious festivals and assemblies, city-dwellers met at major cult ceremonies, etc.—but also by the contingencies of demography and family history. Memories of past conflicts and rivalries lived on; kin who lost their heirs found themselves beset with attentions; bachelor uncles who had been popular and frequent visitors to the household became more distant as they married and produced families of their own.¹⁶⁵ Economic expectations for a large number of Athenians centred almost entirely on inheritance, principally of land or urban property. It was only at the very top of the society, where political success or failure moved men to and fro across the line that separated the super-rich from those whose wealth was more modest, and at the bottom, that men would have had a strong sense that their life chances depended on their own wits.

What was personal about an individual's life history, therefore, was often the contingencies affecting his relations with others rather than the outcome of personal gifts or weaknesses. Sositheos (Case 9) had come to play the role of the loyal kinsman and descendant, actively involved in relationships with a wide-reaching

¹⁶³ Cf. Humphreys 1978, 261–5 and 1993, lvii on the limits of individualism in ancient Athens; Humphreys 2002*b*.

¹⁶⁴ Medick and Sabeau 1984*b*, stress that 'economic interests' cannot be sharply separated from personal relationships.

¹⁶⁵ A child's MB might still be in his teens when the nephew or niece was born, and would not marry for another 10–20 years. Differences between attitudes to FB and MB which some have found in the Greek evidence (Bremmer 1976, 1983) may be due to the gap between men's and women's age at marriage. The chances that a young kinsman would die in battle or an older one would not be survived by heirs were quite significant (though it must be remembered that childless men figure disproportionately in our record). For example, among the descendants of Apollodoros I of Leukonoion (Table 2.1, Is. 7, *APF* 1395), one of his three sons had died without issue; the only child of a second son, Apollodoros II, had died before reaching maturity, and he had adopted the son of his uterine half-sister; the third brother, Eupolis, had a son (Apollodoros III) who died childless, and two daughters, who had divided their brother's estate; the only son of one of these sisters, Thrasyboulos, had been adopted by a patrilateral kinsman, apparently after inheriting his father's estate, while the second sister seems to have been childless.

network of kin, through his hopes of recovering the estate of Hagnias. Apollodoros son of Pasion of Acharnai, who as son of an ex-slave had no patrikin, and who had quarrelled with his mother, brother, and stepfather, clung closely to his wife's kin because he had no other allies (ch. 4 at n. 45). Where personality did influence life chances, perhaps, was in its impact on personal relationships, either in informal relations between kin or in determining a man's decision to risk going to court even for small gains, or to avoid it even when much was at stake.

Although litigants like to present themselves whenever possible as retiring men who have no experience of speaking in court and have only been driven to it by extreme danger or flagrant injustice, the nature of our evidence means that we hear more about conflict between kin than cooperation. Court cases arise out of conflict, and the conventions of public speaking in Athens led litigants, when insisting on their own virtues, to stress public service rather than the qualities of the responsible family man. Piety towards the dead may be emphasized, where an estate is being disputed between collateral heirs, but less is said of care for the living. We are not told, for instance, whether Euktemon's daughters and sons-in-law took care of his wife after he had deserted her and her son Philoktemon had died (case 1), nor whether either of the daughters of Polyeuktos of Teithras lived with her husband in the home of her elderly parents.¹⁶⁶ We hear that the father of the speaker of Lysias 19 had taken his widowed daughter and her three children back into his household, when her husband Aristophanes was executed and his property confiscated, only because he and his son were accused of having retained some of Aristophanes' property for themselves.¹⁶⁷ The friend of Sokrates who had taken in fourteen destitute kinswomen during the Peloponnesian War has no counterpart in the forensic speeches.¹⁶⁸ Their stories, like the stories of tragedy, concern the wickedness of kin rather than their good deeds.

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In studying the world presented by the orators, I am struck not by evidence of structural regularities but by the variety of alternative structures available to actors as frameworks for their experience, hopes, and fantasies. While one potential heir was building his expectations on the definition of next-of-kin in Solon's laws, another would have constructed an alternative map of family relationships in which closeness was measured by personal association, affection, and

¹⁶⁶ Dem. 41. Spoudias and his wife seem to have lived elsewhere (§§ 17–18), though this was the daughter who had first been married to Polyeuktos' adopted son Leokrates. Wealthy families with slaves did not have a problem in arranging care for the elderly.

¹⁶⁷ *APF* 5951. It is likely enough that the size of the widow's dowry had been inflated, though the claim that Aristophanes had borrowed 700 dr. from his father-in-law seems modest in view of the size of his estate.

¹⁶⁸ Xen. *Mem.* 2. 7. Residence of widows is discussed by V. J. Hunter 1989, cf. ch. 5 at nn. 33–5.

cooperation, and distance by offences committed in the past and lack of contact in the present (Case 8). Theopompos' bland assumption that nature is irrelevant in a court of law—'a mother is the closest relation of all by nature, but it is generally agreed that she does not appear in the order of intestate succession laid down by law', Isaios 11. 17—was uncharacteristic both in limiting 'natural' relationship to biology and in its confidence that law was beyond question. Most Athenian litigants preferred to occupy a moral middle ground in which an insistence on the letter of the law, if it diverged from expectations emotionally reinforced by long association, was in itself a sign of lack of proper family feeling. Although such expectations were certainly shaped at least in part by knowledge of the law, a feeling persisted of antagonism between the courts and the proper regulation of family affairs by friendly compromise.

Yet, though the prospect of appearing in court must have been genuinely alarming for many Athenians, though real efforts at compromise and mediation were made, and though litigants regularly preface their speeches with expression of their distaste at having to settle disputes with kin in this manner, court was not a place where disputes were settled by the authoritative interpretation of legal rules. It was, instead, a place where competing stories were told, and where the art of capturing the moral ground had been elaborated by speechwriters. A persuasive speech would certainly make the best of any laws that supported the litigant's position, but above all it had to present him as morally entitled to win at his opponent's expense. A bald statement that *d.c.* was entitled by law, if he had no lineal heirs, to leave his property to whom he wished, and that he had done so in due form, was as unsatisfying as an abstract calculation of degrees of kinship. The jury had to be invited to enter the private world of the family council and to make its judgment accordingly.

Athenians were thus encouraged to go through life telling themselves, and anyone else who would listen, stories about the rights and wrongs of family disputes. Attempts to settle disputes by friendly compromise might themselves encourage the construction of conflicting narratives. These wove themselves around property as well as persons, and contained imaginary mental maps of the ownership of land and houses (Case 2) as well as of genealogy. Often enough a branch of the family would cherish its own account of property and relationships for many years before finding an opportunity to present it in public and test it, if not against reality, at least against an alternative story.

The stories in our sources are those told by adult males, in a public setting; and adult males, who enjoyed full legal capacity, ran up against some constraints in picturing the world according to their idea of their own rights. There was a practical difference between property in one's possession and property possessed by another. It is harder for us to reconstruct the mental maps of women and adolescents, excluded from direct participation in economic transactions, rarely

present in court, and dependent on manipulation of others when they needed to defend their rights. The comparative frequency of cases against guardians among disputes between kin (ch. 3) may be partly due to the propensity of some widows and wards to cherish exaggerated ideas of the wealth that was being managed on their behalf. If, as was common, a widow remarried, both she and her children would feel closer to her second husband than to the kin of her first husband who were acting as guardians (Isaios 7; Isaios 9, Case 8). An orphan who had to plunge abruptly into the adult world at eighteen and satisfy himself that his guardians had acted honestly had every reason to be nervous, and might well rely on protectors and advisers selected by his mother.

The widow with a young son was thus particularly likely to be in a position to exercise influence;¹⁶⁹ but there were other features of Athenian society that helped to give women influence behind the scenes. A man's map of his kindred was not measured only in degrees of kinship as reckoned by the law on intestate succession or beliefs about biology and 'blood'. In deciding whether to call on a kinsman or affine for help, a man also had to envisage making the request; and in a society where competition and jealous defence of one's own honour were constant preoccupations, it was easier to seek help through a woman. The suppliant role was appropriate for women, so help could be sought from the husband of one's mother, sister, or daughter without loss of dignity.¹⁷⁰ Men's perceptions of their kindred were thus coloured by gender; women's perceptions will presumably have been influenced even more by their assessment of whether men involved in a family dispute could be approached without loss of honour or not. The woman who could influence attitudes in a family dispute by her dealings with her own close kin, like Hagnias' mother (Case 9), was in a favourable position.¹⁷¹

Women may also in many cases have had an even more negative attitude towards the law as a means of settling disputes between kin or friends than men did. We catch a rare glimpse of informal communication between women which cuts through the pretensions of male dealings in the public sphere in Demosthenes 55. The speaker was being sued for damages by a neighbour who claimed that his house had been flooded; the speaker's mother, however, had been in the opponent's house, visiting *his* mother, with whom she was on friendly terms, and had seen the damage, which amounted to very little. Friendship between the mothers had not, however, been enough to stop the two sons quarrelling after the death of their fathers, who had also been on friendly terms.

¹⁶⁹ Especially, perhaps, if she had not remarried: Foxhall 1989; V. J. Hunter 1989.

¹⁷⁰ This point is developed further in Humphreys 1998. Gender studies so far have paid too little attention to the difference between direct interaction involving two persons of the same gender and interaction mediated by someone of the opposite gender. Even Simmel's work on the dyad and triad, from which I initially drew the idea for this type of analysis (Simmel 1908, ch. ii), ignores gender.

¹⁷¹ In Case 11, where Kleonymos had disinherited his sister's sons because of his quarrel with their uncle (FB) and guardian Deinias, the sister seems to have died.

We have seen four cases (2–5: Isaios 5, 8. 40–2, 3, and 10) where women whose husbands had accepted them with dowry continued to feel that they were entitled to an *epikleros*' share in their father's estate. There may have been other such cases in which the woman never succeeded in getting her claims represented in court. It appears, too, that a father was not obliged to dower all his daughters equally; we know of no cases in which unequal dowries were given, but it certainly would have aroused resentment.¹⁷²

Differences between the perceptions of men and women, of adults and of adolescents, may well have been paralleled by differences between city-dwellers and villagers, and between men at different levels of wealth. If it is true that Astyphilos left his property to the son of his patrilineal kinsman Kleon, and had no intention of leaving it to his uterine half-brother (Case 8), one reason may be that Astyphilos had moved out of the village of Araphen and its moral narratives into the far wider world of the professional soldier. But such differences are hard to detect in the record, though we shall see later (ch. 14) that the evidence from curse tablets suggests a much narrower range of involvement with kin for the urban underclass than for the propertied families we meet in the courts.

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Legal disputes and forensic speeches are especially valuable for the study of the relation between practice and ethno-theory because in them theory (laws, norms) is invoked to bolster attempts to restructure the *de facto* distribution of resources. Let me sum up the argument of the preceding chapters (2–6) from this point of view. Adoption and marriage from the theoretical point of view constitute changes of status and identity. Orphans and women (especially *epikleroi*) have theoretical rights to property, but their capacity to exercise these rights is limited. Theory, in the form of legal rules, at times influences practice more than its theoretical powers can justify (as in the case of girls regarded as *epikleroi* during their fathers' lifetime). Imaginary maps of rights and relationships draw on theory as well as experience. Yet at other times theory may be ignored; it would be naive to assume that Athenians who did not quarrel with their kin always followed legal rules. Experience, imagination, and competence in deploying the ethno-theoretical rhetoric of rules and norms were closely intertwined.

¹⁷² In Dem. 41. 26 the speaker says that his father-in-law Polyeuktos could have dowered his daughters unequally if he had so wished, but his contention is that the dowries were equal. These daughters were their father's heiresses, which was an additional reason for maintaining parity. In Athens, unlike Gortyn, dowry was not conceptualized as a share of inheritance, but as a fund for the woman's maintenance (Schaps 1979, ch. 6; Wolff 1957, ch. 1 nn. 120–2). Inequality is tolerated in some areas of modern Greece (Herzfeld 1980; cf. Sant Cassia and Bada 1992).

As Bourdieu (1972) has insisted, theory is (theoretically) timeless, while practice is embedded in time. For a change of status or a transfer of property to be accepted as definitive takes time; the bare fact of change must be concreted into experience. In the case of changes of status, the birth of a new generation—a child of the married woman or the adopted heir—was a major step in this process. The rhetoric of ‘continuing the oikos’ was misleading in suggesting a norm of inheritance of undivided property by a single heir, but the modern tendency to read the phrase with emphasis on ‘the oikos’ was perhaps also mistaken. To pay more attention to ancient conceptions of continuation and its relation to personhood may be more fruitful. Even in the case of the young man growing up in his father’s oikos, marriage and the birth of children were essential steps in acquiring maturity and control over property.¹⁷³

Although, as we shall see, Athenian babies formally acquired names during their first few days of life, the production of identity was a lengthy process. Identity depended on the support of a social network, in which kin played an essential role (it could not be established by exhibiting one’s ‘papers’). In the specialized professions (and, as we shall see later, in politics) the transmission of skills from father to son was not solely a matter of practical convenience. The son began his career with intangible capital derived from association with his father’s reputation. In the case of athletes this association was even supported by a theory of the inheritance of ‘natural’ abilities, derived from horse- and dog-breeding. The line between inherited and acquired abilities was not clearly drawn. Even the *topoi* about good-for-nothing sons of distinguished fathers derived their interest from the assumption that a son should follow in his father’s footsteps.¹⁷⁴

Ethno-theories of social structure are supported not only by their salience, in the form of appeals to laws and norms, in situations of conflict, but also by representations in ritual. The following chapters will trace the process of construction of identity by means of ritual, from name-giving, through the rituals of adolescence and marriage, to death and commemoration; ch. 12 will look more generally at participation in ritual and the permanent record made by dedications to the gods as contexts for the experience and representation of identity.

¹⁷³ Cf. ch. 2 at nn. 11–17 on Athenian conceptions of childlessness.

¹⁷⁴ See e.g. Plato *Meno* 93b–94c. In *Republic* books 8–9 Plato develops a counter-theory of tendencies to degenerate.

PART TWO

Ritual

Construction of the Person: Ritual, Cult, and Identity

Children are born into an identity defined for them by kinship. This remains true even in the Israeli kibbutz, where the separateness of families is minimized on the practical level; and where the role of kinship in the construction of identity is denied in theory, as it is in cultures where it is strongly believed that each individual's destiny is determined by the positions of the stars at his or her birth, the theory has little influence on practice in the early years of life.

On the other hand, all societies recognize that individuals have peculiarities both in physical make-up and in character, and different life chances, the variety of the latter increasing with the complexity of the society. While ascribed elements may dominate life chances in simple societies and achievement may count for much more in complex ones, there is also in both cases a move from ascription to achievement during the course of the life cycle. In some societies this shift is dramatized: in ancient Sparta boys were removed from home to live and compete with their peers, in age-sets, at the age of seven; in many native American societies, adolescents went out into the bush to seek a vision from a protecting spirit, from which they derived a new name and identity. Such practices highlight factors of general significance. The name is always an important element in identity; naming practices, changes of name, and the use of nicknames indicate conceptions of the person, and this section of the book will start with a study of Athenian names. In Athens the transition from family membership to membership of the polis was more gradual than in Sparta, but it was marked by a series of rituals in which kin played a role; as the child was introduced gradually to the wider circles and more formal procedures of the public sphere, he (and, to a lesser extent, she) also acquired a deepening familiarity with a circle of personal kin. Like Sparta, Athens offered few institutionalized opportunities for kin to band together and help each other in the public sphere. Patronage, either by kin or by non-kin, was limited in scope. Nevertheless, the patterns of association with kin formed in childhood persisted in adult life, especially in the transitional period between the acquisition of citizenship at eighteen and the establishment of a personal reputation, which could not proceed very far until after thirty, the age at which men became eligible for the major civil and military offices.

The public sphere, in Athens, was a world of adult men, competing primarily with their age-mates for office and reputation. In the present section (chs. 8–12), before looking at that world, we are going to look at the social experience of Athenians in a milieu which included both men and women, aged grandparents and small children, gods and goddesses. Although Athenians had no personal protecting spirits, their family social life was patterned by religious festivals, and for those who did not aspire to political leadership a special relationship with one of the gods provided an alternative means of asserting an individual identity. To study Athenian religion from this point of view would require a book in itself; here, after tracing the role of kin in rites de passage from birth to death, we shall consider a narrower question: the extent to which Athenians voluntarily associated themselves with kin in making dedications to the gods which were unconnected with rites de passage.

Names

The study of names and naming practices, to which historians and anthropologists until quite recently had paid little attention, is now attracting greater interest. Historians are studying the local and chronological distribution of name stocks, the evidence of name giving for ties of kinship and fictive kinship (patronage, godparenthood, etc.), nicknaming, and the history of surnames; anthropologists are also interested in changes of name to mark stages in the life cycle, and in the impact of colonialism, migration, and the bureaucratic state.¹ Both groups, in varying ways, consider the relation between naming practices and ‘individualism’.

Lawrence Stone’s distinction between structural naming, an indication that children are not regarded as individuals, and more personalized systems of name choice (1977) begins to look rather simplistic. Children and adults are often ‘individualized’ in traditional societies by nicknames based on personal characteristics or incidents in the bearer’s personal history; it is one of the shortcomings of historical research that it tends to privilege official names and is weak on systems of address and informal reference.² To assess the sociological significance of ‘structural’ naming we need to know how names were used in conjunction with other forms of denotation and reference. Structural naming is today prevalent in certain sectors of upper-class American society, successive bearers of the same set of names being distinguished in formal contexts by (Roman) numerals, but one would hardly on this account characterize the families concerned as non-individualistic. Moreover, as James Scott has pointed out, ‘individualization’ in the sense of promoting name systems in which each name designates only one bearer, is a characteristic of the modern bureaucratic state, which however does

¹ See for example Zonabend 1979; Dupâquier a. o. 1984; Alford 1987; S. J. Harrison 1991, 61; Mitterauer 1993; *L’Anthroponymie* 1996; Hart 1999; J. C. Scott, a. o. 2002.

² See Humphreys 2017*a* on anthropologists’ neglect of the use of kin terms in address and informal reference, and of the articulation of kin terms with personal names. Historians could find evidence for nicknames and informal reference in such sources as diaries, private letters, records of witness testimony, etc., but have made little effort to exploit this material. Macfarlane 1976, a study of the 17th c. diary of Ralph Josselin, has little interest in naming, although his material shows that the names of children who died young were given to later-born siblings (p. 82), but that the parents nevertheless regarded their children as individuals. Cf. Golden 1988 for antiquity; women’s and children’s speech, De Martino and Sommerstein (eds) 1995.

not treat name bearers as ‘individuals’ in other senses of that term, and indeed tends to prefer to designate members of its population by numbers, a practice usually associated with disregard for human dignity.³ The contrast between women’s names at Rome and at Athens (extremely structural naming in the Republican aristocracy at Rome, whereas Athenian women’s names were both less structural and less stable than those of men in the classical period) seems to be related to the sharper separation of public and private spheres in Athens rather than to a difference in familial relationships.⁴

Historians of ancient Greece now have, in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (1987–), a useful tool for the study of naming practices, although it omits nicknames and slaves’ names and, where an individual’s name occurs more than once, does not distinguish between the forms used. The focus of the enterprise was on tracing geographical and chronological variations in the Greek name stock rather than on usage. So far, rather little has been done to exploit this material.⁵

Looked at as a ‘system’, Athenian naming seems at first sight rather modern. The form of an Athenian citizen’s name immediately made clear his civic status. A citizen, in the classical system, was referred to by his personal name, patronymic, and deme affiliation;⁶ a metic might have a patronymic but had no demotic, being identified where necessary as ‘living in’ his deme of residence; a slave was referred to by personal name, often of a distinctive type, and the name of his or her owner. Women of respectable families were usually not named in public, a woman instead being referred to by the name of her father or of another male guardian—husband,

³ Scott a. o. 2002; cf. Venezis 1931.

⁴ See below, at n. 17, on Athenian women’s names and nicknames. A Roman woman had no personal name; she was known by the feminine form of her father’s gentile, modified by an ordinal number if she had sisters. There is some evidence for the use of diminutive forms of gentiles and ordinals, but apparently not for other nicknames (Kajanto 1972, 1977). Roman men’s names were also highly structured, the *cognomen*, which may have originated as a personal nickname, being drawn into the gentile system (Solin 2012).

⁵ The practice of *LGPN* II (*Attica*) is inconsistent, since it omits slave names, although they must often have been bestowed by Athenians or metic traders based in Athens, but includes the names of freedmen; it excludes nicknames when identified as such but includes names that may well have been nicknames (cf. M. J. Osborne and Byrne 1996; ch. 14 n. 78 and n. 18 below on nicknames on curse tablets). My impression is that the question of name use was not systematically considered in designing the project. Hornblower and Matthews 2000, a collection of papers celebrating the *Lexicon*, is somewhat disappointing, but see Morpurgo Davies 2000, 2001; Lambert 2004*c*, 2010*a*. Name forms on dedications (compared with ostraka), Keesling 2009.

⁶ This pattern took some time to establish itself, see ch. 22 n. 37; Wilamowitz 1893, II 171–4, cf. I. 7; M/L 21; Shapiro 1986*b* and 1987. Its establishment, and the increasing use of written record which followed in the 5th–4th c., must have had a significant impact on naming practices, comparable perhaps to that of the introduction of the surname in Europe. I cannot here explore the long-term history of Athenian naming. Cf. Laiou 1977, 118–20 on the influence of the Byzantine state on naming.

brother, or son. The names of respectable women are however recorded on inscriptions, usually with that of father or guardian.⁷

The citizen's three-part name was fixed from the age of registry in his deme at 18 (unless he was subsequently adopted, in which case his patronymic and possibly one or even both of the other parts of his name would change: see ch. 2 nn. 26, 44), and it normally permitted unambiguous identification.⁸ However, the names of metics, slaves, women, children, and even lower-class citizens, may have been less stable. Only jurors, from 378/7 (Kroll 1972, 89), and non-juror candidates for allotment to magistracies, had written identity cards; initially these *pinakes* (found also on Thasos, Grandjean 2010) did not carry patronymics, and when they came to do so the sequence of patronymic and demotic was variable. Although pinakes were issued by the state and inscribed by state employees, a pinax owner apparently had some latitude in choosing how his name should be recorded.⁹

The 'official' form of name supposedly inaugurated by Kleisthenes in 507 was slow to establish itself in practice. Name forms used in ostracism are very varied (as is spelling). Deme registers—the *lēxiarchika grammateia*, which derived their name from the use of the lot in appointment to office—may have recorded each new entrant's patronymic, since legitimate filiation was a requisite for admission, but were not always reliably maintained. The system of 42 hero names repeated cyclically, by which the interval from the year in which each 18-year-old had been registered could be determined, has left almost no trace in permanent written record, although it was used in temporary notices concerning military call-up.¹⁰

Personal names provided clues to status, and to local origin. The stock of favoured names varied from city to city, partly because names were based on local geographical features and cult figures—names based on the river Kephisos were popular in Attika—and partly from culture-based preferences. When the *Odyssey* (8. 111–20) gives nearly all its Phaiakians names associated with ships and the sea, it is representing in exaggerated form a phenomenon which travelling Greeks

⁷ Women not named: Schaps 1977; cf. Sommerstein 1980; Nagy 1979; Todd 1997. E. Dickey 1996 has a more sophisticated analysis of the use of personal names in address. A woman may be named by opponents in a lawsuit who claim that she has not led a respectable life (Dem. 39–40) or is not entitled to citizenship (Is. 3). On naming of women by reference to guardians see ch. 3 n. 3. Women are not named when reference is made to their property in the records of the *polētai*.

⁸ FF, who might well have had an identical name, would often be dead before a boy reached 18. Cases in which father and son bore the same name over three or more generations (so that all three parts of the son's name would be the same as his father's) are hard to find: *APF* 9560 is a possibility. Mantitheos son of Mantias of Thorikos tried to obtain a court decision to prevent his patrilineal half-brother from using the same name (Dem. 39), but apparently failed (Humphreys forthcoming *a*). On renaming of boys whose brothers died in childhood see below, nn. 32–3; patrilineal half-brothers, n. 33 below.

⁹ Kroll 1972, 25–34. See ch. 23 n. 64, for indication of a deme subdivision on a pinax.

¹⁰ See ch. 22 n. 54, on the *lēxiarchikon grammateion*; nn. 37–9 on naming on ostraka, and the history of use of the demotic and patronymic.

met in real life. Names associated with the fleet and with democracy were popular in classical Athens, as we shall see.

Despite such local variations, there was broad agreement throughout Greece on the elements suitable for forming names given to free citizens. Names were formed for the most part from common nouns and adjectives and most names thus had an easily visible meaning. Citizen names were based on terms referring to political life (-archos, -boulos, -demos, -krates, -polis, Asty-, Anax-), to war (Niko-, Strato-, Nausi-, Thrasy-, Deino-, -machos, -p(t)olemos), to victory in the games (Hippo-, Olympio-, Pytho-, -dromos), or to honour and gift exchange (Timo-, Xeno-, -doros, -kles, -kydes). Theophoric names might be found in any class, as might names referring to good fortune: Sosias, 'saviour', was a name not infrequently given to slaves. In Theophrastos' *Characters* (28. 1) the typical gossip asserts that someone's father began life as plain Sosias, served in the army and elevated himself to Sosistratos, then acquired citizenship and transformed himself into Sosidemos, 'saviour of the people'; as well as illustrating the association between name elements and status, this caricature also makes the point that names were less fixed at the lower end of the social scale than the higher.¹¹

Slaves of non-Greek origin were normally given Greek names (or ethnics of Greek form), either by slave traders or by their owners;¹² the barbarian names recorded for slaves come from a very limited stock which had become established in the Greek imagination as typical of a particular slave-producing region (Daos for Phrygians, Getas for Thracians, cf. *SEG* 53. 2194), or were names of barbarian rulers given ironically to slaves (Midas).¹³ Slaves were named for the qualities their owners wished them to have (Speedy, Useful, also Lucky, though there may be an element of irony in the last);¹⁴ for their looks or sexual qualities (Rose-face,

¹¹ Dem. 18. 130 asserts that Aischines' father Atrometos began life as Tromes, as a slave, and was renamed by his son; the joke should not be believed but evidently belongs to a common pattern. Change of name by freed slaves, D. Williams 1995, 154; cf. Plaut. *Amphit.* 304–5.

¹² Cf. Fraser 2000 on ethnics as names; Scott a. o. 2002 on the rejection of 'unpronounceable' names by colonial officials; Hart 1999. Renaming of domestic servants who move to a new household is quite frequently mentioned in English novels of the 19th and early 20th centuries, though there is perhaps always an implication that the process is unjustifiably high-handed. Renaming of women at marriage (surnames) persists. Cf. for antiquity Plato *Kratylos* 384d; Morpurgo Davies 2000.

¹³ See L. Robert 1963; D. Lewis 2011, 93–8. Midas: *IG* ii² 1561. 22; cf. ii² 2934. 4 (metic or slave washerman); Sarpedon and Hylas on *IG* i³ 1032. One of the Hermokopidai had a slave named Peisistratos, *IG* i³ 421. 9; the Erechtheion accounts produce a Kroisos (*IG* i³ 475. 67), and a metic S[isy]phos (476. 57–8, cf. 478. 2). The metic Axiopieithes (475. 101–2) may be a freedman; he owns a slave called Kerdon (476. 22). *Pace LGPN*, the *kalos* Axiopieithes Alkimachou may have been a slave. An invented Persian slave name, Masintuas, Ar. *Wasps* 433. Manes, an authentically Asian name (L. Robert 1963; Briant 1996, 724–5) was perhaps popular because it could be understood as 'stayer' (cf. Parmenon). According to Aulus Gellius (9. 2. 10, cf. Liban. *Apol. Socr.* 71), it was forbidden at Athens to name a slave Harmodios or Aristogeiton. See also Todd 1997.

¹⁴ Wrenhaven 2012, 31–8 (Wunschnames). Tachiste (*SEG* 18. 36 B 55; cf. *IG* ii² 7865); Ophelion (cf. Ophelion, ch. 28 n. 17), Onesime, etc.; Eutychos *IG* i³ 1032. 110. Parmenon, 'stayer', was also popular;

for a woman; Paidikos, Lover-boy, *SEG* 24. 156, cf. L. Robert 1969, 14–23); from their work (Paideusis, ‘Upbringing’, for a nanny at the beginning of the fourth century, *IG* ii² 12387); from their place of origin (Sikelos, Skythes, Syros) or perhaps the place of purchase (Ephesos, L. Robert 1938); from the date of purchase (Noumenios, Thargelios).¹⁵

Not all slave names, however, differed from those borne by the free (Dover 1968, xxv–vi). There may have been differences between the names given to barbarian slaves bought on the market and those given to home-bred slaves; different classes of owners may have had different customs. In the records of workmen engaged in building the Erechtheion towards the end of the fifth century, the metics Kephisodoros who works with Kephisogenes of Peiraios (*IG* i³ 476. 95–8) is probably his freedman, given a name related to that of his master;¹⁶ we cannot tell whether he was home-bred or not.

Women’s names, like those of slaves, were unstable. It seems to have been rather common for a woman who had been given a family name made out of the same elements as masculine names—often, as we shall see, the same elements as the names borne by men in her family—to be known throughout her life by a pet name (Plangon, Dolly; Phile, Dearie; flower-names; Choirine, ‘Piggy’ or, better, ‘Pussy’).¹⁷ These nicknames appear on tombstones, and in some

Taurosthenes, ‘bull-strength’, *IG* i³ 1032. 476. This list of boat crews, including slaves, is a major source for slave names; cf. also *SEG* 18. 36, *IG* ii² 10 + = R/O no. 4 (M. J. Osborne 1981–3, D 6), 2348, 2934, 2940, 4650, 7862–81; L. C. Reilly 1978*a*, 1978*b*; Fragiadakis 1988; Olson 1992 on the naming of slaves in Aristophanes; M. J. Osborne and Byrne 1996; B. G. Robertson 2008. We can seldom attach the names of slave children to those of their parents (who were not necessarily permitted to choose the names), but in *SEG* 18. 36 (see ch. 6 at nn. 14–16 on slave families) we have Eupithe daughter of the wet nurse Lampris (A 255–62), Kordype daughter of Philon and Rhodia (464–75), Chrysion daughter of Herakleides (514), Sostrate daughter of Soterides (546–54), Plangon, Moschos, and Aristonike children of Atta and Malthake (B 112–22), and Simalon and Nikariste children (?) of Ariste (B 232–9).

¹⁵ Noumenios among other names which seem to belong to slaves, *SEG* 24. 156; cf. *IG* i³ 1180. 28; 1032. 254, 350, 389. It also occurs quite often as a citizen’s name (date of birth). Th[a]rgel[ios], *IG* i³ 476. 229–30; cf. also *LGP*N s.v. *Thargelios*, *Thargelion*. On the relation between names and birth dates see Hdt. 2. 82; *RE* s.v. *Genethlios* (W. Schmidt 1910); Mikalson 1975*a*, 14–24; Masson 1997*a*, 68–72.

¹⁶ Cf. Euphron slave of Euphronios, *IG* i³ 1032. 244. Further study of slave names is still needed. Vlassopoulos 2010, which attempts a statistical analysis, has odd conceptions of the categories ‘pet name’ and ‘nickname’, and fails to provide source references. Wilamowitz 1893 II, ch. 7—probably still our best study of Athenian names—compares names given to dogs and horses (for dogs see Valavanis 1999, 204–5; names of satyrs, and dogs, Lissarrague 2013, ch. 3; BArch 310552).

¹⁷ Plangon, Dem. 39–40; add *SEG* 12. 193 to the references in *LGP*N (ch. 32 n. 21); cf. Bechtel 1902. Choirine Euboioi Anagyrasiou *IG* ii² 5639, *APF* 5313; the name carries a reference to the female genitalia (cf. *BE* 1968, 182, 231; *SEG* 24. 256, a young girl; *IG* ii² 7328*a*; 13061 = *CAT* 0. 858*a*, Choiridion for a small girl; 13065, Choirine for a wet nurse, *tithē*). The tradition that Euripides’ wife was called Choirine (Suda E p. 468–9 Adler) might derive from comedy, but is not incredible (Curbera 2013 is essential here). [Dem.] 59. 50, 121 claims that Neaira’s daughter Phano was formally named Strybele (spindle, ‘twister’); this is a sexual innuendo, but the name (also as Stryphele) is attested elsewhere (*SEG* 36. 297/Masson 1997*a*; *IG* ii² 12672 = *CAT* 1. 386, cf. 12672*a*). *IG* ii² 12426 commemorates ‘Polystrate

cases the name given at birth may have been almost completely forgotten. The speaker of *Isaios* 3 tries to make capital out of the fact that the husband of the counter-claimant to Pyrrhos' estate calls her Phile, while her great-uncles testify that they were present when she was named Kleitarete, Famed-virtue (§§ 30–4); but such changes of name may well have been quite common (cf. Terence *Andria* 942–6; Wyse 1904, 309–10). Women were seldom named in public records; when their names appear on stone they are recorded by private initiative, in dedications or on tombstones, or sometimes on mortgage *horoi*. Official conventions thus had less influence on the form and stability of their names. Male nicknames appear also—on the tombstones of small boys (*IG* ii² 12974 = *CEG* 564), in comedy, in speeches, on ostraka, or on curse tablets¹⁸—but they are relatively rare in the upper class from which most records originate. We only get occasional glimpses of another level of society, in which citizenship

nicknamed Nannis' (Peek 1942 no. 290; cf. Wunsch 1897 no. 87a 5, Glykanthis whom they call Malthake); Nannis/Nannarion/Nannion, also Ninnion, Ninon, appear as primary names (Curbera, *op. laud.*). Use of nicknames was especially common in the case of hetairai (E. Dickey 1996, § 3.1.2; Braund and Wilkins 2000, Athen. XIII; cf. Humphreys 2010*b*), but names given to them were also borne by respectable girls and women (cf. *CEG* 592 on Kerkope, cicada; this one chirped on to the age of 90). Choregis is a hetaira name in *PCG* 4 p. 53, 7 p. 326 f. fr. 9, and Athen. 577c, but a 'family' name in *IG* ii² 13086 = *CAT* 0. 911, a small girl, Choregis daughter of Choregion (cf. *CAT* 1. 264; P. Wilson 2007*c*; Curbera 2013). More work is needed on the age and class distribution of the use of nickname-type names for women. Note also the story in Athen. 576a of a barbarian princess called Petta (cf. perhaps *LSJ* s.v. *Tetta*) who married the founder of Massalia and was renamed Aristoxena.

¹⁸ Nicknames given in comedy—Autolykos Eutresios, Easy-poke, for a handsome adolescent, Eupolis *F* 64 *PCG* 5, 56 Kock—or in speeches (Dem. 18. 130 *Empousa*, 19. 207, Aisch. 1. 126, 2. 99; cf. Dover 1974, 30–3) were not necessarily widely used, and the same is true of derogatory additions on ostraka: Kallias son of Kratios is called 'the Mede' on four ostraka (Brenne 2001, no. 119), but most additions are attested only once. Aristides is called 'brother of Datis' (Brenne 2002, T1/37), the writer perhaps intending to suggest a lack of loyalty to the Greek cause in the Persian wars. The name of Kimon's son Oulios (cf. Masson 1988) may have been corrupted to Eleios during his lifetime (Plut. *Per.* 29. 2 cf. *APP* p. 306). Variant patronymics are not uncommon and probably occurred also in comedy; they imply illegitimacy. Other additions to ostraka are more simply designed to avoid confusion: Pausiades the Salaminian, Brenne 2001, no. 212, Eucharides the *thesmothetês* (*IG* i² 911. 5, Brenne no. 73). On curse tablets, names such as Xophygos, 'the exile' and Chamaios, 'Crawler' (Trumpf 1973, *SEG* 21. 1093) look like abusive nicknames to me (cf. Humphreys 2010*b*). Cf. *A.P.* 45. 1. According to D. L. 5. 38 Theophrastos (not an Athenian citizen) began life as Tyrtamos and was renamed by Aristotle. Pythis perhaps as nickname of a Pythionikos on a vase of c.500, Immerwahr 1982, 62. Posthon ('Prick') on a rock-cut inscription of c.500, *IG* i³ 1399 *ter*, from Agrileza, is probably a lover's nickname (cf. Aristoph. *Peace* 1300; Curbera 2013), though if the cutter was a shepherd (rather than an upper-class adolescent out hunting) 'proper' names may not have counted for much. Demosthenes' nickname is transmitted in two forms, Batalos ('the easy lay', Aisch. 1. 126, 2. 99, cf. Lambin 1982; perhaps a pet name, Curbera *op. cit.*), and Battalos, stammerer (Dem. 18. 180); it is not obvious which of them modifies the other (the entry in *LSJ* needs revision). Alkibiades in Plat. *Gorgias* 482a is addressed by a complimentary pseudo-patronymic, Kleineios; he is not yet *kleinos*, famous, but on the way to it, thanks to a pun on his father's name Kleinias. According to the Suda (*FGH* 392 T I) Ion, son of Orchomenos of Chios, was nicknamed 'son of Xouthos' in reference to his mythical namesake. For later material see L. Robert 1963, 150–6, and index s.v. *sobriquet*.

and official names counted for much less: in *Isaios* 4, a speech from a dispute over property left by the mercenary soldier Nikostratos, the speaker asserts that Nikostratos' father was named Thrasymachos and that the opponents reveal the weakness of their case when they cite the father's name as Smikros (§§ 2–3). This is a milieu of soldiers' names (Winning-Army, Bold-in-Battle), and also of soldiers' nicknames: Smikros is 'Titch'.¹⁹ Such nicknames did in fact find their way into the Greek stock of names,²⁰ and would perhaps have been commoner among lower-class Athenians in the period before the official, post-Kleisthenic form of the citizen's name became established and more frequent experience of participation in public life diffused elite models through all levels of the citizen body.

Most of our evidence on names comes from the fifth century and later, and in this period new names seem to enter a family's stock through a deliberate choice to commemorate a historical event or make a political statement (cf. Judeich 1927) rather than through the imposition of a nickname by others. We have, admittedly, a Nothos ('Bastard') on a casualty list from the second half of the fifth century.²¹ But the Karystonikos and Naxiades who appear on a casualty list of (?) 447 (M/L 48 = *IG* i³ 1162. 27, 75) represent a commoner pattern: they were presumably born at the time of the conquests of Karystos and Naxos in the early years of the Athenian empire. Eurymedon son of Thoukles, general in 427/6 and subsequent years, was named after another famous victory.²² Medimachos of

¹⁹ *IG* ii² 8523 (*CEG* 485), early 4th c., records a metic child from Ephesos with two names, Pythokles son of Herakleides, a.k.a. Satyros (Curbera 2013). Cf. *IG* ii² 7965 + = *CEG* 532, c.350, Praxinos of Aigina nicknamed Pistos, 'trusty' (cf. perhaps BArch 352513, Syriskos/Pistoxenos; 213946 Pistoxenos); Chaniotis 2013*b*.

²⁰ Bechtel 1898; Hug 1929 (includes too much material from comedy); Kamptz 1982, 31–2 on nicknames in Homer; Morpurgo Davies 2000 on hypocoristics; Curbera 2013. Note Xen. *Mem.* 1. 4. 2, Aristodemos (of Kydathenaion, *PA* 1818) 'the one called Mikros' (Small): not necessarily a dwarf as has sometimes been thought. Writers of comedy draw on (and sometimes extend) this stock of characterizing names in order to find appropriate names for their *dramatis personae*: see Gomme and Sandbach 1973, 131–3, 290–1, 386–7, 633–4; Kanavou 2011. Hypocoristic forms are already found in Mycenaean Greek (Mühlestein 1967) as are names based on personal appearance: *si-mo*, *ka-sa-to* (Xanthos). Comparative data: Van Langendonck 1996.

²¹ Nothos, *IG* i³ 1191. 144 (cf. Curbera 2013). Ogden 1996, 26–8 discusses names containing the element *nothos* and synonyms, with a selective list. He rightly points out that they may be inherited (though we do not seem to have any attested cases), and doubts whether such elements should ever be literally interpreted. It might have been rash, in Athens after 451, for a father who was confident of his son's legitimacy to give the boy a *nothos*-based name; by this date such names as Timonothos, Kleonothos, or Philonothos perhaps appealed to a taste for paradox (cf. Kallaischros), in which an element of unkind joking may also sometimes be present. In earlier periods, however, a claim to be famous for one's nothoi (as for one's horses) might be conceivable. The name of Hermogenes, illegitimate son of Hipponikos II of Alopeke, may be a discreet allusion to his status (which in this case would not be due to Perikles' law on citizenship): cf. ch. 4 n. 52.

²² Charidemios, who acquired Athenian citizenship c.357/6, named a son Eurymedon (*APF* 15380). Cf. A. C. Smith 1999.

Athmonon, whose son appears in a fourth-century list (*SEG* 24. 197) may owe his name to the fighting between Athens and Persia in the later stages of the Peloponnesian War or to a grandfather born at the time of the earlier campaigns against Persia. Thebagenes of Eleusis, ambassador in (?) 366/5 (*IG* ii² 366 = *Syll.*³ 304. 44–5; Lambert 2004, 2007*b*), was presumably born when the democrats took refuge in Thebes in 404, while Homophron, councillor in (?) 336/5, *Agora* XV 42. 9, may owe his name to the restoration of democracy and reconciliation in 403.²³ Idiotes son of Theogenes of Acharnai, amphictyon at Delos in 376/5, was apparently named by a father who wanted his son to stay out of public life (cf. L. B. Carter 1986).²⁴ The children of Hagnias son of Bouselos, born perhaps in the late 430s,²⁵ were called Polemon (War) and Phylomache ('Battle of the race'). Demos son of Pylilampes, Plato's stepbrother, born c.440 (*APF* 8792 VIII), seems to have been named to express his father's enthusiasm for the democracy, and other names with the same root may have spread in Athens in the fifth century for the same reason.²⁶

Programmatic names could be given to girls as well as to boys. Themistokles' daughters were called Mnesiptolema (Remember-war, presumably born in the 480s), Asia, Italia, and Sybaris (*APF* 6669 VI). His son Archeptolis may have been named to commemorate Themistokles' tenure of the eponymous archonship in 493/2.

The practice of naming a son to express a special relationship with another state is documented from many parts of Greece and, since such relationships were hereditary,²⁷ brings us closer to the use of names borne by ancestors—although the names discussed here do not seem to have been repeated. Two of Kimon's sons were called Lakedaimonios and Thettalos. One of the Spartans who took the oath of truce between his city and Athens in 423 was Athenaios son of Perikleidas; his father was a member of the embassy that came to Athens

²³ It seems to me less likely that the name refers to the resolution of some private family dispute.

²⁴ *ID* 98 A 7. The later Idiotes whose son Telesinos was cursed on Wünsch 1897 no. 66a was probably a descendant (cf. *LGP*N Telesinos 3–4).

²⁵ *APF* 2921; Table 7.9. The name Phylomache is otherwise known only in myth (n. 64 below). Despite Aristophanes' interpretation in the *Lysistrata*, it is perhaps worth asking whether the names Lysimache/os, Lysistrate/os (also a Lysiptolemos who died in battle in 409, *IG* i³ 1191. 223), and the less common Pausimache/os, Pausistrate/os, were given by war-weary parents or refer to procreation in intervals between fighting.

²⁶ Cf. Demokrates son of Lysis I of Aixone (ch. 29 n. 105, Table 29.18), named perhaps c.460; Cartledge 1990, 45.

²⁷ Cf. Herman 1990, Sekunda 1994. Kephisophon of Paiania, probably the Kephisophon who went as ambassador to Sparta in summer 403 (*APF* 3773 D), had a son named Kallibios (born c.410?), the name of the leader of the Spartan garrison in Athens in 404–3; earlier connections between the two families may explain both the appointments and the name (cf. n. 40 below).

to ask for help against the Messenians in 462/1.²⁸ Another Spartan was called Samios; his grandfather (FF) Archias had died fighting on Samos and had been given a public funeral by the Samians in recognition of his valour (Herodotus 3. 55). A Macedonian called Athenaios (Athaneos) became *proxenos* of the Boiotians in 365 (Roesch 1984, 58).

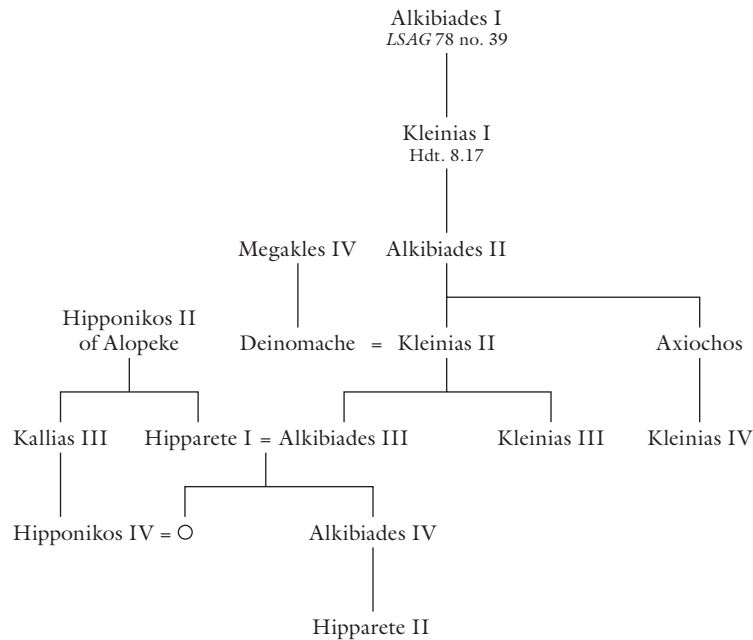
The normal pattern of naming, however, was to name the first son after his paternal grandfather. Younger sons might be named after other kin; to name the second son after his maternal grandfather was certainly an approved pattern, though perhaps less strongly enforced than the repetition of the paternal grandfather's name.²⁹ In the case of girls it is much more difficult to discern regular patterns. This is partly because there is so much less evidence on women's names, but there are also indications that women's names were felt to be less 'significant', in both senses of the term; they were not used for communication in public contexts and thus attracted less interest.

The main patterns of male naming can also be found in women's names. Hipparete II daughter of Alkibiades IV (Table 8.1) was named after her FM. I have not so far noticed an Attic example of naming for MM, but it occurs in a Hellenistic priestly family in Epidauros.³⁰ A daughter might also bear the name of her mother (Table 31.14, Phainarete; *Agora XXXI* 189, Archippe; cf. *IG ii*² 10867). A daughter might also bear a version of the name of her FF: Phanostrate and Archestrate, daughters of Alexos of Sounion, were granddaughters (SD) of Stratokles I and

²⁸ Athenaios: *Thuc.* 4. 119. 2, cf. 122. 1. Perikleidas: *HCT* I, 604–5. The name is not confined to foreigners, even in the classical period: Athenaios son of Philonautes of Alopeke appears in a list of orphans from c.410 or 402, *SEG* 28. 46. 35; Atheneas at Rhamnous, *IG ii*² 7341 + *SEG* 41. 201, 7344 + *SEG* 28. 268, ch. 31 n. 100, Table 31.15. On the name Phormion in Akarnania see ch. 16 n. 32.

²⁹ 'Normal' may perhaps be too strong a word. A familial pattern of naming could be continued by recombining elements of ascendants' names or by semantic linkage, as discussed below at n. 42. It is rather rare to be able to demonstrate regular alternation of the same father–son pair of names over many generations (there may have been families in which the oldest son felt more obliged to repeat his father's name than his younger siblings did). Moreover, the process of family reconstruction creates a bias towards recognition (or postulation) of FF/SS pairing. Naming for MF may be under-recognized (cf. n. 38). A possible familial repetition of a typical slave name in an isoteles family, *IG ii*² 7863 = *CEG* 595; the Gerys of this text, as *CEG* notes, is not the one who was granted isoteleia in 401 (*pace* M. J. Osborne 1981–3 D 6, A III 13, and *LGP*N Gerys 1), but may be his SS. Bresson 1981 argues from modern Greek parallels that in Hellenistic Rhodes the rule was to take names alternately from the father's family and that of the mother (though its application might be modified by questions of prestige or inheritance). The rule seems to me too rigid for the evidence we have on ancient practice; and the modern idea of 'resurrecting' a dead forebear by the reuse of his or her name does not seem to occur in antiquity. Bresson's study, however, provides a useful example of the work that can be done on ancient naming practices. Rice 1986 provides further Rhodian material.

³⁰ *IG iv*² p. XXV, cf. Broadbent 1968, Table I. Cf. *GVI* 1158 (Kos, 1st c. BCE), where the children of Polychares and Lykourgis are called Kallistrate (MM), Deiogenes II (MF), and Kleinagoris (feminine version of FF's name). Lykourgis may have been an epikleros, and the stone is her tombstone, so the order of names might privilege those from her side of the family. See Table 26.8 for a possible case of patrilateral parallel cousins (FBD) both named for their FM.



APF 600: there are mistakes in numbers (Megakles IV, Kleinias III and IV) on pp. 16 and 18.

TABLE 8.1. Alkibiades (cf. Table 4.8)

had a brother called Stratokles (II), Table 26.10; Demo, Table 31.1, was the SD of Demarchos of Phaleron. A version of the father's name seems to be a commoner choice. Iphikrates had a daughter called Iphidike (Table 31.6); other examples are Demokleia daughter of Aristodemos of Kothokidai (Table 28.1), Nausistrate daughter of Naukydes of Acharnai (Table 28.10), Glaukothea daughter of Glaukon of Acharnai (Aischines' mother), Alkimache daughter of Kallimachos of Anagyrous (Table 29.17; two of her children by Philon of Aixone were called Philostratos and Philostrate, perhaps in allusion to the names of both their parents), Timagora daughter of Timodemos of Alopeke. The root *Chair(e)* was perhaps felt especially appropriate for such feminine variations: we find Chairylla daughter of Chairephon II of Thorikos (Table 27.60), Chairylla daughter of Chairigenes of Ikarion (Table 24.1), and Chairelea daughter of Chaireas of Halai Aixonides (Table 29.21). Phanagora daughter of Euthydemus of Acharnai bore a name related to that of her FM Timagora (Table 26.2), which was perhaps also felt to be semantically linked to that of her father. Praxo daughter of Nikippos of Xypete bore a version of the name of her (?) mother Praxilla (Table 29.4). It seems possible that a girl who was her parents' first child would be more likely to receive a name related to that of her father's family, but evidence is lacking.

It is far from certain, however, that when women bore feminine versions of masculine names with a reference to the public sphere the names were always familial. 'Programmatic' names may have been given to girls as well as boys; this

is certain for four of Themistokles' daughters and might well be true also for Demokrateia and Nikomache. A study of the relation between Athenian women's names and trireme names might be of some interest.³¹ Such names seem to be commoner for women in the classical period than theophoric names.

Given the norm of calling the first son after his FF, we are entitled to ask what a family would do if this boy died in childhood or adolescence. Would the second son's name be changed? This clearly happened in some cases, since the practice is essential to the plot of Plautus' *Menaechmi* (drawn from a Greek original), on which Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* was based: the elder of a pair of identical twins is lost and believed dead, and his name is transferred to the younger twin (Newiger 1981, 210). It is unlikely that we will ever be able to detect such cases in the epigraphic record.³² We do, however, find cases where the FF's name is given to a younger son, and it seems likely that in some instances at least this is because an older homonymous brother has died. Sokrates' three sons were called Lamprokles, Sophroniskos, and Menexenos; Lamprokles was the oldest but Sophroniskos bore the name of Sokrates' father.³³ Pyrilampes' eldest known son, as already noted, was called Demos; the name of his father, Antiphon, was given to a younger son, Plato's half-brother (*APF* 8792 VIII). We do not know whether an earlier Antiphon had died young, or whether Pyrilampes' ideas on naming had become more conventional as he grew older. Kimon II, son of Miltiades IV, was named after his FF but had an older half-brother called Metiochos (*APF* 8429 IX–X).³⁴

³¹ Triremes bear names also commonly given to girls (Hedeia, Melitta, Aristonike, Kle(i)o, Hipparche, Kleostrate, etc.), hetaira names (Thallousa, Leaina, Psamathe, a. o., Redfield 2003, 71 n. 34), and theophoric names also given to girls (Aphrodisia, Artemisia, Asklepias, Hephaistia); but girls in the classical period also occasionally bear names also used, perhaps more appropriately, for ships: Euporia, Kratista/e, Nikeso, Polynike, Stratonike, Pherenike, Philonike (the names Demokratia, Theoris, Olympias, and Homonoia are perhaps equally appropriate in both spheres). It seems conceivable that Plato's sister, whose name according to D. L. 3. 4, 4. 1 was *Potónē*, bore the trireme name *Pōtonē*, 'flier' (*IG* ii² 1604. 58; cf. Petomene; *LSJ* s.v. *potaomai*, *pōtaomai*). Cf. Ar. *Knights* 1309, the trireme Nauphante daughter of (built by) Nauson.

³² According to a scholion to Aristides (Dindorf 1829 III, 515) Kimon had a son named Miltiades (V). If this is true, since we never hear of him elsewhere he is likely to have died young. The oldest securely attested sons were the twins Lakedaimonios and Oulios, the second apparently called after a mythical ancestor (*APF* 8429 XI–XIII, Barron 1980; I am tempted to suppose that Oulios was born with more hair than his twin). Ouliadai as doctors in Elia, *SEG* 38. 1020. 4/53. 114. 2; Dubois 1995, 156–8; Vecchio 2003, 20–4.

³³ Cf. ch. 29 n. 73; perhaps ch. 11 n. 42. See Stone 1977 for repetition of names given to dead siblings in more modern times. On the two Mantiitheoi, sons of Mantias of Thorikos, see Humphreys 1989, forthcoming *a*. Their dispute in Dem. 39–40 shows that in Athens it was not normal for a child to be given the name of an older living sibling; contrast the French data in Burguière 1980, 38. Fitton 1970 argues that Sokrates' oldest son was illegitimate, Xanthippe being a concubine. Stavrianopoulou 1994 identifies possible cases in Hellenistic Kos of patrilineal half-brothers bearing the same name.

³⁴ *APF* 3597 III assumes that Demosthenes' cousin Demomeles II, named after his FF, was younger than his brother Demophon, because the latter was chosen to be Demosthenes' guardian, but since the guardian was expected to marry Demosthenes' sister after a wait of some ten years, the choice of a younger son is understandable (Table 4.7). The elder Demosthenes may have decided not to call his son Demomeles to avoid cousin homonymy (Demomeles II was still alive in 338). See below, n. 40 for another example of a younger son named after FF, perhaps because the firstborn had died.

If followed with absolute consistency, the rule that the first son should be named after his FF would have produced frequent homonymy among cousins; some families may have varied their practice for that reason, but this does not seem to have been a matter for major concern, since cases of homonymy are well attested. Hierokles I of Rhamnous had three grandsons named after him, two of whom were buried in his family peribolos; Thoukritos son of Thoukritis of Halimous, father of the speaker of Demosthenes 57, had a homonymous cousin (FBS); Aristophanes of Azenia, father of the politician Aristophon, almost certainly had two grandsons named after him (*APF* 2108);³⁵ Kallikrates II of Aphidnai, son of the prominent Kallistratos I, probably had two homonymous cousins (Table 8.6). Two men called Lysistratos were *diaitêtai* from Rhamnous together in 325/4, and may well have been cousins (*IG* ii³ 4. 35. 148–9; cf. Matthaiou 1987*b*).

The conventional pattern is probably found in the sons of the orator Lykourgos son of Lykophron of Boutadai, whose sons were named Lykophron, Habron (after MF), and Lykourgos (Table 4.6).³⁶ Sositheos, the speaker of [Demosthenes] 43 *Makartatos*, named his first son after his own father Sosias, his second son after his wife's father Euboulides, his third son after the boy's great-grandfather (FFF) and his fourth son after the boy's maternal grandfather's half-brother (MF½B, Table 7.9); an unusually wide range in unusual circumstances.³⁷

Pasikles son of Myron of Potamos, who married Timostrata daughter of Pandaites of Prospalta, had two sons named Myron and Pandaites (*APF* 643, Table 12.1). Aristoteles son of Habronichos of Pallene, who married Kleitomache daughter of Meidylides of Otryne, had three sons named Habronichos, Meidylides,

³⁵ Hierokles: Humphreys 1983*a*/1993, 113 Table 2, *SEG* 30. 215–218, Table 31.7. Thoukritos: *APF* 3126, cf. Humphreys 1986*a*. Demonstratos son of Aristophon of Azenia, perhaps named to commemorate the march on Athens from Phyle in 403, may have been older than his brother Aristophanes II. The names Aristophanes and Demonstratos turn up in another Athenian family (*APF* 3276, to which *SEG* 33. 115 should be added), but there is no very obvious way of constructing an (affinal?) link between the two groups. Koumanoudes and Matthaiou 1987 suggest that Moirokles I son of Euthydemos I and Moirokles II son of Kallippos I, both of Eleusis, were homonymous cousins, but Euthydemos II, son of the former, seems quite a bit older than Kallippos II, son of the latter. It is conceivable that Kallippos I was a younger brother of Moirokles I who named a son after his brother. Moirokles II is known from *IG* ii² 6043, missed by Ampolo 1981 and Whitehead 1986*a*; in view of the prominent career of his son Kallippos II (Etienne and Piérart 1975, 57; Habicht 1985, 85–6; ch. 16 n. 45) it is probably he rather than Moirokles I who was the well-known politician of the 320s (see below, ch. 30 n. 88 and Table 30.4). In *PLond* 324 (161 CE) five brothers all give their father's name to a son.

³⁶ *APF* 9251; on the birth order see Humphreys 1985*a*, n. 3; Gauthier 1985, 89. The same pattern is attributed to the family of Euripides (Mérider 1970, pp. II–VIII), but possibly by conjecture.

³⁷ *APF* 2921. It appears that the decision to adopt one of these sons posthumously to their MF Euboulides II was taken when they were already adolescent; if the adoption had been planned from birth (as might have been expected, since their mother's marriage was epikleric) one would expect the oldest son to be given the name of his MF and adopted. See ch. 7 Case 9, and Humphreys 1986*a*, 63–6. In earlier generations familial names had not been chosen.

and Aristodemos, the name of the last (father of the speaker of [Demosthenes] 44) being related in form to his father's name (Table 2.2). Plato's oldest brother Adeimantos bore a name which cannot on present evidence be traced to a family source, but the second son Glaukon was named after his MF; according to some sources Plato himself was named after his father, Ariston, 'Plato' being a nickname (*APF* 8792 IX–X).³⁸

In an epikleric marriage it may have been normal for the oldest son to bear the name of his MF and be adopted to him, but there are no certain examples of this (see however below at n. 40).

It is also possible that in some cases, if the maternal grandfather was exceptionally well known, influential, or rich, the oldest son would have been named after him. The known sons of Megakles II son of Alkmeon, who married Agariste daughter of Kleisthenes the tyrant of Sikyon, are called Kleisthenes and Aristonymos, Kleisthenes perhaps being the older (see Table 15.2).³⁹ But it remains possible that an Alkmeon died young or failed to achieve distinction. Thoukydides the historian, son of Oloros of Halimous, may have been named after Thoukydides son of Melesias of Alopeke, who *may* have been his MF (*APF* 7268 VII); we do not hear that he had a brother, but arguments from silence are weak. Heragoras of Samos, who acquired Athenian citizenship in the late fifth century and married an Athenian wife, had two sons; one was called after the wife's father, Hippokrates, and the other after the general Thrasylos, who had played a prominent role in relations between Athens and Samos (*IG* ii² 6417; Humphreys 1983*a*/1993, 114, 129 n. 56). This may be an example of an immigrant deliberately putting his Samian past behind him and furnishing his sons from the outset with Athenian points of reference for their identity. Two of the daughters of Menexenos I of Kydathenaion had sons named after Menexenos (Menexenos son of Polykrates of Chologargos and Menexenos son of Kephisophon of Paiania, *APF* 3773 and 11907; Table 7.2B). Homonymy between matrilinear parallel cousins (MZS), which we find here, is much less commonly attested than patrilinear parallel cousin (FBS) homonymy,

³⁸ The name of Ariston's father was Aristokles (D. L. 3. 4). Connections with other families in which the name Adeimantos occurs at the same period cannot be established on present evidence. The tradition that 'Plato' was a nickname is rejected by Notopoulos 1939. Other cases of naming for MF: Lamachos son of Kephisokles of Kikynna (*IG* ii² 6477 and 478, Peek 1942, 98 no. 169); Phanokles of Ketos (*APF* 600, Humphreys 1983*a*/1993, 118, Table 4); Pamphilos son of Mantias of Thorikos (*APF* 9667; see Humphreys 1989); perhaps Thrason of Erchia (*APF* 7305) and Peisianax son of Kimon and Isodike (*APF* 9688 VIII, but see W. Thompson 1969*a*). Kiron, father of Mnesikles of Pithos (*LGP* N Kiron 5), may be the speaker of Isaios 8 (or one of his brothers) and the DS of the Kiron whose estate was the subject of this speech (see *APF* 8443). Kypselos son of Agamestor may have been a grandson (DS) of the tyrant Kypselos of Corinth (*APF* 8429 II). On the view that Kleon son of Thoudippos of Araphen was DS of the demagogue Kleon of Kydathenaion see n. 56 below.

³⁹ Agariste may have been her father's only child, but the marriage was not uxorilocal and can hardly be considered epikleric.

although this may be partly due to the difficulty of reconstructing matrilineal and affinal relationships. It should be noted, however, that Menexenos I had only one son, Dikaiogenes II, who died childless; the daughters may well have hoped that their sons would get a share of the estate.⁴⁰

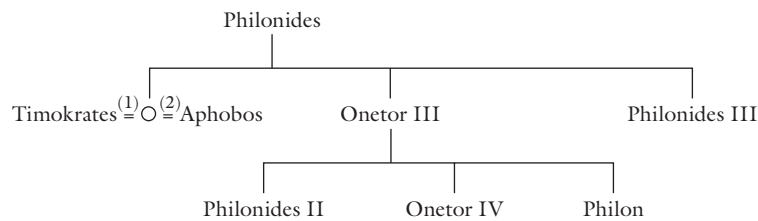
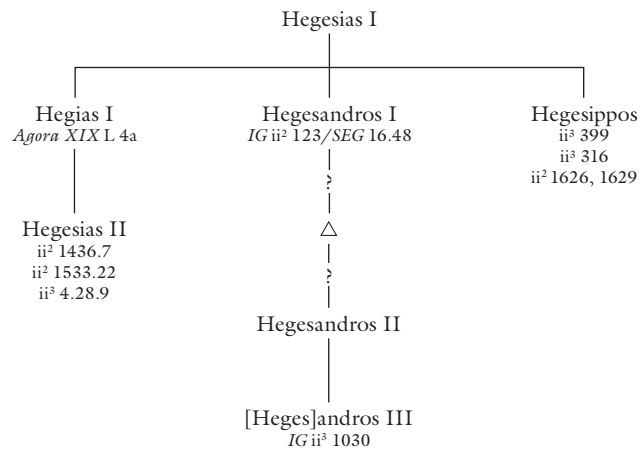
Lykourgos' third son, we saw, was called after his father; this was also a relatively common pattern. Alkibiades (III) was named after his FF, and his younger brother Kleinias (IV) after their father; Alkibiades' own son was named after the boy's famous father. The delinquency of Kleinias IV may have discouraged his brother from perpetuating the name. The sequence of names in this family gives a good picture of the slight irregularities in the pattern of repetition that were likely to develop over the generations. Perikles' eldest son was called Xanthippos, after the boy's FF; the second son was Paralos, a programmatic name recalling the connection of Perikles' mother's family, the Alkmeonidai,⁴¹ with the Paralia, the coastal district of south-east Attika, and also emphasizing Perikles' commitment to Athenian seapower; the youngest was called after Perikles himself. It may have been desirable to stress the filial relationship in this case, since the boy's mother Aspasia was not Athenian and he was illegitimate until granted citizenship by special decree. Demosthenes, an only son, was as we have seen called after his father. In the family of his opponent Onetor (III) the sequence of names seems strictly agnatic, with no concessions made to affines (Table 8.2).

Family unity could also be stressed by the use of formally and/or semantically linked names.⁴² The tyrant Peisistratos, son of Hippokrates, called two of his sons Hippias and Hipparchos, names recalling the family's success in chariot racing (*APF* 11793 III–IV). Demosthenes' family (Table 4.7) used names formed on

⁴⁰ For the contests over the estate see Is. 5 and ch. 7 Case 2. The daughters considered themselves to be in a sense epikleroi after their brother's death; but at least some of the sons called Menexenos must have been born earlier. Menexenos son of Kephisophon of Paiania had a brother called Kallibios (*APF* 3773 D; above, n. 27); Menexenos son of Polyaratos of Cholargos had two brothers, Bathyllos and Periander ([Dem.] 40. 6). Periander was the youngest of the three. Since this was the name of their FF, an older brother with the same name may have died in childhood. The name of Euxitheos of Halimous (Dem. 57; ch. 7 Case 14, Table 7.12) was also borne by a cross-cousin, his MBS Euxitheos son of Timokrates of Melite; one of the three sons of Timokrates' patrilineal half-brother Amytheon was called Dexitheos (another, presumably the oldest, was named for his FF Demostratos). Naming for matrikin may sometimes have created a special relationship: in *IG* ii² 3854 (3rd c.) a nephew named for MF dedicates a statue of his MB.

⁴¹ Perikles' wife was related to him, according to Plutarch (*Per.* 24. 8); she too may have had Alkmeonid connections.

⁴² This practice is ridiculed in Aristophanes *Clouds* 59–79, where the conflicting values of father and mother produce a son named Pheidippides, son-of-Economical-with-horses (cf. *LGP*N Nothippos; Kanavou 2011). Pheidippos however was a normal name, like Pheidostratos (preserver of cavalry/army); cf. Pheidippos son of Sosidemos of Xypete, *APF* 14160. The reading Pheidippides in *Hdt.* 6. 105 is questionable. Sosistratos son of Diodoros of Halai has a name linked to that of his MF, Damostratos of Melite (*APF* 3126). On names associated with choral performance see P. Wilson 2007c, 372–4. Aktaios of Peiraios has a name semantically linked to his demotic.

TABLE 8.2. Onetor of Melite, *APF* 11473TABLE 8.3. Hegesias of Sounion, *APF* 6351

the root Demo-; the descendants of Hegesias of Sounion used the root Heg-, signifying leadership (*IG* ii³ 1030, 1328; Table 8.3).

The family of Meidon son of Epiteles of Myrrhinous created new names by combining elements of their original stock: Meidon's son was called Meidoteles, combining his father's name with that of his grandfather, and he had a son called Kalliteles; one of Kalliteles' sons was called Kallimedon (Table 4.10; Humphreys 1983*a*/1993, fig. 1; *SEMA* 449–454).

A family name might also be modified by adding the patronymic ending -ides (or -iades) to the father's name. In Homer such patronymics are used as alternatives to given names, and are shared by brothers: both Agamemnon and Menelaos can be addressed as Atreides, 'son of Atreus' (cf. Aitchison 1964). One sixth-century Attic inscription may conceivably show this usage, *IG* i³ 665, *Leobios: epoiesen: Pyretiades*, but there are also several texts from the late sixth or early fifth century in which the patronymic adjective is treated as a proper name and followed by the father's name in the genitive: Neilonides (son) of Neilon (*IG* i³ 1214), Diokleides (son) of Diokles (i³ 681).⁴³ Alkmeonides son of Alkmeon (cf. i³ 1469, c.540) and Eucharides son of Eucharis both had votes cast against them in the ostracism of 443 (Brenne 2001 14, 73; *APF* 9688 IIIB). By the classical period the semantic

⁴³ Aiantides on a late black-glaze vase, BArch 9016597 (*CAVI* 2426).

force of the patronymic ending was no longer clearly felt. Exekestos and Exekestides of Kothokidai (*APF* 4719) were probably brothers, as were Euagides and Euages sons of Deinias of Philaidai (*APF* 5232). Strombichides III son of Strombichos III of Euonymon was probably named after his great-great-uncle (FFFB) Strombichides I, who died under the Thirty Tyrants, or the latter's son Strombichides II, rather than with any deliberate stress on the patronymic force of the name (*APF* 4386; Table 16.1). It appears that the use of the patronymic adjective was eliminated by competition from the custom of naming grandson after grandfather (FF), which does not occur in Homer;⁴⁴ already by the middle of the fifth century we find a Pronapes son of Pronapides, victor in the four-horse chariot race (*APF* 12250, *IG* i³ 880), and a Damon son of Damonides, ostracized in the 440s (*APF* 9688; XIII; Brenne no. 52). Archebios son of Archibiades of Lamptraí (*APF* 2308) is a fourth-century example. The patronymic ending was felt to give a name an aristocratic ring,⁴⁵ but became merely one of a number of alternative ways of varying a family name. A family of Acharnai shows the names Androkles, Androstenes, and Androkleides in three successive generations (*APF* 849).⁴⁶

Another alternative was to give the son a name linked to that of his father semantically rather than lexically. Morychos Lachemoirou (*APF* 10423) has a name which combines both patterns. Semantic linking is found already in Homer (J. M. Cook 1967; Kamptz 1982); it attracted jokers. Stephanos Thallou, Wreath (son) of Olive-leaves, of Lamptraí (*APF* 12883) and Oiax Pedalionos, Tiller (son) of Rudder, of Thorikos (*Agora* XV 39. 11) must have been subjected to some teasing by their age-mates. The name of Dikaïos Eunomionos (Just, son of Orderly) did not prevent at least two men from casting votes against him in ostracism (Brenne 2001 no. 58). Aischines, son of Atrometos (Unflinching), had a brother called Aphobetos, Fearless (*APF* 14625). Lysimachos of Peiraios (End-battle) had a son called Pausistratos, Rest-the-army (*Agora* XIX L 6. 101f.; Pausistratos was economically independent by 343). Hippon son of Olympichos has a name based on a more conventional theme; despite the aristocratic ring of these names Olympichos fell victim to the Thirty Tyrants.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ This pattern can be traced fairly securely to the early 6th c. (Megakles II: *APF* 9688 II–III). Some family names had been in use at least since that date (see *APF* 8792 I, Kritias I; 7856, Habron/Kallias; ? 11473, Onetor).

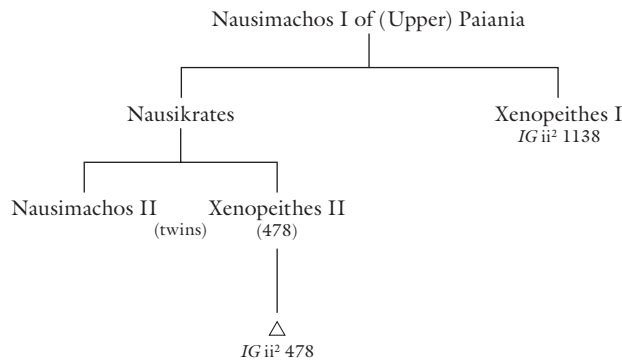
⁴⁵ Mras 1937; Dover 1968*b*, xxv–vi denies this, but the fact that the -ides ending was imitated by non-aristocrats does not prove that it had no cachet. Kollytides in 4th c. Athmonon, *SEG* 24. 197. 25, is an oddity. Wilhelm 1906, 133–4 argues that simple and patronymic forms of the name might be used interchangeably for the same individual, and discusses other attested 'mistakes' in naming.

⁴⁶ Cf. the alternation of the names Melanopos, Melas, and Melanopides in a family of Ketτος reconstructed by Charitonides 1961, 48, where the original names are of nickname form.

⁴⁷ *SEG* 28. 46. 29–32. See L. Robert 1950, 66; 1967, 24–5 for later examples. Other interesting examples of semantic linkage are Kyknos son of Philochoros I of Anaphlystos (Swan son of Song-Lover), father of the historian Philochoros II, and Astyphilos son of Philagros of Halai Aixonides (Table 29.20). Another joke name, *IRb* 311, Oinoklephes of Rhamnous (3rd c. BCE).

Beyond this narrow circle of father and grandfathers, the number of clearly identifiable cases of the perpetuation of names of kin rapidly decreases. A cursory survey has turned up five possible cases of boys named after paternal uncles (FB): Xenopeithes II son of Nausikrates of Paiania (Demosthenes 38, *APF* 11263) (Table 8.4); Kleinias (III) son of Axiochos of Skambonidai, who bore the name of his FB, FFF, and FBS (Table 8.1); Thoukritides II (*APF* 3126), Sopolis II son of Smikythos of Kydathenaion (Table 5.6), and perhaps Athenodoros II son of Telesistratos of Myrrhinous (Table 8.5).⁴⁸

Two men were perhaps named after the husbands of their paternal aunts (FZH): Kallikrates I son of Agyrrhios of Kollytos, named after Kallikrates of Aphidnai(?),⁴⁹ and Prokleides son of Pamphilos of Aigilia (Table 8.6).⁵⁰ Due to the discrepancy



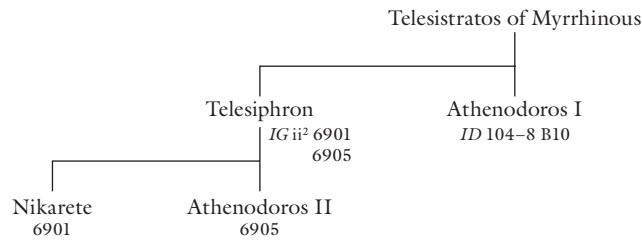
Note: Xenopeithes II's son belonged to Upper Paiania (transferred to Antigonis).

TABLE 8.4. [Demosthenes] 38, *APF* 11263

⁴⁸ *APF* 600; Table 8.1. Axiochos probably married late and his son (still an *erómenos* in 422: ch. 5 n. 48) may have been younger than Alkibiades III's younger brother Kleinias III. Sopolis II and Athenodoros II died childless, but Kleinias II and Thoukritides II had heirs, and it is possible that the son of Xenopeithes III of Paiania who served as ephebe in 305/4 (Reinmuth 1971 no. 17. 36) was the great-grandson (SSS) of Xenopeithes I (who would have been born c.420). It has generally been assumed (*IG* ii² 1152; *APF* 15187; Traill 1986, 87–8) that the son of Pheidon II of Paiania who served as tribal epimeletes in the late 4th c. bore the name of his FB Pheidippos, but we know nothing about his name except its length (9 letters), and he might have been named for his MF. The reference in [Them.] Ep. 8 (p. 749 Hercher 1873) to a homonymous uncle (*theios*, apparently FB) of Themistokles is probably a conjecture based on belief that the archon of 493/2 was not the politician, in its turn based on Hdt. 7. 143. Euktaios II and Nikias I of Xypete may have named sons for each other, Table 29.4.

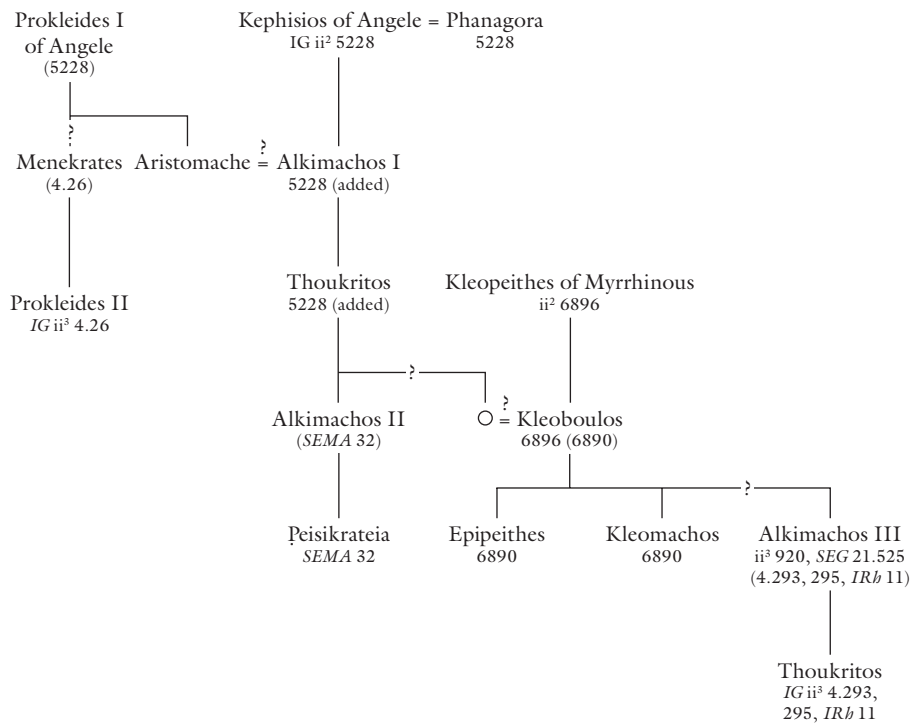
⁴⁹ *APF* 8157 III; Hochschulz 2007 (*non vidi*). The filiation of Kallikrates of Kollytos to Agyrrhios is conjectural, but it is certain that Agyrrhios' sister married Kallikrates of Aphidnai; their son Kallistratos was Agyrrhios' *adelphidous* (Dem. 24. 135; *APF* p. 277–8 needs correction here). Kallikrates was a wealthy man; we have already seen that three grandsons were named after him.

⁵⁰ Humphreys 1983*a* (but not 1993), 115 mistakenly has Prokleides II named for MB. Archippe married within the deme; the persons named in Table 8.5 were all buried together, with the exception of Meixiades, and there may have been some kinship between Meixiades and Sostratos.



Note: IG ii² 6905, CAT 2. 813, is a loutrophoros-stele showing two bearded men, the younger (Athenodoros) followed by a slave batman. It seems likely that they are father and son, and that Athenodoros I, guarantor of a lease on Delos c.360–330, was Telesiphron's brother.

TABLE 8.5. Athenodoros of Myrrhinous



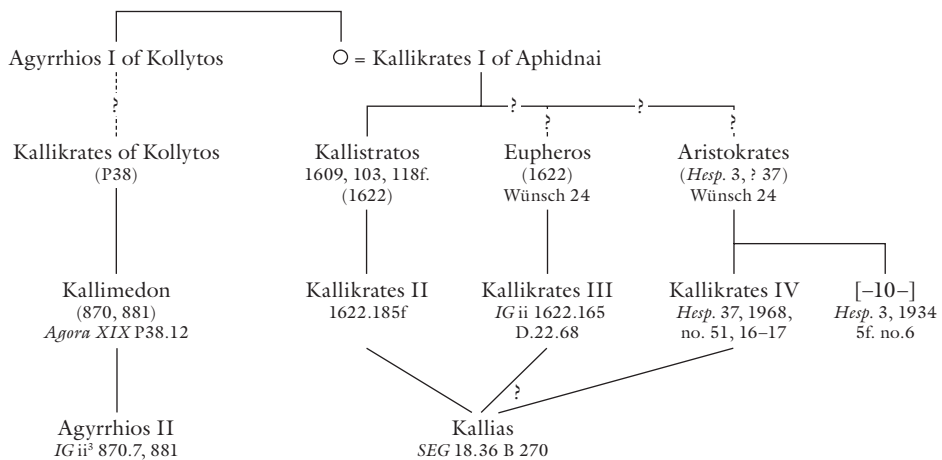
Note: LGPN wrongly has Epipethes as father of Kleopeithes, and Peisikrateia (SEMA 32, cf. Lambert 1997a, 152) as Teisikrateia.

If Alkimachos of Myrrhinous was the brother of Epipethes and Kleomachos he was an elderly man when recorded as archon's paredros in 266/5 (IG ii³ 920), but since he had been hipparch in 282/1 (SEG 21.525), and his son Thoukritos was appointed general in mid-century (G. J. Oliver 2007a), this is likely enough. Kleoboulos apparently set up IG ii² 6890 to commemorate two sons, and later added his father's name; he himself was commemorated separately on ii² 6896.

TABLE 8.6. Angele and Myrrhinous

between the ages at which men and women married, a man's sister's husband was likely to be about half a generation older, and the connection between the families solidly established for fifteen years or more before the younger man produced children. A sister's husband was often an influential figure in a man's life (Humphreys 1986*a*, 76–80).

Commemoration of more remote kin is rare, and in some cases the kinsman singled out is one who was particularly well known. Agyrrhios II of Kollytos (Table 8.7) was apparently named after his great-grandfather (FFF), a prominent politician (*APF* 8157). Phaidros II son of Thymochares I of Sphettos was named for his grandfather (FF), his brother Kallias II for their great-grandfather.⁵¹ The same pattern is seen in the names of Meidoteles II and Meidon II, sons of Kalliteles of Myrrhinous (Table 4.10). Sositheos, speaker of [Demosthenes] 43, commemorated a great-grandfather (FFF) and a grandfather's half-brother (MF½B) as well as his sons' grandparents. Euthykrates IV son of Archestratos II of Amphitrope probably called his son Polyeuktos (II) after the boy's FMF (great-grandfather) Polyeuktos II son of Lysistratos of Bate, through whom the family in Amphitrope had acquired a claim to the priestesshood of Athena Polias.⁵² Perikles' brother



Notes: Kallistratos was Agyrrhios' *adelphidous* (Dem. 24. 135); correct *APF*. Agyrrhios had emerged from his imprisonment for debt to propose the law R/O 26 in 374/3. The view that Kallikrates of Kollytos was his son rests only on the name of Agyrrhios II.

Since the name Kallikrates is extremely common (attested before 300 in 30 demes other than Kollytos and Aphidnai; add Otryne, *IG* xii 6.262 II 49, to *LPGN*) there is no great reason to connect Pythodelos of Kollytos and his son Kallikrates to this family.

TABLE 8.7. Agyrrhios, *APF* 8157

⁵¹ *APF* 13964. Kallias I is named as lessee of two silver mines and owner of property at Nape in 367/6 (*Agora* XIX P 5. 42, 48, 65).

⁵² *APF* 2419, 4549; in the table to the latter entry the demotic of Euthykrates I is wrongly given as Alopeke. This example comes from the Hellenistic period.

Ariphron also called a son after the boy's FMF, Hippokrates of the Alkmeonid family; this Hippokrates (II) called one of his three sons after Perikles, who was the boy's great-uncle (FFB); *APF* 11811 II). Timarchos II son of Teisias I of Rhamnous (*APF* 7737) may also have been named after his FFB. Thrasylllos III, adopted son of Apollodoros II of Leukonoion (Table 2.1), probably had a son named Mneson (III); *IG* ii² 1632. 187, 192 after Apollodoros II's FB, who died childless; Apollodoros had acquired some of Mneson II's property after a dispute with his other FB, Eupolis. The speaker of [Demosthenes] 58 had a brother called Aristokrates, named after his grandfather's uncle (*theios tou pappou*, § 67) Aristokrates son of Skellias, prominent in the later stages of the Peloponnesian War.⁵³ Thrasyboulos son of Thrason of Erchia seems to have been named after a great-uncle (FMB), the well-known Thrasyboulos of Kollytos (*APF* 7305). In the family descended from Strombichos of Euonymon (Table 16.1) Diotimos III son of Diopeithes I seems to have been named for his first cousin once removed (FFBS) Diotimos II, a well-known general;⁵⁴ Diotimos IV was named after his uncle (FB) Diotimos III; Eukrates II was named after his great-uncle (FFB); Olympiodoros possibly after his FFFB.

Commemoration of the names of remoter, quasi-mythical ancestors is unusual in the classical period: Kimon's son Oulios is exceptional, though Herodotus (5. 65) tells us that Peisistratos was named after Nestor's youngest son (*Odyssey* 3. 400) on the basis of a claim to descent from the Pylian refugees who supposedly passed through Attika on their way to Ionia. Such claims were perhaps more likely to be made by men in marginal positions: we learn from Xenophon (*Hellenica* 3. 1. 6) that fourth-century descendants (SSS?) of Demaratos, who lost his kingship in Sparta in the late sixth century and retired to Persia, bore the names of the twin founders of the Spartan royal dynasties, Proklos and Eurysthenes (Hofstetter 1978, nos. 116, 274–5).⁵⁵

On the mother's side, to name a son after his maternal grandfather was part of the normal naming pattern, as we have already seen. Two boys seem to have been named after famous great-grandfathers on the mother's side. One of the sons of Megakles II was called Aristonymos, presumably after the father of the tyrant

⁵³ See R. Thomas 1989, 132–8; *APF* 1904. If Libanius (*hyp.* [Dem.] 58) is right in stating that the speaker like his grandfather was called Epichares, then Aristokrates I was either FFFB or FFMB to his namesake.

⁵⁴ If the attribution to Diotimos III of a son named Olympiodoros (II) is correct, there may have been some closer affinal tie between the two descent lines. See *APF* 4386.

⁵⁵ Lysistratos of Bate (Table 20.4) was not called after his FF Lysikles (nor was his brother, whose name was only 6–7 letters long, *IG* ii² 5867); his name seems to be a version of that of his FFZ, the well-known priestess Lysimache, perhaps inspired by Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*. Kleainetos II of Kydathenaion (Table 4.9) was the SSSS of Kleainetos I (father of the demagogue Kleon), but there may have been intermediate uses of the name for which the evidence is lost. Kleainetos II, son of Kleomedon II, had a slightly older contemporary, Kleainetos son of —dros of Kydathenaion, epebe in 332/1/0 (*IG* ii³ 4. 342. 3), who presumably belonged to the same lineage.

Kleisthenes of Sikyon (*APF* 9688 VII, Table 15.2). Phanokles of Leukonoion, who married Hipparete daughter of Alkibiades IV, called a son Alkibiades; he was probably more anxious to advertise his connection with the famous general Alkibiades III, his wife's grandfather, than that with her father Alkibiades IV (*APF* 600 X). The only possible case of a man named after his MMF is Oloros of Halimous, father of the historian Thucydides, but the genealogy is problematic (*APF* 7268 V). Sositheos, speaker of [Demosthenes] 43, named a son after a matrilateral great-uncle, Menestheus, the patrilateral half-brother of the boy's MF (Table 7.9).

It may have been rather more common to name a boy after his mother's brother, but the certain examples have special circumstances attached to them. Mantias of Thorikos introduced his son by Plangon to his phratry under the name Boiotos, which was the name of Plangon's brother; but the young man asserted that he had as a child been given the name of Mantias' father, Mantitheos (*APF* 9667; see Humphreys 1989, forthcoming *a*). Makartatos son of Theopompos of Oion Kerameikon was adopted to his MB Makartatos of Prospalta, and we cannot be certain that he did not change his name on adoption (*APF* 2921; [Demosthenes] 43. 77). Other cases involve conjecture. Hipponikos son of Strouthon, of the tribe Akamantis, may have been a nephew (ZS) of Hipponikos I son of Kallias of Alopeke (*APF* 7826 III); Hipparchos son of Charmos of Kollytos, the first Athenian to be ostracized, said to have been related to the family of the tyrant Peisistratos, may have been the son of a daughter of Peisistratos, called after her brother Hipparchos (*APF* 11793 IX). The name however is common in aristocratic circles, and one would rather expect a grandson of the tyrant to have gone into exile with the rest of Peisistratos' descendants. The view that the demagogue Kleon of Kydathenaion married a sister of Menexenos (I) of the same deme, and that their son was called Menexenos after his MB, has recently been challenged (Table 4.9).⁵⁶

Kimon is credited in one source (Schol. Aristides III 515, Dindorf 1829) with a son called Peisianax, which *may* have been the name of a brother of Kimon's Alkmeonid wife Isodike (*APF* 8429 XII). The fourth-century politician Diophantos of Sphettos was an affine (*kêdestês*) of Melanopos son of Laches of Aixone, and called a son Melanopos ([Demosthenes] 35. 6); it has been suggested that

⁵⁶ *APF* 8674; Bourriot 1982. Traill 1986 rejects Bourriot's suggestion that the Kleon son of Menexenos listed as a councillor in the 380s or 370s (*IG* ii³ 4. 21. 47) belonged to Paiania and not Kydathenaion, but nevertheless doubts the conventional reconstruction of Kleon's genealogy. Bourriot thinks that Kleon [of Paiania] could still have been named after the demagogue, on this view a distant affinal connection (FMZDHF), but although we have a reference in a fourth-century forensic speech to Kleon as a well-known historical figure ([Dem.] 40. 25) I am not sure that his reputation was sufficiently illustrious to inspire commemoration of such a remote connection. On Bourriot's view the two descent lines would not even be continuously linked through membership of the same deme. It should be stressed however that cases of naming for matrikin can easily escape our notice. The patrilineal bias in the naming system may not have been as pronounced as it appears in this analysis to be. Cf. Timarchos II son of Teisias II of Rhamnous, named for MB, Table 31.6.

Melanopos was Diophantos' brother-in-law (WB) but he may have been his father-in-law.⁵⁷

In two cases we can suspect that a boy was named after a matrilateral kinsman but cannot specify the link. Archippos son of Phormion of Peiraios was probably the son of the freedman Phormion who married Archippe, widow of his ex-owner Pasion of Acharnai (*APF* 11672 IX). Phormion had no kin; the boy's name may simply have been formed from that of his mother, but it is also quite likely that her name was related to that of her father or another male kinsman.⁵⁸ In other cases cross-cousins (FZS/MBS) have the same name: Euxitheos son of Thoukritos of Halimous, the speaker of Demosthenes 57, shared his name with Euxitheos son of Timokrates of Melite, his MBS. They may both have been named after the same kinsman, although this was not their common grandparent (Table 7.12, cf. n. 40 above; *APF* 3126). Aresippos of Kephale (*APF* 1598) and Aresippos of Sphettos may have been cross-cousins, and the choice of the name Aresias for their sons, though a fairly obvious one, may also have been influenced by continuing contact between the two families.

Adoption presented special problems. In the family whose affairs are discussed in Isaïos 10, the brothers Aristarchos II and Xenainetos II were named after their natural FF and FMF, whose legal relations to them were adoptive father in the first case and adoptive FF in the second. We do not know which was the older of the two boys (Table 7.5). Aristarchos II was probably destined for adoption from birth. In other cases a change of name may have been made on adoption. Apollodoros son of Thrasylllos of Leukonoion gave his father's name to the son of his maternal half-sister when he presented him to his phratry as an adopted son (Isaïos 7. 17, *APF* 1395); in the same family Apollodoros' cousin (FBDS) Thrasyboulos son of Aischines of Lousia apparently changed his name to Hippolochides when adopted by Hippolochides son of Thrasymedes of Lousia (Isaïos 7. 23, with *IG* ii² 1623. 237–8; *APF* 1395). In the reverse process, Mantias son of Mantitheos of Thorikos may have tried to change the name of a son he had hoped to disinherit, from Mantitheos to Boiotos, when he was compelled to present the boy to his phratry. Such changes, however, are rarely explicitly

⁵⁷ Wyse 1904, 304 suggested that Diophantos had married Melanopos' sister, but if Melanopos was the son of the general Laches (Dem. 24. 12, 126), he must have been born before 418, and Diophantos was still active in 343; as the older of the two, Melanopos should be WF rather than WB (*PA* 9019 postulates a homonymous son of the general as Melanopos' father). Cf. Table 29.16.

⁵⁸ Whitehead 1986b assumes that Archippe had metic status when she married Pasion, and was socially superior to Phormion only because the grant of citizenship to her first husband and his sons had by implication included her also. The name, however, is an odd one for a freedwoman (apart from hetairai, *LGP* no. 36 and perhaps 33). Pasion was rich; he may have married into a not-too-fastidious citizen family. Diphilos son of Nausichares of Aixone (*IG* ii³ 4. 337 II 31) was called after his mother Diphile daughter of Timokleides of Euonymon, who may have died in childbirth, since the lekythos representing her with her husband, *IG* ii² 6166, is dated c.350, and her son was born in 347/6 (ch. 29 n. 121).

attested. We do not know whether Dikaiogenes III son of Proxenos of Aphidnai, who was adopted in the will of his cousin (FMBS) Dikaiogenes II son of Menexenos I of Kydathenaion, took the name on adoption or was given it at birth (*APF* 3773, *Isaios* 5, ch. 7 Case 2, Table 7.2; ch. 2 III 1); nor do we know whether Makartatos son of Theopompos of Oion Kerameikon was named at birth after his MB Makartatos of Prospalta or took the name when adopted to him.⁵⁹ Makartatos in turn named a son Hagnias, because he hoped to succeed to the estate of Theopompos' cousin (FBDS/FFBSS) Hagnias son of Polemon.⁶⁰ Chairestratos son of Phanostratos of Kephisia, who claimed to have been adopted by the will of his mother's brother Philoktemon I, named his two sons Phanostratos II and Philoktemon II; both were probably born after the death of Philoktemon I.⁶¹

Some adopted sons, however, kept the name given to them at birth: no change of name took place in the series of posthumous adoptions recorded in [Demosthenes] 44. The speaker of *Isaios* 2, adopted by his sister's husband Menekles, named a son after his adoptive father but presumably did not change his own name (*Isaios* 2. 36).⁶²

No doubt Athenians also named their sons after family friends (Curtius 1870, 525), but such links are hard to trace. One possible instance occurs in the family of the orator Aischines (*APF* 14625). His older brother was called Philochares, and the same name was borne by an uncle (FB) of Aischines' wife. It seems possible that first the name and then the marriage arose out of a long-standing friendship between the two families. An alternative explanation is that Aischines' father had married a sister of Demokydes and Philochares I (ch. 25 at Table 25.3).

As we have seen, women's names are less well recorded. Two of the girls named after FM were epikleroi; this of course was not known when they were born, but it raises the question whether a girl who was her parents' first child was particularly likely to be so named. Phylomache II daughter of Euboulides, of the Bouselidai, was named after her FM (Table 7.9); Kallisto II, daughter of Lykophron son of the orator Lykourgos, was named after Lykourgos' wife Kallisto daughter of Habron of Bate. The marriage between Lykourgos and Kallisto I had joined two prominent

⁵⁹ Ch. 7 Case 9. [Dem.] 43. 77 hints at a change of name, but is not necessarily to be believed. Dikaiogenes III (ch. 7 Case 2) called a son after his *pater's* father Menexenos; the boy was probably named during the period of family disputes.

⁶⁰ The younger Hagnias appears as son of Makartatos in an ephebic list (*IOrop* 353 col. III 8, 330/29/8), so he was not posthumously adopted to Hagnias son of Polemon. This does not necessarily imply that his father lost the case.

⁶¹ *APF* 15164; *Isaios* 6; ch. 7 Case 1. A [Phil]oktemon of Kephisia, very probably the son of Chairestratos, was secretary of the Council in 319/18 (*IG* ii² 388. 4). Chairestratos was young and quite probably unmarried when *Isaios* 6 was delivered on his behalf c.364. The fact that he is called son of Phanostratos in the mid-4th c. dedication *IG* ii³ 4. 63 does not prove that he lost his case.

⁶² See Wentzel 1930, *BE* 1964. 392, and M. S. Smith 1967, 309 for evidence from later periods.

families, and the alliance probably continued to be of practical importance to both. The name Kallisto ('Most beautiful') looks at first sight like a pet name, but the father of Habron (the girl's FF) was called Kallias, so the name had a familial significance. (We find the same pattern in the name of Agariste II daughter of Hippokrates of Alopeke, named after her FM the famous princess from Sikyon; the name of *Agariste* I was related to that of her grandfather *Aristonymos*).⁶³

A third possible epikleros was the daughter of Pyrrhos (Table 7.4), whose estate was the subject of dispute in Isaios 3. Her great-uncles (FMB) testified in court that she had been named Kleitarete after their sister, her FM; her husband however knew her only as Phile. It seems doubtful whether Pyrrhos recognized her as his legitimate daughter; but the great-uncles' testimony shows at the least that naming an epikleros after her FM was an approved pattern.

Hipparete II, daughter of Alkibiades IV, was also named for her FM; her aunt (FZ) had married back into the family of Hipparete I (*APF* 600 VIII, 7826 XV; Table 8.1). Mnesiptoleme II, daughter of Meidoteles II of Myrrhinous (Table 4.10) was named after her FM.

Other girls were given names linked to those of their brothers or of other members of the family. Philostrate daughter of Philon of Aixone had a name modelled on that of her brother Philostratos (*APF* 8065); the name of Phylomache daughter of Hagnias I of Oion Kerameikon was linked by sense to that of her brother Polemon.⁶⁴ Lysimache I, daughter of Drakontides of Bate, had a name linked to that of her brother Lysikles (Table 20.4).

A priestess of Athena Polias was given the name Penteteris, implying the hope that she would play a prominent role in the penteteric festival of the Greater Panathenaia, while another Athenian priestess was allegedly named Theano, after the priestess of Athena in the *Iliad*.⁶⁵

To be a priestess was the only career in the public sphere open to an Athenian woman. To give a girl a name with a programmatic political meaning was something of a contradiction; respectable women were not spoken about in public. Nevertheless, Themistokles is said to have named his daughters Mnesiptolema, Italia, Sybaris, and Asia, as already noted above.⁶⁶

⁶³ *APF* 9688 III, X. On the possible repetition of the name Koisyra among the descendants of Megakles II see ch. 15 n. 18.

⁶⁴ I would assume that Polemon was born in or soon after 431 and Phylomache some years later. Phylomache is not otherwise attested in Attika (nor, so far as I have been able to discover, elsewhere) as the name of a historical person; Phylomache daughter of Amphion, wife of Pelias (Apollodoros 1. 95) presumably derived her name from the conflicts between kin with which the myths about the family are concerned.

⁶⁵ Plut. *Alk.* 22. 5; cf. Nagy 1979, Sourvinou-Inwood 1988*e*. On Lysimache ? II see Table 20.4.

⁶⁶ Cf. above at nn. 26–7. Heroides Attikos, claiming descent from Miltiades, called one of his daughters Elpinike, but by this date upper-class women had many names (*LGP*N Elpinike 5; Elpinike 6 should be reclassified as Epinike?).

One might have expected that women, confined to the domestic sphere, would have displayed familial solidarity more prominently and consistently in their names than men, but this seems not to be the case. Though repetition of grandfathers' names gave formal recognition to the components from which the new conjugal family had been constituted, in general boys' names, even when they were named after kin, were not intended to be significant only within a narrow family circle. A man's name—fixed in form by the procedures of public debate and written record—was his public persona. Familial naming is likely to have been most satisfying when it expressed the tie between a new member of the family and an older kinsman who had acquired a public reputation—just as burial in a group of family tombs, we shall see, was most satisfying when it enabled kin to cluster together round a conspicuous monument (chs. 10–11). In other cases, as we have seen, it was the prospect of making claims to inheritance in the courts that influenced naming. As R. Thomas (1989) showed in her study of family oral traditions (1989), the Athenian family's image of itself was profoundly moulded by the conventions and constraints of discourse in public. Since women had no place in that discourse, there was less need to use their names as a way of making statements about family ties. Their restriction to the private sphere was often expressed by the use of a personal nickname that had no structural significance of any kind.

Fame, of course, was available at a number of different levels, from the upper echelons of the political elite to the 'big men' of a city street or rural hamlet; family naming was not found only among the rich. But fame did not last long even at the uppermost level (Thomas 1989), and not every family had famous forebears to commemorate. Many Athenians asserted their claim to play a part in a world wider than that of the family by choosing names which alluded to matters of public significance.⁶⁷ Hipponikos, in an aristocratic family, might be chosen to commemorate a victory in horse racing, but Nikomachos, Nikostratos, and similar names became popular at all levels. Nausimachos (sea-battle) is another common Athenian name, along with others referring to naval warfare. Political institutions provided another source of inspiration. Boulis son of Demetrios of Thorai, councillor in 328/7 (*IG* ii³ 360. 17, 357 with D. M. Lewis 1954, 49; cf. *IG* ii² 6212), had a name alluding to the Council; his grandfather (FF) had been called Demophilos.

⁶⁷ A comparative study of naming practices would have to focus on the social conditions that stimulate a widespread interest in expressing adhesion to a new ideology or political movement through choice of names. The introduction of a new name stock in revolutionary conditions is well attested in western history (English Puritans, the French Revolution, the Greek War of Independence, etc: see Dupâquier a. o. 1984 for French examples). It would be interesting from this point of view to contrast classical Athenian practice with that of ancient Greek communities in which political activity was less intense, less democratic, and more parochial in its scope; or indeed to contrast the naming practices of Athenians in the classical period with those of later centuries.

Studies of familial naming by historians have dealt with Christian societies in which the stock of names, especially in periods when it was strictly based on those of the saints, was finite and much smaller than that available to ancient Athenians. Saints' names do not appear to have been regarded as having strong semantic connotations; there seems little evidence that boys named Martin or George were destined for military careers, or Lukes for medicine and writing, while in the case of a John or Nicholas one would not even always know on first acquaintance which saint was the patron. Imitation of saints' specific virtues was recommended by the Church, but not stressed by parents. In medieval Florence a child born with a caul might be called Santo or Santa, a child baptized hastily might be called John (though the name was very common anyway); otherwise names chosen for reasons of piety relate the name to the date of birth or baptism, or to a particular tie between the father and the saint whose name is chosen (Klapisch-Zuber 1985).

A father who explained his choice of a particular saint's name to bestow on his child by reference to his special relation with that saint was merely transferring to the spiritual realm a practice which more commonly operated at a purely human level. Names were associated predominantly with bearers who played or had played a significant role in one's life. The choice of a relative to be commemorated in the baptism of a new child may be linked to the choice of a godparent, the two forms of patronage reinforcing each other (Burguière 1984). In Florence in the 14th and 15th centuries the dominant influence on naming was the obligation to 'remake' the name of a dead relative, usually one who had died recently. This focus on recent deaths led to frequent commemoration of the names of uncles and aunts (usually paternal) and of dead siblings, as well as those of grandparents, and of parents who died young. Children might be renamed for this purpose. This strict reliance on death as the mechanism through which names were selected for commemoration seems unusual, comparatively speaking; it has the advantage of preventing disputes over the choice of a relative to be commemorated, at least in most cases, and in particular of limiting the interference of older kin in the choice of a name. It is noteworthy that when the system eventually broke down, it did so because grandparents began to press to have their names 'remade' during their lifetime (Klapisch-Zuber, *op. cit.*; cf. Bresson 1981).

Something should be said about the implications of the repetition of familial names for family reconstruction. The linkage of FF and S has always been exploited for prosopographical purposes. The material now collected in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, by providing an up-to-date database, has made it easier to assess the frequency or rarity of names, which in combination with deme size⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Deme size varied very widely, from Acharnai, electing 22 councillors per year, to small demes with a quota of 1 councillor every 2 years.

determines the probability that two bearers of the same name in the same deme belonged to a single patrilineage.

Some general points of method need to be stressed:

- (1) Since names are often repeated patrilineally, assessments of name frequency should be based on the number of demes in which a name is attested rather than on the number of separate entries in *LGPN* II (especially since the editors have in most cases been very cautious in attributing separate references to the same individual). It should also be remembered that name frequencies change over time.
- (2) Prosopographical arguments based on the ‘rarity’ of names should consider the whole set of names based on a particular root rather than focusing on a single form. For example, Lambert (1997*a*, 161–2, no. 46) takes Phrynaios (two demes) as a rare name, and speculates on possible links between the attested bearers. However, the father of one of these, Phrynaios of Hybadai, bore the related name Phrynichos, which is attested in thirteen demes. His son’s name may be due to the common process of name variation. The root *Phryn-* (‘toad’ or ‘brownskin’) generated ten names in Attika.
- (3) From time to time epigraphists warn us that it is not uncommon for individuals who are not patrilineally linked to bear the same personal name and patronymic (W. Thompson 1974; Habicht 1990*a*). It is important, however, to distinguish cases in which this identity is (probably) due to common principles of name formation, or to the use of names that are extremely widespread, or popular in a specific period, from cases in which matrilineal ties may be suspected. In Habicht’s list of father–son pairs, pairings such as Hieron son of Hierokles (Halai and Gargettos), Kephisodoros son of Kephisophon (Alopeke, Aphidnai, and Eupyriddai), Melesippos son of Melesias and Melesias son of Melesippos (Ankyle and ?Alopeke), Olympiodoros son of Apollodoros (Anaphlystos, Melite, Phaleron), or Sokrates son of Sogenes and Sogenes son of Sokrates (?Azenia, Erchia, and Kytherros), are presumably due to the operation of the common process of name variation, and one might hesitate to posit kinship between bearers even in the same large deme. The name Asklepiades was perhaps so common (from the Hellenistic period on) that repeated pairings may be coincidental. The combination of Andronikos and Seleukos (Anaphlystos and Rhamnous) links names common in the second century BCE. On the other hand, Aristeides son of Lysimachos of Hestiaia, who appears in a list of upper-class Athenians of c.105–95, was presumably named in reference to the famous general of 480; it seems likely that his family had matrilineal links with the general’s deme, Alopeke.⁶⁹ In the case of the

⁶⁹ The name Aristeides is attested in Alopeke in the Hellenistic period (c.150 BCE), that of Lysimachos so far is not.

paired names Alkimachos and Thoukritos (Angele and Myrrhinous, Table 8.5) it seems quite possible that a daughter of Thoukritos of Angele (*IG* ii² 5228, Bergemann 1997, 214, no. 39) married Kleoboulos II of Myrrhinous and transmitted the names of her grandfather (FF) and father to her son and (eventually) grandson (SS), perhaps because she had returned to her family of origin as a widow when her son was young. The pairing of Kallikratides and Syndromos in Steiria and Trikorynthos reflects a link between the Trikorynthos group, probably *gennetai*,⁷⁰ and the grandee family in Steiria, which was further reinforced by the adoption of Oinophilos (III) son of Oinophilos (II) of Steiria by Kallikratides son of Syndromos of Trikorynthos. It seems likely that the father of Syndromos of Trikorynthos married a daughter of a Syndromos of Steiria. The pairing Leonidas/Nikias (Melite and Oion) in two Delian families of the second century BCE is also not likely to be due to chance.

Thus an assessment of the validity of family reconstructions has to be based not only on the frequency or rarity of the names involved, but also on an understanding of naming practices.

Seen from a comparative point of view, the striking features of the Athenian⁷¹ naming system are its high degree of semanticization⁷² and the variety of naming principles simultaneously employed in it. A child might be named with reference to a relative (repetition of name, formal variation, semantic equivalence or allusion), to its physical appearance or the circumstances of its birth, to public events, to its parents' (usually father's) ties to non-related Athenians, non-Athenians, or gods, to its father's activities or political sympathies. Although repetition of names within a family would tend to deaden perception of the meaning of their components, in a high proportion of cases names were semantically transparent enough for meaning to be reactivated whenever it seemed appropriate. Humour played on this transparency (Barton 1990) and reinforced it. The semantic load carried by names also encouraged a tendency for names to be stratified, specific forms and types being considered more appropriate for the upper class, for slaves, etc. Over time, however, names travelled in both directions along the status spectrum, aristocratic-sounding names becoming more widely diffused (e.g. perhaps Kalliades), while names that may have started their career as pet names for children,

⁷⁰ The numbering in *LGP*N s.v. Kallikratides and Syndromos is extremely confusing: see now Byrne 2003; Schmalz 2009.

⁷¹ The same features seem to characterize naming practices in other parts of Greece, but my research is based on Attic data.

⁷² Cf. Barton 1990 on Plato's *Kratylos*. Hdt. (6. 98; R. Thomas 2000, 230) takes it for granted that Persian names have meaning (the procedure of name forming is indeed common to Persian, Greek, and other IE languages).

used in official contexts only by those of low status, became more respectable (Moschion, 'Little calf').

To name a child was an act of communication. It was directed in the immediate context to kin and family friends attending the name-giving ritual (ch. 9 at section 'Amphidromia and dekate'), but also, especially when the child was a son, envisaged a wider audience of fellow-phrateres, fellow-demesmen, fellow-citizens, and even members of other states, who would come to know the boy by his name and patronymic and could decode the connotations of his name, whether these were relatively private and directed at a small circle (e.g. reference to matrikin) or relatively public, alluding to the family's political tradition, past record (in war, athletics, poetry, etc), or access to hereditary offices and commissions (priesthoods, proxenies).

Rites de passage

I use the term ‘rites of passage’ to define the theme of this chapter because I am concerned with rituals as occasions for kin to gather together, and more specifically with those rituals which by their socio-legal implications and social setting were particularly likely to involve the presence of kin (more ‘individual’ or, as I would prefer to say, deity-focused rituals are considered in ch. 12, although the distinction is not absolute). Rites of passage or of status transition involved kin because they were related to the construction of identity, and hence with claims to legal rights and to prestige; many of them were carried out at least partly inside the house, in the presence of the intimate associates (including kin) known as *oikeioi*, while others took place at meetings of phratries and demes in which a man’s agnates were present.¹

Crudely, we could say that such rituals form a spectrum from the basic rites concerned with the legitimation of children and their admission to citizenship to prestigious rituals performed only by a few members of the elite. However, neither the distinction between citizen and non-citizen nor that between rich and poor can be treated in this context as absolute. There may well have been poor persons of citizen birth who were not interested in maintaining their citizen status, and there will certainly have been successful metics and freedmen with an interest in marking status transitions (cf. E. E. Cohen 1997); in the case of ‘elite’ rituals, they provided models on which poorer families might develop their own variations. Even the de facto marriages of slaves (cf. Todd 1997) may well have included some ceremony.

Rituals construct events by framing them and calling them to the attention both of society and of the gods; the term ‘private’ can hardly be applied to them.² However, there was a growing sense in the classical period of a distinction between public business and events and those of interest to a more domestic circle. In that sense, rites of passage were relatively private; nevertheless, the presence of kin and close friends was related to motives drawn from the public sphere, either because

¹ Solitary ritual activity, even prayer, does not seem to have been highly valued in the classical period. It was ‘superstitious’ (Theophr. *Char.* 16), or somewhat sinister (Plato *Laws* 909d–910e); at the least, what a later age would call ‘enthusiastic’. See chs. 10–11 on commemorative visits to tombs, ch. 12 on dedications. Siurla-Theodoridou 1989 collects representations of such rituals; see also *ThesCRA VI* s.v.

² Phratries, genê, and demes are discussed more fully in chs. 19–20, 22–32.

they were making a statement about alliance (by taking part in wedding or funeral processions) or because they were present as witnesses to a status event that had legal implications. Support, in these circumstances, shaded into control and even, on occasions, opposition and protest.

The historian of Athenian rituals has to hack her way through a thicket of ancient and modern interpretation. Ancient interpretations will have affected practice, and modern interpretations have hardened flimsy combinations of texts into apparently solid facts (Humphreys 2004, ch. 6). Difficulties of interpretation and reconstruction will accompany us throughout the life cycle.

THE *AMPHIDROMIA*/DEKATĒ

At its beginning, a ritual variously termed *Amphidromia* ('the circling'), 'the seventh day', or 'the tenth day' was performed after the birth of a child. Kin and family friends were invited. The evidence from the classical period consists of joking references in comedy, perversion of normal patterns in tragedy, and a Platonic analogy in which both humour and perversion may well be involved. Ancient scholars, starting with the Hellenistic commentators of Alexandria and other centres of learning, but first represented for us in Harpokration's *Lexikon to the Ten Orators* (probably second century CE), made sense as best they could of such references, which probably did not correspond exactly to any celebrations in their own experience.³

No source tells us that more than one ritual was performed for each child in the days following birth, and though the scope of the celebrations no doubt varied according to circumstances (wealth and ambitions of parents, birth order and gender of child, etc.), and feasting might go on all night, we do not hear of activities spreading over several days.⁴ Some variation in the date is likely enough in practice, parents wishing to avoid unlucky days, to time the ritual to coincide with or avoid dates of festivals for which kin would come to town or leave the village, etc. But variation in the sources may well be due also to differences in speech register (*amphidromia* being more solemn and traditional in tone, *hebdomé*

³ Kallimachos wrote a poem for the seventh day of the daughter of a friend (F 202 Pfeiffer 1949–1953), but this was probably a graceful allusion to shared learning (the references are all mythological) rather than part of a current practice. We have a number of invitations to celebrations of children's birthdays, at least two for the first birthday, from Roman Egypt (Vandoni 1964; *PSI* 1242, *POxy* 36. 2791, Rowlandson 1998 no. 232), but apparently no papyrological references to purification rites after birth or naming ceremonies. Cf. ch. 10 n. 26 on the spread of birthday celebrations from the Hellenistic period on.

⁴ According to Deubner 1952 Romans named girls on the 8th day, boys on the 10th; but Phile-Kleitarete is named on the 10th, Is. 3. 30, and there seems no evidence for gender difference in Athens. All-night feasting Ar. *Birds* 494, Euboulos F 3 R. L. Hunter 1983; cf. Bravo 1997, 116–17.

or *dekatê* more colloquial), to context,⁵ and to the gendered experience and interests of participants.

Plato had a mischievous sense of humour, and would no doubt have been greatly amused if he could have foreseen the discussions provoked by his analogy in the *Theaitetos*. Sokrates says to the young man (160e–161a): ‘Now that we have given birth to this child (theory), you as parent, I as midwife, we must really run its Amphidromia in a circle in our argument, examining whether it has not escaped our notice being unworthy to be reared, merely a wind-egg and a deception. Or do you think that *your* child ought in any case to be reared and not cast out? Will you put up with watching it being put to the test, and not be too upset if someone deprives you of your firstborn?’ The passage has led modern interpreters to see the Amphidromia as the occasion of a formal decision by the child’s father, in the presence of kin and friends, whether or not to rear it. However, Plato mixes his metaphors. He moves from the Amphidromia celebrated after a live birth to the false theory as a false pregnancy (cf. 151e),⁶ and then to exposure. His analogy should not necessarily be taken literally.

Exposure was practised in ancient Greece, and philosophers tended to approve of it.⁷ There may have been occasions when a formal decision was required: *BGU* IV 1104⁸ is a formal agreement between a pregnant widow and her mother-in-law specifying that the widow may expose her child if she wishes. It is possible

⁵ Ar. *H.A.* 588a 8ff. says that parents waited until after the 7th day because the risks of infant mortality were highest during that period: biological thought tended to run in sevens (Solon F 27 West; *menarche* in the 14th year, H. King 1998 s.v., Dean-Jones 1994, 47–55). Harp. s.v. *hebdomeuomenou* cites Lys. F LI Carey (2007) for celebration on the 7th day (the case was *peri chrêmatôn*, so perhaps legitimacy was at issue; the opponent Eteokles might be the father of Skaon of Aixone, *diaitetes* c.370 (?), *IG* ii³ 4. 24, cf. ii² 2492, or conceivably the father of Chremonides I of Aithalidai, whose son Eteokles is attested as a liturgist in the 320s, *IG* ii² 1933. 11). It is quite unclear where the scholion to Plat. *Theait.* 160e got the 5th day as date for the Amphidromia (also in the *Suda*, s.v. and Apostolios *prov.* 2. 56); Pind. *Ol.* 6. 52–7 may have contributed (Lucian *Halk.* 5 seems less likely; 5th day also in Plaut. *Truc.* 423–5). Orators usually employ the colloquial term *dekatê* (Is. 3. 30, Dem. 39. 22, 40. 28), as does Aristophanes (*Birds* 494), but Lysistrata on the Akropolis uses *Amphidromia* (757) in mock solemnity, as does Plato (*Theait.* 160e).

⁶ On wind-eggs and false pregnancy see Campese a. o. 1983.

⁷ Martin Schmidt 1984. On Plut. *Lyk.* 15. 1 (formal decision by tribal elders in Sparta) see Hodkinson 2000, chs. 2–3; Hodkinson accepts the scrutiny of infants (while rejecting the statement that each approved child was allocated a *kleros*), but this too may well come from philosophical sources. Kirk 1981, 56–61, suggests that Plato himself introduced the idea of testing into the Amphidromia; see now Leitaio 2012. Evidence from Greco-Roman Egypt is decisive for the normality of exposure: Bagnall and Frier 1994, 151–3, Rowlandson 1998, index s.v.; D. J. Thompson 2002. (Eyben 1980 and Ingalls 2002 ignore epigraphic and papyrological evidence.) The statement of D. H. 2. 15 that a Roman child had to be shown to 5 neighbours before exposure, if reliable, might indicate more concern at Rome over the proper ritual treatment of ‘monsters’ (cf. Garland 1990) and less sympathy with exposure of healthy children.

⁸ Alexandria, 8 BCE (Rowlandson 1998 no. 129). The term *amphidromia* occurred in a speech attributed to Lysias (F XI Carey 2007, cf. ch. 7 n. 36) for a defendant accused of homicide, on the grounds that she (?) had aborted a child; the ritual may have been mentioned as an occasion for rejoicing rather than as evidence for the father’s right to accept or reject a child (the context is lost).

also that a husband who suspected his wife of adultery, or of trying to pass off a child that was not her own, would accuse her before a circle of kin, hers as well as his.⁹ In such situations, however, it was not the health of the child that was in question. On the other hand, in the two situations in which exposure was probably most common, illegitimacy and the birth of obviously defective children, formal public decision-making seems impossible or improbable. An illegitimate child had no father, while parents may well have preferred to say as little as possible about the birth and disposal of a defective neonate.¹⁰ Moreover, abandonment of children unwanted because of the parents' poverty would be most prevalent in the social class least likely to formalize such decisions. If there were also well-to-do fathers who decided to limit the size of their families, it again does not seem very likely that they would wish to publicize the decision. The single text repeatedly cited as evidence for selective infanticide of daughters, a letter of 2 BCE from a father in Alexandria (perhaps serving in the Roman army) to his pregnant wife in Oxyrhynchos, evidently does not contemplate any formalities.¹¹

⁹ On supposititious children (*hypobolimaioi*) see Rudhardt 1962. The seclusion of the women's part of the house, and the presence of the midwife, a woman outside the family who had unusual freedom to move about the city and knowledge of mysterious remedies, bred such suspicions. Midwives were normally older women (Bremmer 1985). Cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 407–9, 502–16, Plaut. *Truc.* 389–409, Terence *Andria* 515, 768–9, for fictitious references; Gardner 1989, 55–7; A. E. Hanson 1994.

¹⁰ Illegitimacy, Ar. *Clouds* 530–2; J. Boswell 1989 on exposure/abandonment in Christian Europe (E. R. Coleman 1974 on sex ratios). 'Abandonment' might be a better term also for pagan antiquity, since exposure in a deserted area (as in the case of Oedipus) was probably rare. The usual term for the place of exposure in Greco-Roman Egypt was 'the dung-heap' (Rowlandson 1998, index s.v.; Garland 1990, 85 compares the American expression 'trashcan baby'; cf. Pomeroy 1986; Masson 1996; Riel 2009, 100–1. Golden 2004, 153 doubts the connection of *kopros*-names with exposure). The town dump of Old Smyrna contained 7th c. 'amphora burials' of both infants and young children (Nicholls 1959, 44–6; cf. Rudhardt 1963); the distinction between abandonment and what archaeologists call 'non-ceremonial burial' was not considered by the excavators. See also ch. 10 n. 73 on disposal in wells. It is not clear whether in antiquity babies were also abandoned near the houses of the wealthy or (in the case of girls, literature influencing practice) near brothels. Den Boer 1979, Garland 1995, and Martha Rose 2003, have general discussions of Greek attitudes to disability and deformity. There is some evidence that by the 4th c. abortion was preferred to exposure (A. Cameron 1932, cf. Gallo 1984a, Kapparis 2002), but the fact that the decision to abort could be taken by the mother alone would have been an obstacle to regarding the two practices as functionally equivalent. Oldenziel 1987 gives a useful account of the historiography of the question, but has no sense of the value of the evidence; Schiefenhövel 1989 has a bibliography of anthropological studies of infanticide. Ter. *Heaut.* 626–67 makes fun of the use of the motif in comedy.

¹¹ *POxy* IV 744 (Rowlandson 1998 no. 230; S. West 1998; Legras 2014). Poseidippos *PCG* 7 F 12 (3rd c.) also refers to female infanticide. The use of family listings (Milesian citizenship grants, Gallo 1984a, 1984b; A. Petropoulou 1985; Brulé 1990a; Sallares 1991, 134–6; Ptolemaic census records, D. Thompson 2002) as evidence for female infanticide is more problematic, since gender ratios here will also have been influenced by the early marriage of daughters, and perhaps by the decision of some emigrants (to Miletos) to leave daughters behind. Nutrition patterns may have favoured the survival of boys, although the effects of this may have been at least partly counterbalanced by greater risk of accidents; in a sample from late medieval England there are more accidental deaths of boys than of girls, boys spending more time outside (Hanawalt 1977).

It thus seems likely that in the overwhelming majority of cases, the *Amphidromia/dekate* was a single, joyful celebration comprising purification of the women involved in childbirth, exhibition of the baby to assembled kin and friends,¹² name-giving, and a party lasting into the night.¹³ There was no special role at this ceremony comparable to that of the Christian godparent(s), and its significance as a step in the process of recognition of legitimate filiation (completed only with marriage in the case of girls and presentation to the father's deme in that of boys) was minimal.¹⁴

Although it seems likely that the chosen name was usually announced by the father, he could apparently waive this right. In the *Odyssey* (19. 403) we are told that Odysseus' nurse Eurykleia set him on the knee of his maternal grandfather (MF) Autolykos and told Autolykos to name him; although in the poem this episode serves to stress Odysseus' special ties with this trickster grandfather, it seems likely enough that a grandfather should in real life have quite often have been asked to name a grandchild—particularly if it was to bear his name. The choice of names from both father's and mother's family shows that the mother was expected to exercise some influence on naming,¹⁵ and her kin would be invited as well as those of the father. In the case over the estate of Pyrrhos for which Isaïos 3 was written, Pyrrhos' mother's brothers testified that they were present when his daughter was named after their sister Kleitarete. The speaker tries to cast doubt on their testimony (3. 30), but the claim is clearly a plausible one. Mantitheos son of Mantias of Thorikos attacks the testimony of witnesses

¹² The hearth may have played a role in this ritual (cf. below n. 43 on marriage), but statements in the sources about running round it are probably mere etymological speculation (cf. Hamilton 1984). Central hearths in reception rooms do not seem to be a feature of classical Greek houses (cf. Nevett 1999). *Et. Mag.* s.v. *amphidromia* says: 'a festival at Athens in which they run round a loaf of hidden bread being baked in the hearth. They do the same *meta skenês* (in show?) with infants, carrying them round in front of (*para*) the hearth, since Hestia is called *Kourotrophos* on account of some stories.' In this text (which may not be at all early in origin) there is perhaps a reminiscence of the myth of Demophon, put into the fire by Demeter (*H. Hom.* 2. 239–62). The connection has occurred to modern scholars (Brind'Amour 1975, Furley 1981), probably also to their ancient counterparts.

¹³ Ar. *Birds* 494–5 with Dunbar 1995 ad loc.; Ehippos (?) *PCG* 5, 133 F 3; Euboulos F 3 R. L. Hunter 1983 (*Ankylion*), cf. F 150. *Thuô* in association with *dekate* in Ar. *Birds* 922 does not necessarily imply animal sacrifice (to whom?). On Eur. *El.* 1126 see Hamilton 1984; the passage might suggest that the parturient's mother played a leading role (with the midwife) in the purification ritual, which includes offerings, but the situation is not normal.

¹⁴ Rudhardt 1962 places too much legal weight on the *dekate*. Although we have two references to testimony in court by guests at this rite (Is. 3. 30, Dem. 39. 22 with 40. 59) both cases were unusual: Phile's father had died while she was a small child, leaving her status in doubt (ch. 7 case 4), and Mantitheos-Boiotos was defending his right to the name Mantitheos.

¹⁵ In Aristophanes' *Clouds* (60–74) the parents of Pheidippides disagree over the choice of a name for him and eventually compromise. When Theseus is asked in Eur. *Aigens* (F 2 TGF), 'What did your mother name you?', he has presumably already explained that he grew up fatherless. Cf. Eur. *El.* 654 ff. Naming by FM in Rowlandson 1998 no. 225 (*PMünch* III 57).

called by his half-brother Mantitheos-Boiotos to show that Mantias had given the name Mantitheos to Boiotos at his tenth-day naming ritual (Demosthenes 39. 22, 40. 59): the witnesses must be lying, he says, because they were not kin or friends of Mantias, and therefore would not have been invited.¹⁶

THE *MEION*

The next ritual in a child's life was its first introduction to the public sphere, when a sacrifice was made in the father's phratry to celebrate its birth;¹⁷ on this occasion the father and his agnates had a more salient role. It is not clear whether the sacrifice was offered for both girls and boys, or only for boys. The name *meion* probably characterized it as a 'lesser' sacrifice in comparison with the more important *koureion* offered for boys at puberty;¹⁸ this might imply that it was only sacrificed for boys. The sacrificial meat would be shared by the father's sacrificing group within the phratry (*thiasos* or other terms, see ch. 19 n. 34): usually his close agnates, any close matrikin or affines who belonged to the phratry, and friends. The ritual probably took place normally at the first celebration of the *Apatouria* after the child's birth, although one client of (?) Isaios brings witnesses to testify that his father sacrificed the *meion* for him when he was three or four years old; the delay was presumably due to the fact that his father was a trader who had met and married the litigant's mother in Selymbria on the coast of the Black Sea.¹⁹

Anyone present at this rite who suspected that a father was trying to introduce an illegitimate child to the phratry was presumably entitled to object and obstruct

¹⁶ [Dem.] 40. 59 alleges that the witness was a contemporary of Mantitheos-Boiotos.

¹⁷ The Spartan *Tithēnidia* (Athen. 139a–b) was possibly a similar festival (see however Calame 1977, 297–304; Sourvinou-Inwood 1978, 114–18, on other rituals of presentation of children to deities).

¹⁸ Scholiasts and lexicographers derive the name from the weighing of the victim. In the *Frogs* (798) Aristophanes uses the expression 'to treat tragedy like the *meion*' (*meiagôgēsousi tēn tragôidian*) to describe the contest in which Aeschylus' and Euripides' lines are weighed. The scholia quote a passage from his *Dramata* (F 299 PCG) which refers to dragging on the balance to avoid having to make extra contributions to the phratry (*all' euchomai 'gôg' helkusai se ton stathmon | hina mē me prosprattôsi graun hoi phrateres: graun* is unintelligible without context and may be corrupt, but for our purposes the sense is clear). This implies that the victims were weighed to ensure that they reached or exceeded a set weight, and this is what we are told by the first part of the scholion and the majority of our sources (Harp., Sud., Phot, s.v. *meion*; *Lex. rhet.* Bekker 1814 297. 7, *Et. Mag.* 533. 37). The view given by the second part of the scholion to the *Frogs* and by Pollux (3. 52), that the regulations fixed a maximum weight to prevent the ambition of displaying their wealth, must be mistaken (ch. 19 n. 46). Girls: ch. 19. n. 48; Lambert 1993.

¹⁹ POxy 31. 2538, col. ii 23–8, cf. iii 1–7 (Carey 2007, F A3a; cf. Carey 2005; ch. 19 n. 82). References in Is. 8. 19 and [Dem.] 43. 11 are vague but suggest celebration in the year of birth, as stated by *Et. Mag.* s.v. *Apatouria*. Plat. *Laws* 785a–b prescribes registration in the phratry immediately after birth. It seems likely that Proklos' statement (*ad Plat. Tim.* 21) that the *koureion* was offered in the third or fourth year derived from a source based on this Lysian (?) speech.

the sacrifice, but in the only case attested in our sources the child was presented by its mother's kin and repudiated by the man said to be its father, Kallias III son of Hipponikos of Alopeke. In this case the presentation was to Kallias' *genos*, the Kerykes; presumably the occasion was the sacrifice of the *meion*. Kallias later changed his mind and acknowledged paternity (Andokides 1. 126–7). In some cases where we hear of a dispute over the *koureion* (Isaios 6, ch. 7 Case 1; Demosthenes 39–40) it seems fairly clear that no *meion* had ever been offered. At least in some *phratries*, this sacrifice may have been optional.

THE CHOES

It has for a long time been supposed by modern scholars that there was a rite de passage for children of three or four years old on the day of the Choes, the second day of the Anthesteria, but such a ritual is not attested in any source earlier than the second century CE. The most that can be said with any confidence is that during the period of the Peloponnesian War there was a tendency (perhaps especially among families who had moved from their rural homes into the city) for this and some other festivals to become more child-centred. Miniature wine jugs (*choes*) decorated with images of children's play were produced c.420–390 as presents for children: one is inscribed 'For Akryptos from his father'. The playing children on these vases are often shown wreathed because the gift was made on a festival day and children's play would not culturally be 'seen' on everyday occasions; they are not shown drinking wine. Later, at least in the Athenian Dionysiac association of the *Iobakchoi*, the day of the Choes became the occasion of a rite de passage (first initiation?), occurring at some date between birth and the *ephebate*.²⁰ However, both the gifts of the classical period, which imply more concentration on the nuclear family and less interaction with a wider community, and the initiation, which was orientated towards individual salvation (though celebrated in the sect), lack the social characteristics of the rite de passage in the usual sense of the term.

GIRL'S RITUALS

The main ritual of a girl's life was her wedding. We do not hear of any other rite de passage performed by all girls of citizen parentage in classical Athens, although it is likely that an offering to Artemis would figure at some stage in the childhood

²⁰ Full discussion in Humphreys 2004 ch. 6; add now S. Schmidt 2005 on vases. Akryptos, Baltimore, Robinson, BArch 1012158. *Iobakchoi* (c.170 CE), *IG* ii² 1368.

of most girls.²¹ Girls from wealthy or especially concerned families might make the journey to Brauron on the east coast of Attika to take part in the bear dance in honour of Artemis. Kin would presumably accompany them.²² The girl's mother and other women in the family would no doubt also attend the festival, but we have few testimonies; only a few dedications, as we shall see later (ch. 12 n. 34) indicate that female kin may have joined together on such occasions.²³

It was also possible to perform a related rite at the sanctuary of Artemis in Mounichia (modern Mikro Limani); it is not clear whether 'acting the bear' was involved here too, or the only rite was sacrifice of a goat.²⁴ In addition, selected girls served as *arrhēphoroi* on the Akropolis, as flour-grinders, and as basket carriers (*kanēphoroi*) in a variety of rituals, the most important being the Panathenaia.

²¹ See S. G. Cole 1984; Brulé 1987; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988a; Guarisco 2001; R. Parker 2005a ch. 11; Bodiou and Mehl 2009; N. D. Robertson 2010 ch. 21. Since these rites for girls had no jural function, and we are dealing with a relatively complex, stratified, and differentiated society, varying degrees of engagement in the performance of ritual are to be expected. In the case of Brauron, relatively informal use of the sanctuary in all years by families resident in the area may have been combined, once the Brauronia became penteteric, with expeditions by families from the city and elsewhere, whose daughters would perform the ritual at a wider range of ages due to the infrequency of the festival (cf. Redfield 2003a, 259; ch. 16 n. 53 on variations of age even in the ephebate). Vidal-Naquet 1974 (1981, 197–200) stresses the contrast between boys' and girls' initiation rituals in this respect (cf. Bonnechère 1994). Calame 2002 distinguishes between participation in a public penteteric festival and offerings made individually by women, related to events in the personal biological life cycle (see also Bobou 2015, 56–9 on statues of boys). It is noticeable that dated inventories of offerings (Linders 1972) do not show any penteteric rhythm (ch. 12 n. 34).

²² The Brauron rite seems exotic to modern scholars and offers a rich mix of mythical, literary, archaeological, and iconographical data, which has stimulated much recent discussion, despite the lack of detailed publication of the data (law, *SEG* 52.104, Lambert 2007b p. 80; cutter of *IG* ii² 1262, c.320–296, Tracy 1995; Themelis 2002, 113). In addition to the works cited below, see the collections of papers in *DHA* 16. 2 (1990), Cosi 2001, Gentili and Perusino 2002, and Dodd and Faraone 2003. The slave's exclamation at Ar. *Peace* 872–4, 'You don't say that's the Theoria we screwed all the way to Brauron!' (*paio* also in *Peace* 898; see Olson 1998 ad loc.; Sommerstein 1985, and Sourvinou-Inwood *per ep.*, do not think Theoria can be a girl here) may imply that the prominence of women and girls in this expedition (some accompanied only by slave attendants, or female kin?) gave rise to some anxiety and joking. On sleeping and dining accommodation at Brauron for theoriai, built probably between 421 and c.416, see Mylonopoulos and Bubenheimer 1996a, 1996b; Themelis 2002; I. Nielsen 2009; *SEG* 52. 104. The fact that Theoria is undressed before being given to the chorus may (if Sourvinou-Inwood 1988a is right) continue the allusion to the Brauronia, although the principal ritual reference in this scene in the *Peace* is to *anakalypsis* and the Apatouria. Brulé 1987 and Sourvinou-Inwood suggest that 'bears' were selected by tribe, an interesting idea but not provable at present. N. D. Robertson 2010, 349 plausibly argues that the 'little bears' are a 5th c. innovation.

²³ R. G. Osborne 1985a 161–8 seems to assume (as does e.g. Philoch. *FGH* 328 F 100) that the women seized at Brauron by the Lemnians (Hdt. 6. 138) were girls performing the *arkteia*, but possibly a wider group, including older kinswomen, was involved.

²⁴ R. G. Osborne 1985a 162–3 stresses that the myth connected with the Mounichia sanctuary explains a goat sacrifice and not a 'bear' ritual. However, the representations on *krateriskoi* from the two shrines seem very similar (Sourvinou-Inwood 1988a; Palaioikrassa 1983); there may have been convergence over time. See also S. G. Cole 1984, 242 on the distribution of *krateriskoi*.

It would be a great occasion for a family to have a daughter selected for one of these roles, but we cannot regard this as part of the experience of the ordinary Athenian in the street. Over time, there may well have been a tendency for rituals that had been local alternatives (cf. Polignac 1995) to be reconfigured into a sequence; perhaps Aristophanes was mocking this trend.²⁵

SPECIAL ROLES FOR BOYS IN PUBLIC RITUALS

Boys too might be selected for prominent roles in ritual. In the archaic period such roles were normally given to adolescents. Two youths served as Oschophoroi in the autumn festival related to the myth of Theseus (chs. 19 at nn. 53–9, 20 n. 70; R. Parker 2005*a*, 208–17), and the *país aph' hestias*, initiated at Eleusis on behalf of the city, was probably in early times an adolescent boy, although in the Hellenistic and Roman periods a younger child, sometimes a girl, might be selected.²⁶ Boys and youths competed in many sports, including those in which the contestants were tribal teams; the *epheboi* collectively played a prominent role in many rituals from the Lykourgan period onwards. The practice of selecting a *país amphithalês*, a boy whose parents were both still living, for a special role at weddings and in some other rituals seems to have spread during the Hellenistic period, though it is attested earlier.²⁷ In the archaic period adolescents' victories

²⁵ On these rituals and their sequence see Brulé 1987; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988*a*, 1990*c*; Redfield 2003*b*, with references to earlier literature. Walbank 1981 suggests that all the roles mentioned in Ar. *Lys.* 641–7 were performed at Brauron, but the position of the Brauronia in the list tells against this, and the whole context of the *Lysistrata* points to the Akropolis. *Arrhêphoroi* are more securely linked to the Akropolis than to Brauron (cf. Calame 2010), and the *arrhêphoria* of Lys. 21. 5 is likely to be an urban liturgy (see also ch. 18 n. 66). There is a reference also in Dein. F VI 4 Conomis 1975, but the context is irretrievable. The attribution of F 179 Hollis (1990) to Kallimachos' *Hekale* is very uncertain, but if the *arrhêphoria* was mentioned in that poem it presumably occurred in the speech where Hekale says that she was not always poor (F 41). However, we have no evidence that she claimed to have visited Athens (on the position of the deme Hekale see ch. 26 n. 74). *Ergastinai* do not seem to be attested as a separate category of weaving girls before the late 2nd c. BCE (*IG* ii² 1036 + (?) 1060, 108/7; 1034 + 1943, 103/2; 1942, c.200; see Tracy 1990; Mikalson 1998). Pherekrates' *Doulodidaskaloi*, *PCG* 7 p. 127 F 51, has a reference to adult *peplos*-weavers in the 5th c. See Mansfield 1985; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011. On kin (perhaps) taking part together in female choirs at Sparta see Page 1951, 67–8; Calame 1977, I 382–5, II 84–5; the term *anepsia* (cousin) is used but tribal units seem to be involved and the use may be classificatory. On dances of young girls in honour of Artemis elsewhere, Calame I 178–83; ritual office holding by girls, Van Bremen 1996, 248. Kanephoroi, ch. 12 n. 18; Brulé 1987, 303 on the sister of Harmodios.

²⁶ On the *país aph' hestias* see ch. 12 nn. 18, 109; on the Oschophoria chs. 19 at nn. 53–9, 20 n. 70.

²⁷ For tribal teams see ch. 21 at nn. 58–60; for epheboi Humphreys 2004 ch. 3, 2009. Rituals for the young in Plato's *Laws*, Georgoudi 1989; children (even under 7) in procession at Eretria; *IG* xii 9, 194/LS 93, c.300. *País amphithalês* in Pindar F 94b Maehler (1975); see L. Robert 1940; Lambrechts 1957, on later developments; n. 42 below; R. Parker 2005*a*, 213–4 (Oschophoria); Kowalzig 2007, 283 n. 130; N. D. Robertson 2010. See also Comella 2002.

in the Panhellenic games or performance of special ritual roles might be further celebrated by choral singing and dances, in which kin might take part. Epinikian odes praised the victors' famous forebears and thus reflected glory on their kin, even though most references are to lineal ancestors. Pindar's *partheneion* for Agasikles son of Pagondas, an adolescent *amphithalês* chosen to bring the new laurel bough from (?) Tempe to the Ismenion in Thebes, seems to refer to the participation of female kin in the ritual and dances; Pindar is also said to have written a 'laurel-bringing' (*daphnêphorikon*) song for his own son, which mentioned participation of the boy's sisters in the dancing.²⁸

THE KOUREION

The main rite de passage for adolescent boys was associated with incorporation into the citizen body. The koureion was a sacrifice of a lamb offered in the phratry at the Apatouria by the father of a boy who had reached the age of 15–16. The Apatouria took place in Pyanopsion (19–21 or 26–8, Mikalson 1975, 79, which would fall in October), and the 'shearing' to which the name koureion seems to refer cannot therefore have anything to do with sheep. The koureion must then either be a sacrifice for male adolescents (*kouroi*) or the sacrifice celebrating the occasion when they ceremonially cut their hair to mark the transition to manhood. Since we are told in *Iliad* 23. 141–8 that Peleus had promised to sacrifice fifty rams to the river Spercheios when Achilles cut (*kereô* = *keirô*) his hair, the latter explanation seems plausible. Later sources speak of a libation to Herakles (associated with the gymnasium) and offerings of wine to kin who were present at the hair-cutting.²⁹

The Apatouria was a three-day festival; the first day was called Dorpeia, 'the suppers', and began at sunset with a meal eaten by phratry members, some of whom might have had to travel some distance to the meeting; the second was called Anarrhysis, the name being explained from the 'drawing back' of the head

²⁸ Pind. F 94 b–c Machler 1975; Sbordon 1940 (see however Lefkowitz 1981, 63); Rutherford 2004. A *partheneion* is a song composed for dancing girls. Kurke's discussion of the social dimensions of Pindar's poetry (1991) concentrates on the two poles of household and city, neglecting the kindred, but has helpful remarks on the use of marital metaphors both for victory (as the bride brought home by the victor) and for ties between cities. Cf. Kowalzig 2007, 377–89; Feeney 2016, 225–32 on hymns.

²⁹ Athen. 494f, Hsch. s.v. *oinistêria*; cf. Pollux 3. 53, ch. 19 n. 69. On Delos both male and female adolescents offered locks of hair on the graves of the Hyperborean maidens Hyperoche and Laodike, the girls' offering being considered a preliminary to marriage (Hdt. 4. 33–5; cf. Redfield 1982); hair cutting at Sparta, Vernant 1998, 99–101; at Eretria Knoepfler 2010a, 141–2. Winkler 1990b, 24 n. 5 suggests that hair was cropped short, 'sheared' like a fleece (ch. 19 n. 47). The women's begging song associated with Opis and Arge, also considered to be Hyperborean (Hdt. *ibid.*), may be an equivalent of the ritual begging from the newly-wed by the priestess of Athena at Athens (N. D. Robertson 1983b). On women's pre-marital rites see also Parker 1983, 344–6; 2005a, 440–3; n. 36. On boys' age classes, J. Davidson 2006.

of a sacrificial victim (offered to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratría?); the third day was the Koureotis. We do not know in detail how various phratries allocated their time between the sacrifices offered to Zeus and Athena (and in some cases perhaps to other deities as well) by the phratry as a whole, the *meion*, *koureion*, and *gamêlia* sacrifices offered by individual members, the assembly to conduct phratry business, and other activities associated with the festival.³⁰ The latter part of Aristophanes' *Peace* (819ff.) seems to be based on the ritual of the Apatouria but cannot be pressed on the order of events. In some phratries there may have been athletic competitions.³¹ Small boys competed in reciting poems they had learned (Plato, *Timaios* 21b; Aristophanes, *Peace* 1265–1304).

Kin who were members of the phratry would be present when the *koureion* lamb was led up to the altar for sacrifice; anyone who wanted to challenge the candidate's claim to phratry membership could obstruct the sacrifice and lead the lamb away (Isaios 6. 22; cf. [Demosthenes] 43. 14). An unobstructed sacrifice was probably accompanied in most phratries by a vote on the candidate's eligibility, or at least an oath.³² The father or other kinsman who presented the boy sometimes (perhaps always) had to swear that he was the legitimate son of citizen parents (cf. Isaios 7. 16). When all went well, the sacrificial lamb would be shared by the family's kin and friends—members of the father's *thiasos* if the phratry contained such subdivisions, members of his *genos* if he had one. Procedure for dealing with disputes must have varied. The introducer of the candidate might decide to withdraw and negotiate privately with his opponents (Isaios 6); we do not know if it was possible to force the issue to an immediate vote, and in most cases applicants would probably prefer to gather support and witnesses, and argue their case in a formal hearing. The phratry of the Demotionidai, which had apparently been much

³⁰ See further ch. 19 n. 63. The references to women's sacrifices and meetings of female kin at the Apatouria in [Hdt.] *Biog. Hom.* 29 may be connected with the *gamêlia* or may have been an Ionian custom not found in Athens (the story is set in Samos).

³¹ Cf. ch. 19 at nn. 61–7. The 'obstruction' of Trygaios' sacrifice in the *Peace* (1018–22) may contain an allusion to the objections made to sacrifices at the Apatouria, though other motifs are also present. A. Mommsen 1898 accepts *Peace* 894–904 as evidence for races at the Apatouria, but Aristophanes' love of puns may be running away with him here. The hymn to Hephaistos recorded by Istros (*FGH* 334 F 2) seems to look forward to the Chalkeia, possibly celebrated on the day after the Apatouria and perhaps sometimes loosely spoken of as part of it.

³² The practice of 'carrying the votes from the altar', still observed by the Demotionidai; (*IG* ii² 1237 A 17–18; see ch. 19 at nn. 87–110), suggests that the vote, and the oath by the father or introducer that the boy was the legitimate son of a phratry member, had once been a part of the ritual of sacrifice. In Is. 7. 16 the introducer takes an oath *kata tôn hierón*. It was perhaps possible at least in some phratries to sacrifice the *koureion* at meetings other than the one for the Apatouria; in Is. 7. 15–17 we are told that an adopting father who feared he might soon die presented his adoptive son to his phratry at the Thargelia (May). The alleged son of Euktemon of Kephisia whose *koureion* offering at the Apatouria of 367/6 (see W. Thompson 1970*e*) was obstructed by Euktemon's son Philoktemon (Is. 6. 22) may have been introduced (after a family compromise) at the Thargelia of 366: ch. 7 Case 1. Different phratries had varying regulations (Is. 3. 76, 7. 16).

troubled by disputes in the years immediately after the Peloponnesian War, decided in 396/5 to postpone the formal scrutiny of candidates' qualifications, including the hearing of any disputed cases, to the year after that in which the koureion was sacrificed; probably the phratry held a business meeting in the morning, and the new koureion sacrifices of the year and accompanying feast took place in the evening. Rejected candidates could appeal to have their case re-heard, apparently at a still later date (*IG* ii² 1237; cf. ch. 19 at nn. 87–110).

INTRODUCTION TO THE DEME

A boy was introduced to his father's deme at about eighteen. Since candidates accepted by their demes had to undergo a further scrutiny by the Council, it seems likely that enrolment in all demes took place at or around the same time, apparently soon after the beginning of the civil year in July.³³ Acceptance by the deme conferred citizenship and membership in one of a series of forty-two named age classes, categories used i.a. for purposes of military call-up. The system could, obviously, be used to calculate at birth which age class a boy would be enrolled in when he reached eighteen. However, there was no formal registration of births,³⁴ and assessments of age were made by demesmen and councillors on the basis of physical maturity; both for this reason, and because in some families it was felt desirable for brothers to be enrolled together, there seems to have been some elasticity in the interpretation of the regulation on age (cf. Humphreys 2009, n. 2; 2010*a*, 79).

In order to pass deme scrutiny without question, a candidate would need the support of his kin in the deme. In one appeal against rejection, the candidate is supported by his half-brothers, his father, and matrikin and affines who may or may not have belonged to the same deme (Isaios 12; ch. 7 n. 153). Appeals against rejection by the deme were heard by the city courts; on the general scrutinies of 445/4 and 346/5 see ch. 22 nn. 18, 30.

MARRIAGE

'Marriage' in Athens was a protracted process which began with wooing and formal betrothal (*engué*), proceeded through payment of the dowry, rituals for

³³ See Whitehead 1986*a*, 100–103; Cantarella 2010. On the Council scrutiny, for which our authority is *A.P.* 42. 1–2, see P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 493–510; B. G. Robertson 2000.

³⁴ Cf. Humphreys 1974; 2010*a*, 79. The tombstone of the young cavalryman Dexileos of Thorikos, who died in 394 (*IG* ii² 6217) gives the archon year of his birth (414/13); this is unusual (ch. 11 n. 70). A 2nd c. BCE list of women, girls, and boys from Kalymnos (Segre 1952 no. 88) gives the year and month of birth. Cf. W. Schmidt 1910; Derow 2006, Chios, 1st c. CE; ch. 22 n. 45.

prospective brides, wedding rites, sacrifice of *gamêlia* in the phratry, and the ritual transfer of the bride to her new home, to cohabitation, and was completed by the birth of children (Vernant 1973; H. King 1983). Ideally all these steps were expected to follow each other in a smooth and fairly rapid progression, at appropriate intervals. Interruptions, delays, or omission of steps in the sequence gave rise to disputes and ambiguities concerning the status of the union. Although a woman might marry more than once (due to divorce or, more frequently, widowhood; Table 7.7), a first marriage that proceeded through all these steps transferred her irrevocably from the category of *parthenos* to that of *gynê*. Marriage had a history (cf. Seaford 1988); whereas archaic marriage was mainly a mechanism for alliance between elite families, by the classical period it had become for all citizens a prerequisite for the production of legitimate children.

We are not too well informed about wooing. The girl of course had little official say in the matter, whatever influence she may have been able to exert by arguing privately with her parents. Fathers tried to arrange marriages for their sons also, but the image of the young man who finds his own bride had been present in Greek culture from early times. In the *Iliad* the poet dwells on men's relations with mates who have been captured or stolen: Hector and Andromache, Achilles and Briseis, Paris and Helen. The archaic period had tales of young men travelling from all over Greece to compete for the daughter of a powerful man: the wooing of Agariste daughter of the tyrant Kleisthenes of Sikyon (Herodotus 6. 126–31), of Atalanta, and of Helen (M. L. West 1985, 133ff.). In New Comedy the contradictory models are brought into open conflict; fathers plan with each other to dispose of their children, sons fall romantically in love with *hetairai* or with respectable girls met or glimpsed on ritual occasions.

Except for such occasions, upper-class youths had little opportunity for meeting suitable girls unless the girls were kin or affines (cf. ch. 4 n. 51). We have a few references to the use of intermediaries in wooing, but the sources are problematic, the choice of intermediary varies (wooer's brother or mother; girl's younger sister?) and the role of go-between or matchmaker does not seem to have been institutionalized.³⁵

³⁵ The wooer sends his mother to talk to the girl's mother in a lost Menander play, according to the *periochai* (*POxy* 1235, col. II 50–6; Koerte I [1938] p. 147; *PCG* VI 2 p. 137); Ar. Byz. knows of female wooers (*promnéstria*, 279 ab, p. 93 Slater 1986). Melampous won the daughter of Iphiklos for his brother (*kasignêtos*), *Od.* 15. 235–8; this may have supplied the model for the inclusion of Agamemnon, acting for Menelaos, in the catalogue of suitors of Helen (cf. Janko 1982, 247). Carey's view (1986) that in *PKöl* II 58 (Archil. F 48 West, Page *SLG* 478) Neoboule's younger sister has been sent to the poet as a go-between is not plausible. The girl is not a messenger, and it is far from certain that she is a sister. If Archilochos' poems referred in any consistent way to real people, which is still doubtful, it would be better to assume that the link between this girl and Neoboule was based on common membership of a group like that gathered round Sappho. The use of her mother's name is probably to be explained by a reference in the lost beginning of the poem and not, as suggested by Koenen (Gelzer a.o. 1974, 500) by assuming that she and Neoboule are stepsisters. See also Slings 1987.

Betrothal took the form of a verbal contract between the fiancée's *kyrios*—father, brother, or other guardian—and the fiancé, the *kyrios* undertaking to give the girl 'for the ploughing of legitimate children' and specifying the dowry to be given with her, the fiancé formally accepting her on these terms. Although in some scenes in New Comedy only the *kyrios* and fiancé (and sometimes a silent fiancée) are present,³⁶ it is unlikely in real life that such an agreement would be made without witnesses (cf. Demosthenes 30. 19–23, Isaios 6. 64 for general statements to this effect). The fiancé's uncles act as witnesses in two cases (FBs in Demosthenes 57. 41, MBs in Isaios 3. 29, 70); unspecified kin of the fiancé are mentioned in a third passage (*prosékontes*, Isaios 8. 14). These are witnesses who are still alive when testimony is later needed in court; they are not necessarily the only persons who were present at the betrothal.

In New Comedy, where stage conventions restricted the number of actors who could take part in a scene together, betrothal scenes commonly take place in the presence of the fathers (or guardians) of both fiancé and fiancée; this is the situation in Menander's *Samia* (726–9), his 'Fabula incerta' (ll. 29–31 *OCT*, cf. Gomme and Sandbach 1973, 683–8; the fiancé Moschion is not himself present), and in Terence's *Andria* (949–51).³⁷ In the *Andria* a witness to the girl's identity, Crito, is also present. In three cases—Menander's *Dyskolos*, the 'Fabula incerta', and Plautus' *Trinummus* (1183–9)—the betrothal also takes place in the presence of a young man who is or will be engaged to marry the sister of the fiancé. This is of course partly due to the conventions of plot in New Comedy, and in the *Dyskolos* the witness is also the brother of the fiancée; nevertheless, one can understand a young man turning to his sister's husband—older, already married, but not as remote as a father—for advice and support in this stage of his life. In the alternative ending to the *Andria* (which may be late, Skutsch 1957) Chremes betroths his second daughter

³⁶ Menander *Perikeiromenē* 1013–15 (not Attika), *Misoumenos* 436–47, and perhaps the first betrothal in the 'Fabula incerta' (17–18 Sandbach 1972), and in Plaut. *Trinummus* 1151–63 (where a friend of the girl's father is also present). In the two former plays the fiancé is a soldier and not the typical young man dependent on his father. In Plautus' *Curculio* the girl is betrothed by her brother (a soldier) to the fiancé in the presence of the parasite Curculio (663–78). In Menander's *Dyskolos* Gorgias betroths his half-sister, whose guardian he has become, to Sostratos with no witness present (759–63), but reference is made to the need for the consent of Sostratos' father, which is given in the later double betrothal scene (821–47). Scafuro 1997, ch. 7 (cf. also pp. 243–5) has material on male discussions preceding marriage, in which kin of both parties might in real life have been involved. Women make promises in marriage contracts from Ptolemaic Egypt (see Vatin 1970) but not in classical Athens; there the fiancée does not have to be present when she is betrothed, and in New Comedy she frequently is not. She is present and consents in Plaut. *Curc.* 673. For women's offerings before marriage to Nymphe and to Aphrodite Ourania (*SEG* 41. 182) see Ando 1996; Brouskari 2004, 32–7; Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou 1997, 2005; Sabetai 2014. Post-nuptial offerings, M. P. J. Dillon 1999.

³⁷ It might, I suppose, be argued that the powers of the Roman *paterfamilias* gave him more control over his son's marriage than a Greek father had, and that therefore Roman playwrights may have tended to introduce the fiancé's father in scenes where he was absent in the Greek original. Fathers arrange marriages alone, in the absence of the fiancé, in Terence *Andria* 99–102, 569–73; *Heautontimoroumenos* 863–6, 935–44; Plaut. *Trinummus* 442–581.

to the hero's friend Charinus in the presence of the hero, Pamphilus, who is by now engaged to the girl's sister.

In some cases a dying man would make arrangements for the remarriage of his wife and/or the marriage of his daughter(s); such occasions are better classed as wills than as betrothals, and will be discussed below under that heading. In such circumstances a long interval might elapse between betrothal and a wedding that could not take place until the girl reached puberty. Demosthenes' sister was betrothed by her dying father at the age of five. Normally, however, engagements do not seem to have been long.

WEDDINGS

Information on Greek wedding rites comes in large part from the lexicographers, without distinctions of place or period, and most modern accounts are equally indiscriminating. Even with some help from vase paintings, it is difficult to be certain what was normal in classical Athens.³⁸ The bride was washed and dressed by women from her own family and its friends, and had a maid of honour, *nymphentria* (Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 1056), who presumably was usually a kinswoman. Her father or guardian would sacrifice and feast guests at his house, or sometimes in a building borrowed from a cult association for the occasion. Plato in the *Laws* (775a) seems to assume that wedding feasts will take place in private houses, and limits guests to twenty: five male and five female kin (*syngeneis* and *oikeioi*) from each of the two families concerned, and the same number of family friends. In the late fourth century in Athens the number of guests at weddings and other private rites (*thysiai*) was limited to thirty (Athenaios 245a–d, *FGH* 328 F 65). In Evangelos' comedy *Anakalyptomenê* (*The Bride*) a father plans a wedding with four tables for female and six for male guests.³⁹ We are told that Perikles, who gave up social life when he became a political leader, attended the wedding feast of his cousin (*anepsios*) Euryptolemos II but left immediately after the libations.⁴⁰

³⁸ For vase paintings see Oakley and Sinos 1993; Sabetai 1993; for accounts in the traditional style, with no attempt to distinguish place or period, Erdmann 1934; Vatin 1970; Buxton 1987; Avagiannou 1991. Magnien 1936 is very speculative. See also Sant Cassia and Bada 1992, 107–9; M. P. J. Dillon 1999; Redfield 2003b.

³⁹ *PCG* 5 pp. 184–5, 3rd c.? Cf. Erdmann 1934, 255ff.; F. Cairns 1977, 147; Ar. *E.N.* 1165a 18–21 on *syngeneis* as wedding guests; Kurke 1991, 118–22 on Pind. *Ol.* 7. 1–12; Russell 1979 on wedding speeches in the Roman period. On *gynaikonomoi* and control of number of wedding guests see Piolot 2009.

⁴⁰ Plut. *Per.* 7. 5. According to *APF* 9688 VIII Perikles would have been Euryptolemos' second cousin (FFBDS). W. Thompson 1969a argues that *anepsios* is only used of a first cousin, or first cousin once removed, and that one of Euryptolemos' parents was a sibling of Perikles' mother Agariste. The naming patterns in his reconstruction of the genealogy, however, are improbable. Cf. ch. 14 n. 43.

At the end of the feast the bride would perhaps be unveiled⁴¹ and receive presents, *anakalypteria*. Finally in the late evening she would be taken to her new home, usually riding in a cart with the groom and his companion (*parochos*),⁴² a kinsman or close friend; they would be escorted by torchbearers, the bride's mother among them, singing hymenaia. The bride was welcomed at the door of the groom's home by his mother, or by both his parents. She was then perhaps formally incorporated into the new household by a ritual at its hearth, and finally was accompanied to the door of the bridal chamber—which at least in Hellenistic times was decorated with a specially built temporary porch hung with fine cloth, the *pastas*—by her *nymphentria* and the rest of the party; an epithalamium might be sung. Friends or kinsmen of the groom stayed outside the door on watch, joking. Another song was sung to wake the couple in the morning, when a further feast was given by the groom or his father.⁴³ The reference in Isaïos 8. 18 to the groom celebrating his wedding with kin (*prosêkontes*) and three friends may be to this second celebration.

In this last passage the speaker adds that he offered the gamêlia sacrifice later in his phratry according to custom, and calls both wedding guests and phratry members as witnesses to his marriage. Normally, however, in Attic sources, it is the celebration of gamêlia in the phratry that litigants stress in court. Isaïos 3. 76 argues that since the opponent has produced no evidence that he offered gamêlia for his marriage with Phile, she cannot have been married as a legitimate daughter

⁴¹ The position of the unveiling in the ceremony is controversial: see Oakley 1982; Buxton 1987; Redfield 2003b, 69–71; Gherchanoc 2006. The legal status of anakalypteria gifts as the bride's property was discussed in a speech attributed to Lysias (F VIII Carey 2007). Pherekydes' account of the wedding of Zeus and Chthonie (F 68 col. I 11–13, see Schibli 1990, 64–5) in which the groom gives the bride a new robe on the third day of the wedding (i.e. after the wedding night), may suggest that questions about the day on which the bride was unveiled are misplaced, since the unveiling before wedding guests (whether it was part of the wedding process or only an iconographic convention) was only a metaphor for the consummation of the marriage. In this case the 'real' unveiling took place at night, and while the anakalypteria would always be given on the third day the place of the token unveiling in the ritual may have varied.

⁴² The *parochos* (cf. Ar. Byz. 280–4, pp. 93–4 Slater 1986) is perhaps shown on the Amasis painter's lekythos New York Met. Mus. 56. 11. 1, BArch 350478. Rühfel 1984a argues that this figure is a *pais amphithalês* and that such a child (with both parents still alive) traditionally played a role at weddings (cf. R. Parker 2005a, 282). However, although an Attic representation of Theseus and Ariadne (Rühfel figs. 61a–b; BArch 206410; lekythos, Taranto, c.480) may be related to the Naxian custom of putting a *pais amphithalês* to bed with the bride on the night before her wedding (Kallim. *Aitia* F 75. 1–3), references to the use of such children in ritual are rare before the Hellenistic period (cf. n. 27 above). In Men. *Sikyon*. 404 the groom's brother (an adolescent, 200f.) is to be *parochos*.

⁴³ Representations of wedding processions, Krauskopf 1977; Moesch 1988; Moesch-Klingele 2006. Calame 1977, I 159–162 discusses evidence for dancing and singing at archaic weddings; songs occurring at various stages of the festivities were not sharply distinguished in genre or terminology. On hymenaia see Contiades-Tsitsoni 1990; for *katachysmata* at the hearth, Paradiso 1987. Sourvinou-Inwood 1990a, 8 notes that iconographically the preferred moments are the preparation of the bride and the wedding procession.

of citizen parents.⁴⁴ It evidently was not specified by law that celebration of *gamêlia* in the phratry was an—or the—essential element in the definition of marriage as a union from which legitimate children could be born, since such a formal requirement should have been attached after Kleisthenes' reforms to the deme and not to the phratry. Nevertheless the functioning of the law on citizenship required some public recognition of the constitution of a marriage, and for this purpose a ritual in the phratry (we do not know how 'traditional') was more appropriate than a private wedding. The continued relevance of the celebration of *meion* and *koureion* to cases of disputed legitimacy and citizenship even after Kleisthenes' reforms will have encouraged this tendency to give the phratry a quasi-official role in the recognition of marriage.

It seems likely, in any case, that plenty of Athenians, especially the less well-to-do, would have combined wedding and *gamêlia*. This seems to be the pattern that Aristophanes has in mind in the *Peace*, where Trygaios' preparations for a wedding sacrifice are interrupted by small boys practising their recital of patriotic poems, for the contest which took place on the third day of the *Apatouria*, and the play ends with a wedding procession leading the bride to her new home.⁴⁵

To combine the two celebrations, however, implied that the families concerned lived close to the centre where the phratry held its meetings; emotionally the climax of a wedding was the transfer of the bride to her new home and the wedding night, and a celebration in the phratry that did not culminate directly in this physical transformation of the virgin *parthenos* living under her family's care into deflowered *gynê* with responsibilities in a new household was a mutilated remnant. We can assume that two factors combined to favour a separation of wedding celebrations and *gamêlia*: distance between residence and phratry centre, and the desire of wealthy families to celebrate weddings at home, where they could display their own generosity and hospitality most extravagantly, on a date when their peers were not engaged in ritual celebrations elsewhere in other phratries.⁴⁶ The second motive is likely to have operated fairly constantly in upper-class families; the former was more variable. During the Peloponnesian War many rural families and phratries had to move from their homes in Attika into the city,

⁴⁴ Cf. Demosthenes 57. 43, 69; ch. 7 case 14.

⁴⁵ Hesychios s.v. *gamêlia* says that the term was used both for the wedding feast (*deipnon*) and for the *phernê*, the trousseau gifts carried in the wedding procession.

⁴⁶ Though Solon had restricted the display of transferred property (*phernê*) in wedding processions (ch. 1 n. 120), the fact that marriage implied transfer of trousseau and dowry as well as change of home for the bride may also have created difficulties for the simultaneous celebration of wedding and *gamêlia* (ch. 19 n. 48). We do not actually know when dowry payments were made; in some cases there were delays. On dowry guarantees and the gradual move towards public registration of dowry land see Germain 1968, 1975; A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 296–303.

and this may well have encouraged more frequent celebrations of the type portrayed by Aristophanes in the *Peace*.

Certainly weddings did not always take place at the time of the Apatouria (late Pyanopsion, October). In *Acharnians* 1048ff. Aristophanes has gifts of meat from a wedding sacrifice being received at the time of the Anthesteria, in spring (cf. ll. 100, 1076);⁴⁷ Demosthenes' delinquent guardian Aphobos married in Skirophorion, in midsummer, in the hope of frustrating Demosthenes' claims on his property.

DIVORCE

The normal consummation of marriage was not only sexual intercourse but the birth of children. Until this point had been reached a marriage was not yet securely based, and a father's right to remove (*aphaireisthai*) his daughter from a marriage of which he had come to disapprove was particularly likely to be exercised at this stage. Herodotus' report (1. 61) that Megakles I's daughter, married to the tyrant Peisistratos, reported to her mother that he was having anal (*ou kata nomon*) intercourse with her in order not to beget children, and that Megakles thereupon broke up the marriage, may rest on gossip but is nevertheless symptomatic. The law on epikleroi prescribed a minimum frequency of intercourse between husband and wife; a woman who became an epikleros when already married could perhaps be claimed by her next-of-kin if she had not yet produced children. The poets of New Comedy liked to present young wives bravely defying fathers who tried to remove them from husbands who were behaving badly; behind this romanticized picture lay real tensions present in the early stages of marriage, when a teenage girl and a man reluctant to give up the pleasures of bachelor life had to adapt to each other.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ For other evidence that early spring was a common time for weddings see Deubner 1932, 117. Aristotle (*Pol.* 1335a) says that most Greeks marry in winter (*cheimōnos*). I do not know whether it is significant that a child conceived in early Gamelion would have been born in time for celebration of the meion in Pyanopsion of the same year. For the Kabyle (Bourdieu 1980; 1990, 205–7) the best times for marriage are those of season-change, after the spring equinox and in autumn. The month Gamelion attested in Athens and many other parts of Greece (Trümper 1997 s.v. *Gamêlîon*, *Gamîlios*, *Gamos*; L. Robert 1948, 5–15; 1960, 568) fell in December/January in Athens and was named for the celebration of the *hieros gamos* between Zeus and Hera. Aristophanes in the *Acharnians* has already jumped from the Rural Dionysia of December (ll. 202, 236ff.) to the Anthesteria (1000ff.; cf. ch. 19 n. 60), and evidently is not closely following the ritual calendar here (cf. Parke 1977, 114 f.; *contra*, Belknap 1934).

⁴⁸ On *aphairesis* and *epiklêroi* see A. R. W. Harrison 1968 11–12, 30–1, 309–11; Rosivach 1984; Furlley 2009, 28. *Aphairesis* in a papyrus of the 2nd c. CE, *POxy* 237. Resistance by wife, Menander *Epitrep.* 655–9, 714–44; *P. Didot*; F 566 Kock = F 7 Sandbach 1972; Paoli 1946, 1957; P. G. M. Brown 1983; Scafuro 1997, 307–9; ch. 1 n. 116.

In one case (Isaios 2. 8–9) an older husband allegedly decides that he is responsible for the childlessness of his second marriage and proposes to his wife's brothers that the marriage should be dissolved and they should find her another husband. A husband did not have to give any formal grounds for the decision to 'send away' (*apopempein*) his wife, but presumably it was common for him to state his reasons either to his wife's kin or to witnesses.⁴⁹ In Lysias 14. 28 the husband summons witnesses to listen to his grievances, and alleges that his wife has been sleeping with her brother; the speech may be fictitious but the procedure is plausible. The husband did not have to allege misconduct on the wife's part; a man could divorce his wife in order to marry an epikleros, (Demosthenes 57. 41). Plato in the *Laws* (929e–930c) prescribes that officials shall try to reconcile spouses who want to divorce, but this is a consequence of his 'one-child-family' policy. No doubt in Athens kin and friends may sometimes have tried to prevent divorces, but this certainly was no concern of the state; and no stigma attached to divorce.

We have two references to the registration of divorce with the eponymous archon, both in cases where the woman takes the initiative in leaving her husband (*apoleipsis*).⁵⁰ In the case of divorce a husband was obliged to repay his wife's dowry to her kin, who could claim interest at 18% during any interval between the wife's return to her family of origin and repayment (A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 57–8). Such cases (*dikai sitou*) were the responsibility of the archon; this provides an adequate motive for voluntary notification, and there is no need to assume that any wider concern of the archon and the city for private life was involved. It would undoubtedly have been difficult to get Alkibiades to restore his wife's dowry in the first attested case, while in the second (Demosthenes 30. 15) manoeuvres involving the dowry were the main motive for a divorce and remarriage that may have been intended as only temporary.

As far as we can see, divorce did not usually lead to bad relations between the two families concerned.⁵¹ The situation of Euripides' Medea, who finds herself set aside for another woman in a city where she has no kin to protect her interests, is extreme, even if her resentment was modelled on the reactions of divorced wives in Athens as observed or imagined by Euripides. While the second marriage of a father was a threat to the interests of the children of his first marriage, whether due to divorce or widowhood, there is no sign that

⁴⁹ Many divorce negotiations must have hinged on the question of infertility.

⁵⁰ Plut. *Alkib.* 8, where we are told that the husband forcibly carried his wife back home; Dem. 30. 15. Cf. Is. 3. 78, A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 40–4.

⁵¹ Additional complications were present in the case mentioned in Dem. 41. 3–4, where the bride's father had adopted his son-in-law and subsequently wished to dissolve both the marriage and the adoption. He had to repay to his ex-son-in-law everything that the latter had contributed to the estate (*ousia*). Cf. also Cohn-Haft 1995; Buis 2003.

Athenians expected divorce as such to be traumatic for children, and no evidence of disputes over custody or access. It seems quite possible that Plato's mother was divorced from his father and kept her children with her (ch. 24 n. 4). A child's legal right to inherit from his or her father would not (at law) be affected by such an arrangement.

APOKÊRYXIS

A man could repudiate his children as well as divorce his wife, but this was a much rarer and more abnormal act. Strong motivation was expected, in the form of misconduct by the child, and attempts at conciliation by kin would certainly be made. A scene described in *Iliad* 9. 446–80 represents an embryonic form of *apokêryxis*, with attempts by kin to force father and son into reconciliation. In Plato's *Laws*, if a father wants to repudiate his son the case must be argued before the father's kin up to the degree of first cousin (*mechri anepsiôn*) and the son's matrikin to the same degree. If the father gets more than half the votes the repudiation is valid (*Laws* 928d–929c). The repudiated son is given ten years in which to find himself an adoptive father.⁵² Threats of *apokêryxis* may have been made quite often by angry fathers (cf. Euripides *Alkestis* 734ff.; Cobetto Ghiggia 2001), and it became a topic for rhetorical exercises,⁵³ but there are no certain historical cases.

SENILITY

Plato associates with *apokêryxis* the *graphê paranoias* by which a son could have his father certified as incapable of managing the family's affairs; both contravene the norms of affection and respect which should govern relations between fathers

⁵² Father, mother, and son do not vote. Both male and female adult kin do. Plato does not specify whether the calculation of matrilinear kinship *mechri anepsiôn* starts from the son or his mother; probably the latter is meant. His introduction of public announcement by a herald (928d) may be merely due to etymological deduction. *Pace* Wurm 1972 there seems no reason to suppose that in Athens *apokêryxis* after a son had come of age and been introduced to deme and phratry would have threatened his right to citizenship, unless based on a claim that he was not legitimate (cf. Plat. *Laws* 928e); in any event, the question may never have arisen. A father who repudiated a son in his childhood would not present him to phratry and deme. Against the theory of Photiades 1925, accepted by Gernet (1957, 10–11), that Mantias repudiated Plangon's sons by *apokêryxis* (Dem. 39–40, *APF* 9667) see Rudhardt 1962 and Humphreys 1989.

⁵³ Cf. Cantarella 2011, 337. See Düll 1943, Wurm 1972, and Maspero 1911, 455, 460 (6th c. CE). In *IG ii³* 452. 16–21 (M. J. Osborne 1981–3, D 22, c.334; V. Chankowski 2008, 252) citizenship is granted to Peisitheides of Delos and his descendants, 'except the one sent by his enemies to kill him', but strictly speaking this does not imply *apokeryxis*, since a repudiated son would not come into question. Ismard (2010, 80) attempts to rescue the tradition (deriving from Aischines the Socratic?) of Themistokles' *apokeryxis* (cf. *APF* p. 213 n. 1).

and sons. In the city of the *Laws* sons are to consult with the older men among the Guardians of the Laws, who will support them in bringing their case if it is judged really necessary (*Laws* 929d–e). We have no historically attested cases of the use of the procedure; attempts to introduce it into an unreliable anecdote about Sophokles are unwarranted.⁵⁴

WILL-MAKING AND DYING

Although we cannot be sure what Solon meant by his law that a man who had no legitimate children and had not adopted could dispose of his property (*diathesthai ta heautou*) as he wished, by the classical period it was interpreted as permitting a man setting out for a campaign or some other dangerous journey to make a will conditionally designating an heir who would become his adoptive son or daughter if he did not return to beget progeny of his own (see Humphreys 2002a; ch. 1 n. 88). We have no detailed accounts of the making of such wills, but the presence of kin as witnesses would clearly be required, whether the will was oral or written.⁵⁵ A somewhat similar though more complicated situation is described in Isaïos 6. Euktemon of Kephisia had made an oral agreement with his son Philoktemon that the latter would not obstruct the presentation of an alleged younger half-brother to Euktemon's phratry, on condition that the boy was only to inherit one piece of land (*chôrion*) and not a full share of Euktemon's estate. After Philoktemon's death Euktemon produced a written record of this agreement for his two sons-in-law, husbands of his only other surviving children, on an occasion when one of the two was about to set off on campaign, and deposited it with a kinsman (*prosêkôn*) and fellow-demesman, Pythodoros of Kephisia. When he later wished to revoke this

⁵⁴ See TGF IV, *Vita Soph.* 13, with TGF I no. 22 F 1 c; Lefkowitz 1981, ch. 8 and App. 4; Scullion 2002, 89; ch. 1 n. 134. *Paranoias dikên* in Plut. *Mor.* 785a is probably guesswork; the references in the *Vita* to Sophokles' phratry and to his son by Theoris of Sikyon, Ariston, and the latter's son Sophokles III indicate that the quarrel with Sophokles' other son Iophon concerned questions of legitimacy. In any case the whole story comes from a comic source and it is impossible to say what, if anything, lay behind that. On Aristophanes' *Dramata* see PCG 3. 2 p. 158 T vii; n. 18 above. If the story came from this play, which is quite uncertain, the reference to the meion in F 299 (p. 167) would imply that the story concerned a child of Iophon. One *might* then assume (since the preserved fragments of the two comedies to which the name *Dramata* is assigned suggest a paratragic context) that the references to phratres and the meion were metaphorical, and Aristophanes was joking about the legitimacy of Iophon's plays.

⁵⁵ Isaïos 9. 12 mentions the possibility of a secret will made without witnesses, but the argument appears to be a form of *reductio ad absurdum*, implying that such a document would in general be most improbable. [Dem.] 46. 28 refers to wills whose contents are kept secret, but this does not imply that the existence of a will would be unknown. In Soph. *Trach.* 163 Herakles is said to have left a written will with his wife Deianeira. In Lys. 13. 41 a man in prison makes an oral will in presence of his wife alone.

agreement he went before the eponymous archon⁵⁶ with Pythodoros and one of the sons-in-law to ask that the document be returned to him (Isaios 6. 27–33). Pythodoros objected that a legal guardian (*kyrios*) should be present to represent the daughter of Euktemon's second daughter, since she was also an interested party; when this objection was upheld Euktemon announced petulantly that he at least considered the will no longer valid. The episode shows that it was normal for representatives of all interested parties to be present when a will was made or revised (cf. Demosthenes 41. 17, to which we shall return).

Other references to the deposit of written wills with disinterested third parties indicate that advantages could be seen in separating will-making from dying. Testators liked to maintain full control over their property and power over their heirs as long as they could, and oral will-making with its concomitant solemn injunctions and moral exhortations to heirs was a major part of the ritual of dying; but dying is always an unpredictable affair in which the chief actor cannot count on being left to play the scene out as he has planned.⁵⁷ When the heirs were minors a will would incorporate arrangements for guardianship and had to be preserved until the period of guardianship came to an end. The will of Pasion was deposited with Kephisophon son of Kephalion of Aphidnai, a well-known politician and probably a client of Pasion's bank ([Demosthenes] 45. 10, 19).

⁵⁶ As in the cases of divorce discussed above, we are here dealing not with well-established customary practice but with improvisations in which officials are called on to give a greater air of legitimacy to questionable behaviour. The phenomenon belongs to the move towards public registration of private legal transactions which can be observed in 4th c. Greece, and would be worth more detailed study (Sickinger 1999 deals mainly with public documents. Wills on stone, 2nd–3rd c. CE, *IG* ii² 2711–15). Antipater is named as general trustee in Aristotle's will, D. L. 5. 11. Epicurus deposited a property transfer record, mentioned in his will, in the public record office in Athens, the Metroon (D. L. 10. 16, cf. D. Clay 1982). Wyse's argument that in Is. 6. 27–33 the archon was holding an *anakripsis* preceding a *dikē eis emphanōn katastasin* (1904, 31–2) is too technical; Kamps' attempt (1938) to save the reference to a 'fifth part' of the estate in 6. 46 by arguing that Euktemon had made a *partage d'ascendant* dividing his estate equally between Isaios' client, Alke's two sons, and his own two daughters is over-complicated (ch. 7 Case 1); the attempt to claim a daughter as epikleros makes better sense as an alternative to supporting Alke's sons. There was no clearly established legal procedure for changing a will (cf. Is. 1. 3, where again there is an attempt to involve the archon). Hellenistic wills often specify explicitly that the testator retains the right during his lifetime to dispose of his property as he wishes (Rabel 1907, 534). Cf. the procedure of annulment of an agreement concerning the disposal of an estate in [Dem.] 48. 46–7. Pythodoros, with whom Euktemon's will was deposited, was councillor in 367/6 (*IG* ii³ 4. 54); the will was probably made in summer 366. On written wills see also Pébarthe 2006, 88–94.

⁵⁷ Ariès 1977. Coptic Christians in the early middle ages often stress their foresight in making wills while still in good health, having reflected that death may come at any time (eg. *KRU* 74, Till 1954; cf. MacCoull 2011—with oral will, p. 122); a different mentality from that studied here. Arkesilaos of Pitane thought it necessary to make three copies of his will, depositing one in Eretria, one in Athens, and one in his home town, but he did not make it until weakened by illness (D. L. 4. 43–4, 3rd c.). Cf. Zingale 1997 on Hellenistic/Roman wills in Egypt. Discourse about the afterlife does not seem (*pace* Plato) to have been a normal element in Greek deathbed scenes; regulation of inheritance and business affairs seems to have been the main focus of attention for men, expression of emotion being (in principle) left to women. See D. Clay 1983 on Epicurean concern with sickness and dying.

Pasion as an ex-slave had no kin, and his wife had no near male relative alive when he died ([Demosthenes] 46. 19); in any case her kin may have been metics and not citizens. Pasion, who had acquired citizenship, no doubt preferred to have his will backed by the authority of a citizen, particularly since the affairs of his bank had included dealings with men prominent in the public sphere. Pasion had leased his bank and shield-factory to his ex-slave Phormion in summer 371/0 (*APF* 11672 VI). Subsequently he fell ill (Demosthenes 36. 7) and made his will, dying during the Attic year 370/69.

It was commoner for wills to be deposited with kin. Diodotos, whose estate forms the subject of Lysias 32, was killed on active service in 409 having deposited a will with his brother Diogeiton, who was also the father of his wife and was appointed guardian of his children. Diogeiton at this time had no other child and it is unlikely that before this will was drawn up the two brothers had divided their inherited property in any formal way. Their real estate was certainly still held in common, and we cannot be sure that the debts listed in the will were owed to Diodotos alone and not to both brothers. Astyphilos of Araphen, a professional soldier (Isaios 9. 14), allegedly made a will adopting a son of his cousin (FBS) Kleon when about to go on campaign, and deposited it with his mother's brother (§ 5), who supported Kleon in the ensuing court case. The wife of Polyuktos of Teithras drew up a written list of money owed to her in the presence of her brothers,⁵⁸ who questioned her about each item, sealed the document and deposited it with Aristogenes, who may be one of the brothers (Demosthenes 41. 9, 21–2). The document included a record that 1800 drachmas had been lent to one of her sons-in-law, Spoudias, and is said to have been intended to obviate quarrels after her death. Her husband, Polyuktos, in his last illness, made an oral will similar in form (in which he included the debts owed by Spoudias to his by now deceased wife), in the presence of his two daughters, one of his sons-in-law, and Aristogenes. Spoudias, the second son-in-law, was invited to attend but (allegedly) said that his wife's presence was sufficient. Aristogenes announced the contents of the will to him, and later testified to all this in court. Polyuktos lived on for five days after making the will.⁵⁹ Demosthenes' father made an oral will in the presence of his brother Demon and the three guardians appointed for his children—Demon's son Demophon, the testator's nephew (ZS) Aphobos, and a family friend, Therippides (Demosthenes 28. 15). Demophon and Aphobos were to marry the testator's daughter and widow.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Presumably her daughters were also present, though perhaps not her sons-in-law. Reference to a woman's will also in Men. *Sikyonios* 248.

⁵⁹ Dem. 41. 8–9, 17–20. Note the reference in §§ 6, 16 to the erection of *horoi* to mark a debt as a provision made by a dying man.

⁶⁰ The oral deathbed will by a woman in Terence *Andria* 284–98 seems to be influenced by Roman law (*tuae mando fide*, 296; cf. G. Williams 1958, 20–1). It incorporates a formal betrothal (of a younger sister).

The noun *diathékê* and the corresponding verb *diatithesthai* denoted two acts which in some respects were markedly different and which only partially coincided: the conclusion of a legally binding agreement about the disposal of a testator's property, and the terminal regulation of his affairs and injunctions for the future given by a dying man to his heirs. As legal agreement the *diathékê* was subject to constraint from legal rules,⁶¹ tended progressively to take written form, and needed to be legitimated by recognition from the public sphere, at a minimum in the form of the presence of disinterested witnesses. As part of the drama of dying, on the other hand, it was scripted by emotional needs, essentially oral, and intimate. While the law stated that only a man who had no direct descendants could make a *diathékê*, i.e., appoint a successor of his own choice, a man with sons might still want to ensure that debts were paid or collected, make arrangements for his own burial, appoint guardians, give directions for the remarriage of his widow and/or the marriage of his daughters, free faithful slaves, divert at least some small part of his property to illegitimate children or perhaps to friends, or possibly take into his own hands the division of his property among his sons.⁶² Legal and emotional needs both worked to make will-making a universal phenomenon, but contradictions between the two kept oral will-making alive for a long time as an alternative to the use of writing,⁶³ and prevented the complete fusion of the two forms; many of the dispositions characteristic of oral will-making were not legally enforceable or were even, as in the case of legacies to non-heirs (or the 'deathbed' adoption in Menander *Dyskolos* 729–60), apparently contrary to law. The deathbed scene had its own, religious, sanctions, originally perhaps associated with the term *episkêpsis*, although this by

⁶¹ On Solon's regulation of diathekai see Humphreys 2002*a*.

⁶² Debts: note payments to *oikeioi* and *philoï* of the deceased in Isaios F XVI 2 Thalheim 1903, VIII P. Roussel 1922, record of wife's dowry in Soph. *Trach.* 155–63, commissions in D. L. 5. 15 (Aristotle), vows to gods *ibid.* 16. Burial: *Phaedo* and *Trachiniai*, discussed below; D. L. 5. 16 (Aristotle). Marriages: Pasion's widow, the widow and daughter of Demosthenes senior, Aristotle's daughter and mistress (Dem. 36. 8, 27. 4, 28. 19, D. L. 5. 12–14), Men. *Dysk.* 729–60 (daughter). Manumission is first certainly attested in Plato's will (D. L. 3. 42; a possible reference earlier in [Dem.] 47. 72). Small bequests to *nothoi* permitted, A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 67; no actual examples are known. Aristotle gives bequests to freed slaves, D. L. 5. 14. Bequests to friends are not yet attested (with the exception of the quasi-corporate estates and libraries of philosophical schools); Demosthenes' allegation (18. 312) that Aichines inherited 5 talents from his brother-in-law (WB) Philon may refer to adoption of one of Aischines' children, since no offspring of Philon or his brother Epikrates are known and the sum seems much too large to be plausible as a legacy (ch. 2 n. 48). Rabel 1907 raises the question of directions given by the father in his will for the division of his estate among his sons, citing Soph. *Trach.* 163 (cf. Eur. *Herakles* 462–75). No historical cases are known from Attika, although division (*merismos*) seems to be a common term in wills from Greco-Roman Egypt. While it was in sons' interests to recognize their father's right to distribute property before his death, they had less reason to allow him to take control of the division if it would only take effect when he died. [Dem.] 49. 42, a minor as witness to an oral will.

⁶³ Note that in the late 4th c. BCE 'Tables of Heraclea' (Uguzzoni and Ghinatti 1968, I 151–2) intestacy is described as dying 'without speech' (*aphónos*).

the end of the fifth century had acquired a secular meaning in the public sphere⁶⁴ and seems to have become restricted in the private sphere to solemn injunctions of a particularly awful nature, such as requests to avenge the death of a victim of homicide (Lysias 13. 40–42; cf. Isaïos 9. 19–20).

The scene of Herakles' death in Sophokles' *Trachiniai*, in which the hero compels his son Hyllos to lay him on his funeral pyre, an act only one step away from parricide, and makes him promise to wed the captured princess Iole whose presence has precipitated his parents' death (1146–1251), portrays in extreme form the overriding force associated with deathbed instructions. At the opposite end of the range of variations in normal Athenian behaviour we may set another heroic death, that of Plato's Sokrates, who refuses to make any testamentary dispositions concerning his body, his property, or his children—if his friends are true friends they will not need instructions—but with his last breath gives Krito just one formal injunction to pay a debt, the cock to Asklepios who has healed him of the sickness of living and given him a new dawn.⁶⁵ Herakles' claims on his son transcend all ordinary human norms and feelings; Sokrates' attitude implies that death makes no significant change either for the dying man—the essential Sokrates will continue to exist—or for those he leaves behind him. His friends will continue to care for the interests of his family as they did in his lifetime. Good men do not need laws or legal forms to order their behaviour (cf. Humphreys 1988). Absolute authority and absolute trust were not features of normal deaths; but they may help us to understand the obstacles to treating will-making purely as a piece of legal business.

⁶⁴ *Episkêptô* is the technical term for interruption of a lawsuit by a charge of perjury against a witness; Aristotle's attribution of the procedure to Charondas (*Pol.* 1274b 5–7) implies that it was felt to be archaic. *Enepiskêptô* is used for claims made on property confiscated by the state. See Sanmarti Boncompagni 1956.

⁶⁵ Plato, *Phaedo* 115b–e, 118a; cf. *Krito* 54a; Most 1993; Stafford 2008. While Sokrates is indoors, off stage, with Krito, preparing himself for death, he sees his children and the women of his family (*oikeiai*) and speaks to them, giving them some instructions (*episteilas*), which Plato does not report, although he says that this interlude took quite a long time (116b). His friends break down when he drinks the hemlock, but he rebukes them for this womanly behaviour (117c–e). (*PKöln* V 205 contains part of a new Socratic dialogue on death, but it may be Hellenistic).

Funerals and Burials

One of the new developments in studies of Greek funerals and monuments, in the last three decades, has been a clearer recognition of the reflexive processes of change affecting them. Far from conforming—as was earlier assumed—to immutable, ‘traditional’ beliefs about the rights of the dead, they were shaped by conceptions of honour (*geras thanontôn*) that were influenced by poetry, by interpretation of the visible remains of earlier burials, by memories of recent funerals (perhaps also by accounts of practice in neighbouring regions), and by gossip, all moulding buriers’ conceptions of what contemporaries would consider appropriate for their status and that of the dead. Modern interpretations, in turn, are influenced by historically changing ideas of the relations between poetry and social practice and between ‘beliefs’ and practice, by a tendency to forget that the archaeological data available have been biased by the changing interests of excavators, readers, and purchasers of ancient objects, by shifting conceptions of proper disciplinary practice, and by (again, changing) modern funerals and tombstones (compare Baines 2013 on ancient Egypt).

Disciplinary training predisposes scholars to think of funerals as textual, graves as ‘archaeological’, and stone monuments as ‘epigraphic’ or as ‘art’. Historically, however, textual evidence was available before the spread of excavation. Hence, although the main aim of this chapter is to reconnect archaeological data with the funeral contexts that produced them, we begin with the literary evidence, which provides at least a relatively fixed set of reference points.

FUNERALS AND COMMEMORATIVE REUNIONS: THE TEXTUAL SOURCES

For the Homeric hero, death had two possible meanings, two faces (Vernant 1981). It could mean perpetual renown, immortality on earth in the public sphere, the memory of a man’s great deeds in battle preserved in the songs of poets and in oral traditions anchored to the mound that marked his grave; it could also mean an equally endless existence as an anonymous unit in the crowd of gibbering spirits in Hades, ‘displaced persons’ whose fate was worse even than that of the living *thês*, the day-labourer who belonged to no *oikos*. In this stark contrast

between fame and anonymity there is no place for kinship; the dead in Hades do not group themselves with their kin.¹ To be of use to his kin a hero has to remain alive, as Hector's wife and parents remind him; here there is tension between private loyalties or obligations and the public glory that the hero may win by dying.

From the beginning of our period, then, death is never simply a private matter, although it terminates relationships central to private life. Regulation of competitive display at funerals began, at Athens, with Solon's legislation and continued to be a concern well into the Hellenistic period, although the ideological bases of the argument shift over time.²

Modern research, due to the longstanding interest of archaeologists in tombs, has tended to concentrate on monuments, and to deal with funerals only insofar as they leave material traces in the form of pyre remains or grave-goods. Even mounds have been treated as monuments rather than as evidence for funerary ritual. This attitude has some justification for the classical period, when there was a sharp distinction between public and private funerals, though I shall argue that even at that time the public funerals of the war dead exerted a decisive influence on forms of commemoration (cf. Humphreys forthcoming *c*). For the archaic period, especially before Solon's legislation, a comprehensive reconstruction of the funeral process is essential (cf. Polignac 1995, 11).

In the *Iliad*, the distinction between the more public and the more private elements in the funerary rites is expressed in terms of the rhythms of daily life, symbolized in the Greek camp above all by the alternation of day and night, and in Troy by movements between public and private space. When not fighting to avenge his death, those close to Patroklos are continuously concerned with his corpse from the moment when it is brought back to the Greek camp until the end of the funeral games. Achilles refuses food, and neither he nor the Myrmidons go to bed, although even Achilles is overcome by sleep—only to dream that Patroklos is speaking to him.

This dream takes place on the night after Hektor's death, when the Myrmidons are mourning on the shore and the rest of the Greeks are sleeping. On the following day the whole Greek army helps to collect wood for the pyre; the non-

¹ Sophokles' *Antigone* gives a different view; concepts of the afterlife change over time. See Sourvinou-Inwood 1983.

² Ch. 1 n. 62. I am not wedded to the view that the 'Solonian' funerary legislation belongs to the same years as the measures linked to his poems, but I would put it in the first half of the 6th c. Plato and Demetrios of Phaleron (F 135 Wehrli; Fortenbaugh and Schütrumpf 2000 no. 53) object to expensive grave monuments as extravagant and inappropriate, since attention should focus on the *psychê* of the dead rather than the corpse (cf. D. L. 5. 53, Theophrastos; Stobaios 4. 55); the funerary law from Gambreion (3rd c. BCE, *Syll.*³ 1219; Arnaoutoglou 1998, no. 110; Frisone 2000, 139–54) seems mainly concerned to limit the mourning period and ensure that women, in particular, return to participation in public religious life when it is over. Cf. Engels 1998.

Myrmidons then sit and watch while the Myrmidons process, in armour, with the corpse (this is the *ekphora*), and deposit it ceremonially on the burial ground. Achilles cuts his hair and lays it on the body, with a speech, and the whole company responds with cries of grief. The day by now is drawing to a close; the rest of the Greeks are dismissed and Achilles and the Myrmidons pile wood round the body and burn it, a process that takes all night. In the morning the whole Greek army gathers again, the pyre is quenched, the bones are collected, and a mound is heaped over them; the rest of the day is taken up with funeral games.³

The sequence is complicated in Hektor's case by the absence, initially, of the corpse. In *Iliad* 22. 405–515 the whole city mourns, though the scene begins with Hektor's mother and ends with his wife. In 24. 160 Priam and Hektor's kin are mourning indoors; in 237–47 Trojans who come on visits of condolence are driven away (both Achilles and Priam refuse to submit to the normal rhythm of mourning, but such refusals themselves fall within a predictable range of behaviour). When Hektor's body is brought back it is greeted with public lamentations (24. 697ff.), which would have continued *until sunset* if Priam had not insisted on going *indoors* (713–17). A lament follows; from the general description (720–2) we expect male singers to lead and the women of the family to act as chorus, but instead we are given laments by Andromache, Hekabe, and Helen. The scene begins indoors, but at the end the scene is public (776). Now Priam orders the Trojans to gather wood; when they have done so, on the tenth day, there is a formal *ekphora*, Hektor is cremated, the pyre is quenched, the bones are collected and buried and a mound is heaped over the grave. The Trojans are said to fear a Greek attack; this helps to excuse the poet's rapid summary of the funerary rites and divergence from the plan announced in 24. 664–6, in which there was to have been a feast beside the grave before the mound was made. The poem concludes instead with a feast in Priam's palace in the city.

Like marriage, dying was a protracted business which had to pass through a number of stages. Between being a living person and becoming a fully disembodied memory, the subject of the process was first an unburied corpse and then—at least if interred—a buried, rotting cadaver. There were a number of possible points of climax in the process: in the mourning round the laid-out corpse (*prothesis*), at the end of the *ekphora* procession when the corpse was laid

³ *Iliad* 23. 58–257. It should be stressed that cremation in premodern times is a much longer and slower process than inhumation (cf. Liston and Papadopoulos 2004). Even when—as in the case of *tholoi* or shaft graves—the preliminary labour of grave digging may be as great as or greater than that of wood-gathering, the rhythm of the operation is very different. Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 109–17, stresses the function of the mound as a barrier between the dead and the living, and its construction as a definitive act of separation (in her view every grave would have had at least a small mound; indeed, merely replacing the earth creates this effect temporarily). It is also important that (as still in Jewish funerals) everyone present makes the gesture of separation implied in casting earth into/onto the grave.

on the pyre or in the grave, at the moment when the pyre decisively caught fire (awaited with some anxiety, as we see in Patroklos' funeral), at the culmination of the heaping of the mound over the grave, or in festivities of various kinds marking the end of the mourning period, in many societies considered to coincide with the end of the process of decomposition of the corpse.⁴ Other climaxes could be introduced by inserting sacrifices and/or banquets at various stages in the proceedings. Participants with different roles in the ritual experienced its dynamics in different ways, according to their gender and their degree of intimacy with the deceased. For Achilles one of the decisive moments in the whole process came at the end of his dream, when he tried to embrace the ghost of Patroklos and it slipped through his grasp.

We need not assume, therefore, when the *Iliad* sets one funerary feast in honour of Patroklos during the period of prothesis and mourning before the cremation and another at the end of the funeral games, whereas the funeral feast for Hektor takes place immediately after the completion of his funeral mound, that the poem preserves material drawn from two different and clearly defined ritual sequences belonging to distinct periods.⁵ We should expect variations in ritual; and we should expect a poet like 'Homer', whose whole technique consisted in playing variations on well-known themes, to be interested in such variations.

Attic vases of the eighth and seventh centuries show the prothesis with mourners standing round, processions of armed men and chariots (*ekphora*), and wailing women. Hesiod refers to funeral games. But it seems likely that during the seventh century these were in many cities eclipsed by the growing *éclat* of the Panhellenic games at Olympia, and disappeared.⁶ The Solonian law on funerals

⁴ See Humphreys 1983*a*/1993 ch. 7; Hertz 1907; Huntington and Metcalf 1979.

⁵ The present discussion owes much to the work of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood (1981, 1983, 1995), and implies a shift of emphasis rather than disagreement (cf. below at nn. 67–71). One can indeed see in the *Iliad* anticipations of later restrictions on the display of grief by men in public (7. 427–8; cf. Van Wees 1998*a*), and perhaps also (though I am less convinced of this) a trend away from stress on intimate contact with the corpse, which will eventually come to be seen as polluting (Parker 1983; Humphreys 1991, 30–31), towards greater stress on the rites that reintegrate the mourners with the community. My interest here is in disentangling the various rhythms and constraints—ranging from the operational delays inherent in pyre-building and cremation to the adaptation to death taking place subconsciously in the mourners—which had to be harmonized (at least to some degree) on each occasion and which were responsible for a general tolerance of variation and flux within the framework of which directional change (drift) could also occur. Poets, both because they deal with exceptional situations and because the contrast between normal and abnormal behaviour is part of their repertoire, offer a wider range of models than real-life experience (cf. Kama 2008); some of these models may themselves influence the behaviour of later generations. It is a post-Enlightenment prejudice to assume that ritual must have been more 'fixed' in earlier periods than later.

⁶ They continued in Boiotia, *LSAG* 91–2 (see Shapiro 1991 on representations of funeral games, interpreted as Homeric allusions, in late 6th c. Attika), and are also attested for the (?) 6th c. in (western) Cumae (Dubois 1995 no. 16) and Lampsakos (*LSAG* 367, 371 no. 47). Drakon's law (*IG* i³ 104) distinguishes games from amphictyonic sanctuaries. Athens founded a festival with public games, the Herakleia,

(ch. 1 at nn. 62–3) set firmer boundaries between public and private segments of the ritual.

These restrictions, as Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood has stressed (1981, 1983), focus especially on the disruption of the daily life of the community by the elaborate funerals of prominent families. A long prothesis meant daily comings-and-goings at the house of the dead, involving not only men but also women in a ritually appropriate state of distress and dishevelment; the pre-Solonian ekphora would bring the whole city to a standstill and draw a crowd of followers to the place of burial, where the proceedings would be prolonged by a tour of nearby graves and an extravagant feast. The funerals of Spartan kings (cf. Nafissi 1991, ch. 6; Toher 1991; Baines 2013, 239–40 on Egypt) took this absorption of the whole group into the funeral of a prominent individual to the limit. The Solonian law did not prohibit male non-kin from attending prothesis and funeral, but tried to confine their participation within the ‘private’ limits earlier associated with the activities of kin (indoors or at night).

It was apparently more successful in controlling prothesis and ekphora than in restraining celebrations at the grave, perhaps because its measures in the former case coincided with a pre-existing tendency to concentrate the role of women in the preliminary stages of funerary ritual and bring men to the fore in the rites of reintegration that followed the interment (Van Wees 1998*a*). Increasing differentiation of public and private spheres, as the city’s political institutions developed, and perhaps increasing concern with avoiding pollution, would on this view have encouraged a shift from the alternation of public and private phases that characterized Homeric funerary rites towards a more linear movement from intimate contact with death to resumption of public life.⁷ Ambitious families,

to honour the dead of Marathon, *IG* i³ 3; 523–5 (ch. 31 n. 45). See Humphreys forthcoming *c*; games for war dead at Thebes, *SEG* 59. 502. For a Hellenistic revival (Amorgos), Helms 2003.

⁷ Cf. Cordano 1980; Van Wees 1998*a*; on pollution, Sourvinou-Inwood 1983, 1995; R. Parker 1983; n. 70 below. We are still far from clarity or consensus about the contours of the Greek concept of pollution and the factors that influenced its development. The elaboration of material culture during the 9th–8th centuries allowed the Greeks to give concrete form to boundaries between city and countryside, sacred areas and profane ones, public spaces and *oikoi*: between culture and nature, gods and men, men and women. The invisible actors in social life—gods, the dead—began to take more visible form, and this will have had both limiting and liberating effects on creativity in ritual; new barriers had to be respected, new fields were opened to speculation. The chronological stages of the material definition of the sacred are beginning to be studied (see Rolley 1983, 112–13; Rupp 1983; see also Sourvinou-Inwood 1993; S. G. Cole 2004, ch. 2, on terminology), but much remains to be done in understanding the factors involved. Migrant religious specialists from the east may have had an influence, as suggested by Burkert 1983, but it is still essential to reconstruct the Greek context in which they worked (the same goes for Van Wees’s suggestion, 1998*a*, that the practice of self-laceration by female mourners came from the east). Mourning perhaps became caught up in the logic of pollution partly because self-defilement was a familiar reaction to death (e.g. *Iliad* 24. 163–5); the idea that mourners actively pollute themselves rather than automatically becoming polluted by contact with the corpse is still expressed in the funerary law of

however, did not give up the practice of rallying their supporters round them at funerals without a struggle. According to Cicero (*de legibus* 2. 64), ‘some time after’ Solon’s legislation the Athenians passed another law, that no grave monument was to be greater than ten men could make it in three days, that tombs were not to be made of bricks, and that stones (‘herms’) were not to be erected on them.⁸ The conspicuous consumption that had been forbidden at funerals had apparently shifted to monuments, and the first provision of the law was concerned with the erection of huge mounds that required a large party of workers. A sixth-century epitaph from Troizen boasts that the *betairoi* of the dead man finished his mound in a single day, evidently implying that they must have been very numerous to do so.⁹ There was also, however, a new distinction between public burials, which involved the whole community, and private burials which did not. The mass burial of war dead on the battlefield was of course the earliest form of public burial, and is mentioned already in the *Iliad* (7. 417–32); but we also have a record from c.600 (?) of the burial on Kerkyra of a *proxenos* from Oiantheia, where his *kasignêtos* Praximenes was aided by the Kerkyraian demos in making his mound. It became the custom to give public burials to distinguished foreigners who died while on an embassy or other formal

Ioulis in Keos in the late 5th c. (*Syll.*³ 1218; see Frisone 2000, 57–102; Hölkeskamp 1999, 146 for the possibility that the law antedated the inscription).

⁸ On the date of this law and the interpretation of the provisions on brick tombs and ‘herms’ see Humphreys 1983*a*/1993, 88–90; R. G. Osborne 1985*c*, n. 10; Engels 1998; Rückert 1998, 172–6; Bernhardt 2003; ch. 11 at nn. 50–8. Rückert points out that herms (in the usual sense) are sometimes represented on Hellenistic tombstones for young men; no examples are known from Athens, but possibly this imagery led Cicero to confuse *herma* with *Hermes*, a herm in the usual sense. These provisions seem to be directed against lasting monuments; small mounds did not last long. Cicero’s inclusion in this law of a ban on speeches at private funerals may be due to historical speculation later than the 5th c. (Demetrios of Phaleron); in any case the exception made for speeches at the public funeral is in my view a later addition (Humphreys forthcoming *c*).

⁹ *IG* iv 800, *CEG* 139. Cf. Simonides CLXXX (Schneidewin 1885), large mounds for important men. Plat. *Laws* 958e limits mounds to the work of 5 men for 5 days, but by this time the labourers may be slaves or hired men. (*Laws* 956a–b also sets limits on the amount of labour to be expended on weaving or painting dedications, but here only a single worker is envisaged.) See also Bernhardt 2003, 71–91. Two huge mounds in the Kerameikos, Hügel G and the Südhügel, belong to the middle of the 6th c.; so does a large mound excavated by Stais at Petreza. Stais’ mounds at Vourva and Velanideza covered graves dated c.580 (see Humphreys 1983*a*/1993, 95–101 for references and further details); and mound I at Vari is dated c.570 (*AA* 1940, 176; but Alexandridou 2012*b* says late 7th c.). This evidence is far from satisfactory, but is not inconsistent with the view that large mounds were mainly a feature of the post-Solonian period (cf. below, n. 108; the evidence for a pre-classical mound on the Kerameikos Rundbau site is very poor). For the mound on which the Kroisos base (*IG* i³ 1240, 540–530) was set see Mastrokostas 1974; Kakavogianne and Petrocheilos 2013. It still stood 2m in height from the level of the ancient road when investigated, was 28m in diameter, and probably covered a single bronze ash urn, perhaps brought back to Attika from elsewhere, since Kroisos died in battle (cf. Thonemann 2016). For effects of the shift from funerals to monuments see Polignac 1998.

visit.¹⁰ The two forms of public burial became fused at Athens in (?) the 460s, when it became customary to bring back the bones of the war dead, cremated on the field of battle, and hold a ceremonial mass funeral for them at the end of the campaigning season.¹¹

The Athenian pattern of introducing a distinction between members of the jural kindred, who are involved in all stages of burial, and the general public, was followed in Keos, in a law preserved in an inscription of the late fifth century which shows more concern with technicalities of pollution and ritual than Solon (n. 7 above).¹² Other communities, however, may well have followed other paths. At Delphi the phratry of the Labyadaí passed a law c.400 which followed Solon in restricting the amount of property to be buried with the dead and specifying that the ekphora procession is to pass through the streets in silence, and without delays; but the distinction between kin and non-kin was here strictly enforced only after the burial, when only the deceased's household, patrikin, affines, and descendants might return to his house for further rites. This law may imply that at Delphi phratry members were obliged to attend the funerals of their fellow-phratores.¹³ The separation between kin and non-kin after the funeral also appears in the Ioulis law from Keos, where only those who have polluted themselves, i.e., are in deep mourning, may return to the house of the dead; only his mother, wife, sisters, daughters, and up to five other women and some related children, may take on this status.¹⁴

¹⁰ Kerkyra, *IG* ix 1² 4. 882, M/L 2nd ed. no. 4 (Bruss 2005, 88–9, with inadequate epigraphic references); Athens, *IG* i³ 1154, 1178, 1353, ii² 5224 (*CEG* 469).

¹¹ Loraux 1981; Clairmont 1983; on the date at which bringing home the war dead became the rule see Humphreys 1999, forthcoming c. On Jacoby's view (1944*a*, 1944*b*) that the funeral of the war dead was held on Boedromion 5, the date of the Genesia, Humphreys *ibid.* As is well known, communities in some cases honoured the exceptional dead with burial in a prominent place within the city, after it had become normal to bury extra muros (note Winter 1982). The Athenian rite for war dead seems to have been imitated at Thasos (*LSS* 64 +, *SEG* 57. 820/60. 944; Pouilloux 1954*a*, no. 141). The expression *pandēmēi parepempsan* (D. L. 5. 41 Theophrastos; cf. 3. 41 Plato, but restricted to frequenters of the Academy) seems to denote spontaneous participation in the ekphora which made a funeral de facto public although it was not officially so. On public funerals for individuals see also L. Robert 1968; R. Parker 1983, 42–3; Couilloud-Le-Dinahet 2003, 81–4; *SEG* 60. 1937; Kennell 2013, 222; *BE* 2014, 104; ch. 11 n. 72.

¹² Cf. P. Herrmann 1958, 118f., 4th c. epitaph from Miletos (*CEG* 686): hair is torn by kinswomen, *pasa syngeneôn plêthos*. Despite Solon's law, women were still seen by strangers on the occasion of funerals in classical Athens: Lys. 1. 8 (daughter-in-law at funeral of HM), Ter. *Phorm.* 91–116 (daughter at funeral of mother). Either the rule that the cortège had to leave the city before dawn was relaxed (after the plague?), or women were seen as they returned from the graveside.

¹³ No parallel from Attika before *IG* ii² 1275, *thiasos* regulations, early 3rd c. BCE; cf. Wilhelm 1896. In the Labyadaí text (*CID* 1. 9, R/O no. 1; Frisone 2000, 103–26; Jacquemin a. o. 2012, no. 30) affines are distinguished as *pentheroi* and *gambroi*.

¹⁴ The text is uncertain; cf. R. Parker 1983, 40. He sees a development from definition of mourning pollution in spatial terms to the use of kin categories (37 n. 17; 39–41); but Athens has the same law,

In Attika more attention seems to be devoted to the prothesis as the climax of women's involvement in burial rites. A late sixth-century funerary plaque shows a dead boy on the bier with mourners carefully labelled: mother, sister, grandmother (*thêthê*), aunt, aunt on the father's side (*thêthis pros patros*), father, brother. A small girl and baby boy stand by the mother, and the grandmother stands at the head of the bier.¹⁵ Later stages of the funeral are rarely depicted, and even in prothesis scenes the women's gestures of grief are perhaps more controlled in the sixth and fifth centuries than they were in earlier representations. After the early fifth century vase-painters shift their attention to the visit to the tomb with offerings, a favourite subject for the painters of white-ground lekythoi (Oakley 2004; Humphreys forthcoming *c*).

It was the duty of the next-of-kin to carry out funeral rites,¹⁶ and in cases where there was some doubt who held that position, and the prospect of an inheritance dispute, quarrels might begin when the corpse was barely cold. The speaker of Isaios 8 went to the house of his maternal grandfather Kiron to collect the corpse and carry it off to his own premises, taking a cousin of his father as witness; he was persuaded by the widow, Kiron's second wife, to conduct the funeral from Kiron's house instead (8. 21–7, 38–9). Her brother was also involved. Euktemon of Kephisia died at ninety-six in the house of a freedwoman; his wife and daughter went to prepare the body for burial (Isaios 6. 18, 40). The speaker of [Demosthenes] 44, claiming the estate of Leokrates of Otryne, tried to take possession of the corpse but was prevented by Leokrates' father and ceded to the

probably Solonian ([Dem.] 43. 62). On the links between touching the dead, pollution, and kinship see also Chanotis 2006, 219–23.

¹⁵ On the kin terms see Lopez Eire 1997, 92. BArch 463, Louvre MNB 905, Sappho painter (cf. Immerwahr 1990, 74 no. 436; Shapiro 1991; Beaumont 2013, fig. 9. 1); the same painter's phormiskos Kerameikos 691, BArch 306487, has personal names, and the leading male mourner says *Oimoi thygatêr*; on a fragment in Malibu, BArch 361406, the mourners greet the dead as *kêdeste* (for this painter see also Manakidou 2006, Clostermann 2007, Jubier-Galinier 2014). No other painter shows this interest in kinship (Cordano 1980 and Shapiro 1991 suggest reference to Solon's law, but this seems unnecessary). Eur. *Alk.* 101–3 (cf. Buxton 1987) seems to imply that mourners attending the prothesis left a lock of hair by the door of the house on leaving (or entering?). Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 1. 7. 8 for male kin (*syngeneis*) shaving their heads and wearing black in mourning, perhaps an allusion to the Apatouria (ch. 19 n. 28).

¹⁶ [Dem.] 43. 57–8; if they failed to do so the demarch was responsible for burial and could collect double the cost from the next-of-kin (cf. *IC* iv 75b, c.450; *LS* 154 B 17–31, *IG* xii 4. 72, c.240, Kos). The poletai record *Agora* XIX P 5. 25–9 records a claim on the confiscated property of Theosebēs son of Theophilos of Xypete (who had been condemned in absentia for theft of sacred property, *hierosulia*, having fled before the trial), made by Isarchos son of Philon of Xypete, for 30 drachmas spent on burying Theosebēs' father and mother. Pace Whitehead 1986a, 234, he was in my view probably a kinsman, though the sum is small. [Plut.] *Mor.* 849c (*FGH* 372 F 34; from Hermippos? *FGH* IV 3 A F 47, 87) says that Hypereides was buried by a cousin (*anepsios*) or, some say, a grandson (SS) (ch. 2 II B 9 and Table 2.3). Performance of burial rites had no formal legal significance, but it indicated closeness and concern.

claims based on this natural tie, while pointing out that the adoption of Leokrates into another *oikos* had in law destroyed his kinship with his father (44. 32).

We remain poorly informed about the conclusion of the funeral ceremony, which presumably ended with some kind of feast, and about later rituals. References to ‘third-day’ rites, *ta trita*, perhaps denote the day after the funeral.¹⁷ The speaker of Isaios 8 celebrated the ninth-day ritual (*enata*, also mentioned elsewhere; cf. the tenth-day rite of the Labyadai at Delphi) with particular lavishness because he had not been able to monopolize payment for the funeral of the man whose estate he was claiming; ordinarily this rite would perhaps have been a minor affair. We do not know the date of the Nemes[e]ia paid for by a daughter also involved in disputes over inheritance (Demosthenes 41. 11; 100 dr.).¹⁸ The name (if correctly transmitted) suggests a fear that the dead would bear a grudge against their heirs if their passage was not accompanied by the due offerings, but this does not seem to be a prominent theme in Greek culture. Athenians could be sued for ill-treatment of parents (*kakôsis goneôn*) if they neglected ancestral tombs, according to Demosthenes 24. 107, but no cases are recorded.¹⁹

¹⁷ Alexiou (1974, 7, 208) suggests that *trita* refers to the funeral itself, but this is not so at Ioulis (*Syll.*³ 1218), and the Labyadai (*CID* I 9, R/O no. 1) have a rite on the day following the funeral. Note that Hegisippos *Adelphoi* F 1. 11f. (*PCG* 5 p. 549) uses *perideipnon* to denote a feast held immediately after the funeral, in the heir’s home.

¹⁸ *Nemes[e]ia* for the dead are mentioned only here and in lexicographic entries probably derived from Harpokration’s comment on this passage (Harp., Phot., *Sud.* s.v. *Nemesia*; *Anecd.* Bekker 1814 282. 33). Harpokration suggested, doubtfully, that the term perhaps (*mêpote*) referred to a festival (*heortê*) of Nemesis at which offerings were made to the dead; the explanation given by Photios and the Bekker lexicon, ‘a festival (*panêgyris*) for the dead, since Nemesis has responsibility for the dead’, seems to me to be dependent on Harpokration’s comment, adding further explanation but no independent material. The two texts are recombined in the *Suda*. R. Parker (1996, 247 n. 101; cf. 2005a, 27–31) suggests that the word is an early corruption of *Genesisia*; one might also think of *eniausia* (Humphreys forthcoming c n. 31; cf. Plat. *Laws* 717e–718a; Wyse 1904, 269 on Is. 2. 46, *Syll.*³ 1218 B 4–9; *CID* I 9). In any case, the reference is probably to annual commemoration at the *Genesisia*. The passage has other peculiarities: 100 dr. seems quite high for a commemorative ritual (including an expensive dinner for numerous guests?), although Plato (loc. cit.) does mention yearly offerings, after tombstones, as the types of expenditure on dead parents that should be moderate but in accordance with family tradition and the size of the estate. There is also a striking use of the terminology of public liturgy: *eispherein*, *proanaliskein*. For interpretation of the representations of commemorative visits to tombs on white-ground lekythoi as originating in visits to war graves see Clairmont 1983, Humphreys *ibid.* Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1985, 26 claimed to have found archaeological evidence of commemorative cult (*latreutikôn pyrôn*) in a *peribolos* of the 2nd half of the 4th c. (Lenormant St. 191–3), but only a preliminary report is available, and the remains (carbon, ash, sherds) might have come from cremations.

¹⁹ When the Athenians consulted Delphi about a sign in the sky they were told to make various sacrifices and to see that kin (*pothikontas*) performed customary rites for the dead ([Dem.] 43. 66, *nomizomena*; Apollo seems vague about local custom). There was a belief that the dead who had been injured in life could send ‘visitants’ (*elasteros* in *SEG* 43. 630; Dubois 2008 no. 18; *SEG* 57. 888, Selinous, cf. Jameson a. o. 1993; another interpretation in N. D. Robertson 2010; *hikesios* in *LSS* 115, Kyrene), to persecute the offender, but (*pace* S. I. Johnston 1999, on which see Bardi 2001) there is no clear evidence that failure to perform commemorative rites could trigger such visitations.

A feast attended by kin thirty days after death is somewhat more solidly attested. Harpokration, Pollux, and Hesychios suggest that attendance was restricted to the jural kindred, those related to the dead as second cousins or more closely, but the existence of a proverbial phrase ‘outside the thirty’ to denote exclusion need not imply this.²⁰ Fragments of mourning songs, *thrēnoi*, composed by Pindar and Simonides have a philosophical tone that might suit such an occasion better than the funeral itself,²¹ but selective quotation may give us a false idea of the tone of the whole original poem.

The thirtieth-day feast may have marked the end of mourning. Some would no doubt continue to bring offerings to graves (curiously, no source refers to the erection of the grave-monument as an occasion for ritual), but the only other fixed obligation mentioned in sources is an annual ceremony (Isaios 2. 46) which may be that of the Genesia on 5 Boedromion (August/September).²² Litigants whose claim to inherit by adoption is being challenged in court depict with great pathos the piteous fate of the man who leaves no heir to tend his tomb, but this rhetoric must be treated with caution (cf. Rubinstein 1993). Certainly candidates for the annual archonship at Athens were expected to be able to say where the tombs of their fathers and (perhaps) grandfathers were ([Aristotle], *Athenaion Politeia* 55. 2–3), but although Xenophon (*Memorabilia* 2. 2. 13) takes this question to imply a duty to decorate the tomb (with *tainiai*?) it does not show that cult continued unbroken for many generations; and the democratic assumption that every Athenian should have commemorative offerings can hardly have been of great antiquity.

The change from the archaic practice, in which the elaboration of funerary rites, monument, and commemoration were proportionate to the status of the deceased, to emphasis in the classical period on public burial and severe restriction of private rituals and monuments, generated when these restrictions began to be relaxed in the Peloponnesian War a much wider distribution of private

²⁰ Harp., Phot. s.v. *triakas*, Pollux 1. 66, Hsch. s.v. *atriakastos*, *exô triakados*. Artemidoros 1. 4 implies that in his day all remembered dead kin, except those who had died in exile, were ‘invited’ by name to share commemorative banquets. *Triēkost[ia]* are forbidden in the funerary law from Ioulis, *Syll.*³ 1218. 21–2. Cf. Phot. s.v. *kathédra*. Is the notion of a primitive *genos* of 30 members in *A.P.* F 3 influenced by this complex of ideas? (ch. 18 at nn. 29–34).

²¹ See Cannatà Fera 1990; Yatromanolakis 1998; Kowerski 2005, 130–44. Shapiro 1991 suggests that some prothesis scenes on vases may show male mourners singing *threnoi*.

²² Jacoby 1944*b* argued that the date was fixed by Solon because he wanted to prevent powerful families from gathering large groups of friends and followers to celebrate private anniversaries, but the idea of the private anniversary may be a later phenomenon; cf. n. 26; Humphreys 1983*a*/1993, 87–8; Georgoudi 1988*a* (of the Isaios passages cited by Georgoudi, only 2. 10, 46, and 6. 65 refer to regularly repeated annual rites). A month Nekusios is attested at Knossos (Trümper 1997, 193) and Leontinoi (*EBGR* 11, 1998, 232); Genesios/ὄν in Arkadia, *BE* 2017. 229.

celebrations for the dead.²³ The commemoration of the ordinary hoplite soldier or even rower as having died a heroic death fighting for his city contributed to the slow shifting of belief which eventually came to confer on all the dead a continuation of personhood. With this democratization of the cult of the dead came anxieties about its permanence, exacerbated by the rhetoric of the courts. Aristocrats in the archaic age had trusted to poets to preserve their fame; the war dead were annually celebrated by the city; but the ordinary private citizen had only the personal memories of his descendants to rely on.

Later developments in patterns of commemoration need to be seen in the context of wider modifications of cult practice, which cannot be studied in detail here. The offerings taken to graves were similar to offerings made to gods; sacrifice, libation, and small gifts of food had always been common to both domains.²⁴ Thus, though such offerings might express the yearning of the living to remain in contact with the dead, they also set the dead apart. Philosophers made a conscious effort to resist this trend; the corpse should be decently but modestly interred and then disregarded,²⁵ and the friends of the dead should meet at regular intervals for a non-ritual dinner at which they would share their memories of him.²⁶ The ordinary man, however, contemplating his future existence, may have found it hard to conceive of commemoration without a physical link to his remains and a ritual scenario.

The commemorative dinners held by philosophers were related only accidentally to corporate groups; philosophical schools acquired quasi-corporate status by the transmission of the land, buildings, and libraries which provided the basis for their common intellectual activities. Other private individuals deliberately founded corporate religious associations, endowed with land to provide revenue in perpetuity, in order to ensure continuity in cult. Gods and the dead may be

²³ I argue in Humphreys forthcoming *c* that the disruption of funerals during the plague years played an important role (cf. Mikalson 1984).

²⁴ Cf. Hägg 1987. The distinction between ‘Olympian’ and ‘chthonic’ beings (on which see now R. Parker 2011 s.v.) did not distinguish the dead from gods, since there were deities in the ‘chthonic’ category. The increasing popularity from the 4th c. onwards of ‘receptions for the gods’, *theoxeniai*, also tended to blur the distinction between cult of the gods and of the dead (cf. N. D. Robertson 2010 s.v. *table hospitality*). However, the banquet scenes known as *Totenmahlreliefs* are relatively rarely used by Athenians on tombstones (Scholl 1993); their primary context seems to be hero-cult (Jameson 1994b, 53; Csapo 2010a, 89–96; Parker 2011, 115–67). Cf. Oakley 2004 for representations of food gifts on white-ground lekythoi.

²⁵ Pl. *Phaed.* 115c–e, *Laws.* 958d ff.; Dem. Phal. F 135 Wehrli 1949 (Fortenbaugh and Schütrumpf 2000 no. 53); Stob. 4. 55.

²⁶ D. L. 10. 18, Epicurus: funerary offerings (*enagismata*) to E.’s parents and siblings, continuation of annual dinners to celebrate his birthday (on the date see D. M. Lewis 1969) and of monthly gatherings to commemorate Metrodorus, at which E. will henceforth be remembered also. Ar. *Rhet.* 1398b 16–17 (Anaxagoras) refers however to a public festival. Cf. D. Clay 1983, 1986; N. F. Jones 1999, 227–34; *EBGR* 11, 1998, 225. 424 (imperial).

associated in such cults: the descendants of Poseidonios of Halikarnassos (*Syll.*³ 1044, *LSAM* 55, third century BCE) are to worship Apollo, the Mother of the Gods, Zeus Patroios, the Fates, the Agathos Daimon of Poseidonios and his wife, and the Agathe Tyche of his father and mother. Where membership of such groups is to be based on descent, the criteria of inclusion tend to be broad and bilateral.²⁷

The main trend in the Hellenistic period, however, was not towards the foundation of new descent groups with commemorative functions but towards a reappropriation of the public sphere for the commemoration of ambitious members of the elite. Rich citizens who had made themselves influential, popular, and renowned during their lifetime by gifts of cash or produce to the city prolonged their careers as benefactors (*euergetai*) in death by leaving land to the community, the revenue from which was to be used in annual public festivals commemorating the donor.²⁸ Funerals of war dead were a thing of the past;²⁹ the rhetoric of the public sphere was now used to extol the civic devotion of the rich.

FUNERALS AND COMMEMORATION: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

I. What is a grave?

Traditionally, archaeological data from graves and tomb monuments have been interpreted as evidence for beliefs about death, the afterlife, and the duties of the living towards the dead, and such beliefs have been taken to be long-lasting and deep-seated. When I published my first analysis of the Attic evidence for ‘family

²⁷ See Humphreys 1983*a*/1993, 119–20. Husbands of female descendants may hold office in the group founded by Poseidonios; that founded c.200 BCE by Epikteta of Thera (*IG* xii 3. 330, *IJurid* II I pp. 77ff., *SEG* 40. 678) is to include agnatic descendants of all the male founder members, plus descendants of epikleroi, and of some additional, named women. New funerary foundation, Lycia, Tlos?, c.150, R. Parker 2010*b*; see also Harter-Uibopuu 2011 = *SEG* 61. 1588; Carbon and Pirenne-Delforge 2013. N. F. Jones (cit. n. 26), fails to recognize the role of property in the crystallization of a corporate status for philosophical schools (never very clearly defined: J. P. Lynch 1972).

²⁸ *Euergetai*: see Van Bremen 1983, 1996, with comments on the increasingly paternalistic vocabulary used to praise them, implying a merging of public and private spheres; Curty (ed.) 2009. The proportion of benefactions made in kind, coming directly from the donor’s estates, needs study. The bequest of oil by the philosopher Lykon to Aigina does not specify a festival, but he is to have a statue and be remembered (*D. L.* 5. 71). Commemorative festivals are studied by Schmitt-Pantel 1982 and 1992; cf. also Wyse 1904, 377–8.

²⁹ Soldiering had become a profession; the soldier, *qua* soldier, was not a citizen. Athens, now increasingly concerned with preserving the memory of her past greatness, continued to commemorate the dead of earlier wars with annual games, the Epitaphia (see Mikalson 1998, s.v.; Humphreys 2004, ch. 3; Humphreys forthcoming *c*).

tombs' in 1980, my main target was the assumptions that Athenians buried their dead in lineage ('genos') tombs, probably located on private land,³⁰ which continued in use over many generations and that these were regularly visited by descendants making commemorative offerings.

During the last quarter-century assumptions have certainly altered. It is now much more widely accepted that funerary practices (like other forms of conspicuous consumption) can change quite rapidly, and that the archaeological data primarily provide evidence for practices and processes, only indirectly and secondarily for beliefs.³¹ It is also accepted that these practices are selective, structured by social categories (status, age, gender); the data do not represent whole populations (see below at nn. 72ff.). The search for linear evolutionary models has also largely been replaced by more flexible and reflexive conceptions of time, encouraging interest both in short-term change and in actors' ideas about pastness and about death as materialized in graves and monuments.³² There is an increasing tendency to see death as a locus for an ongoing dialogue between private concerns and representation to a wider public (ch. 11 n. 7); and modern researchers are perhaps becoming readier to think of beliefs about the dead and the afterlife as vague, speculative, and labile rather than 'traditional' and dogmatic.³³

However, these changes in interpretive frameworks have not yet had much influence on the character of the data. This is partly because data accumulate only slowly, and are published (if at all) at an even more glacial pace. There are only two areas in Attika in which planned excavation has dealt extensively with funerary material, the Kerameikos and Rhamnous; almost all the other data come from salvage digs carried out under varying constraints of time and space.³⁴ The

³⁰ Recent survey work in rural Attika has led to the discovery of more classical periboloi in rural areas (Bergemann 1997; cf. Carter a. o. 1998 for Metaponto), but it is nevertheless generally accepted now that tombs were sited by roads, and monuments positioned to catch the attention of passers-by as well as family members. Cf. below n. 64. Thorikos seems to be an exception.

³¹ See the very useful and thoughtful discussion of the relation between beliefs and their material expression in C. Morgan 1996; also Whitley 1994a, 52–3, on 'context' (equivalent to what I call 'practice'); Knappett 2011 on material re-presencing of both the dead and the buriers. Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood's emphasis on reconstructing ancient 'perceptual filters' (1991, 1995) has been very important, but does not say enough about the role of experience in forming such filters.

³² See ch. 11 n. 4 on deliberate archaism in funerary practice; Humphreys 1990b; Whitley 1994b; cf. Houby-Nielsen 1998 on the Hellenistic and Roman Kerameikos; Bruss 2005 on the ideas of Hellenistic poets.

³³ Cf. Carneiro da Cunha 1981; Bardi 2001; Humphreys 2004 on the speculative dimension of all religious thought (though I do not find it helpful to label funerary practices 'religion': among other reasons, funerary activity could be regulated by sumptuary laws).

³⁴ The Agora excavations have been carried out systematically since 1931 in a protected environment, but there were few burials in the area after c.700 (cf. n. 67 below), and bedrock has not been reached in all areas. Themelis 1979 claims to have excavated a complete burial area at Agios Panteleimon, Anavyssos. Relatively large burial area at Kifissia, Skilardi 2009, 2013. Under the term 'salvage digs' I include both sites considered to be at risk from illegal excavators and those opened up by modern building operations

other major problem is lack of communication between excavators and those who try to interpret the data as indicators of social, political, and economic change. Excavators publish little interpretation, and interpreters' theories rely heavily on arguments from silence.³⁵

I shall start, therefore, with a brief account of the history of burial excavation in Attika (both authorized and unauthorized) and of the changing interests of those who have conducted it. Excavators, like the people whose cultures they study, have perceptual filters; they do not see everything, and they do not record or publish all that they see.

Early excavators and travellers were interested, especially from the period of the eighteenth-century classical revival, in sculpture and, to a lesser extent, 'good period' vases, i.e., Attic black-figure and red-figure—provided that the objects were not too fragmentary and, in the case of vases, were clean enough for the painting to be noticed at the time of excavation.³⁶ British and French political interest in the eastern Mediterranean in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century not only led to the appointment of powerful and wealthy ambassadors with an interest in collecting (Choiseul-Gouffier, Elgin) but also stimulated topographical research and mapping. Military experts, surveyors, and hydrographers all had classical educations and used classical texts and place names to orientate them in their work; in the case of Attika, this produced by the middle of the nineteenth century an interest in tomb inscriptions from rural areas as evidence for deme location.³⁷

The decision to move the capital of the new Greek state from Nauplion to Athens in 1834 stimulated both archaeological exploration of the city area and a

(housing, transport, cable- and pipe-laying, etc.). As will become clear, excavators have not in general shown much interest in establishing the limits (spatial or chronological) of burial in a given area even where there were no material obstacles.

³⁵ The various annual archaeological reports published are brief and uninterpretive (epigraphists are much better served by *SEG* and *BE*, which indicate the historical significance of their items); the *Kerameikos* volumes (hardly user-friendly) restrict interpretation to 'burial customs' as traditionally understood. For the interpreters' side of this *dialogue des sourds* see below, especially at nn. 72–87.

³⁶ Here I discuss only burial excavations; for other interests of 18th-c. travellers cf. Humphreys 2008. A formidable number of tombs was excavated, especially in the early years of the 19th c. (cf. Eliot 1962; Beschi 1975; Matthaiou 1999, on the Aixone–Glyphada area; S. P. Morris 1984 on Aigina). Burgon, in the early 19th c., destroyed a number of Panathenaic amphorae before noticing that they were painted (Martha 1876).

³⁷ See Legrand 1897 on Choiseul-Gouffier and Fauvel (Fourmont, in 1729, was sent to look for Greek texts in monasteries and became interested in inscriptions only secondarily); St Clair 1983 on Elgin (cf. also T. Spencer 1954). Leake was sent to Istanbul to give military advice in 1799, subsequently doing survey work in Greece (H. C. S. Ferguson 2001; cf. Hussey 1995 on George Finlay). Francis Beaufort had charted the southern coast of Anatolia in 1811–12, and as Hydrographer Royal from 1832 was responsible for the work of Thomas Graves (who charted Piraeus in 1840) and Spratt. Cf. Humphreys 2008; Fotiadis 2001 on early 20th c. Macedonia.

great deal of accidental discovery of material encountered by builders, roadmakers, and drainlayers. Much was simply destroyed in these processes; some items went to private collectors; even objects acquired by museums came with minimal information about the context of discovery. Very little was published.³⁸ The Kerameikos area was explored for sculpture; ruined churches containing ancient materials were demolished.³⁹ Pittakes, Ross, and Rangaves tried to keep track of epigraphic discoveries, and Stephanos A. Koumanoudes from the 1860s paid particular attention to the provenance, location, and form of tombstones. The German Archaeological Institute's Athens branch (founded in 1874) organized systematic research in the Attic countryside and produced an archaeological map, the 26-sheet *Karten von Attika*.⁴⁰

From the late 1870s Schliemann's excavations at Troy, Mycenae, and Tiryns generated a new interest in pre-classical pottery, which had previously been classed as 'Phoenician' (or, in the islands, 'Carian'). Researchers realized that painted pottery had a history in Greece before Attic black-figure, and that the Homeric poems could be connected to that history; the result, in terms of cemetery research, in Attika, was interest in 'Dipylon style' pottery, i.e. the large Geometric painted kraters and amphorae found in the Kerameikos area. This interest remained very selective: the German archaeologists Brückner and Pernice (1893), reporting on an excavation carried out by the Greek archaeological service near Koumoundourou Square (Eleutherias), described only the 19 'Dipylon' burials, although the total number of graves opened was 231.⁴¹ The search for Homeric archaeology led to interest in modes of burial, including cremation and the *Opferrinne* which Stais had found under the mounds of Marathon and Vourva, discussed in Helbig's study of Homeric burial customs (1884); further examples were found at Velanideza and in the Kerameikos (Kistler 1998, 20–1; below,

³⁸ Cf. Humphreys 2004, 263 n. 101; Kokkou 1977 (with a good selection of contemporary photographs).

³⁹ It was decided that the new city needed only 12 churches (A. Mommsen 1868, with an invaluable map of locations). The old church of Agia Triada (Mommsen no. 45), in a major Kerameikos burial area, was demolished but replaced.

⁴⁰ See Petrakos 1987, A. P. Matthaiou 1988*a* on the early work of the Greek Archaeological Association (the latter with an important introduction on method); S. Matthaiou 1999 on Koumanoudes, whose *Attikai epigraphai epitymbioi* (1871) was republished with a volume of additions by the Association in 1993. The *Karten von Attika* (also recently republished, maps only, in reduced format, Korres 2010) drew on German military surveying technology (Kaupert); the archaeological field research was done by Milchhöfer (Humphreys 2008; Lohmann 2010*b*).

⁴¹ Smithson 1974 is very useful on the turn-of-century interest in 'Dipylon vases' and the difficulty of reconstructing the details of excavations carried out in this period. Dörpfeld's 1897 excavation on the north slope of the Areiopagos also encountered post-Geometric ('probably Archaic') graves, in which neither he nor Smithson was interested. Note that in the 1890s finds went by law to the owner of the land on which they were excavated (Droop 1906); see also Stroszeck 1999 on unpublished records from Brückner's early work in the Kerameikos.

n. 97). Most were seventh century in date, and this stimulated interest in Proto-Attic pottery.

The study of pottery chronology was gradually developing its own dynamic (R. M. Cook 1960), and this had an impact on methods of tomb excavation: it was recognized that undisturbed graves represented closed groups useful for establishing chronological links between contemporary styles, while the superimposition of later graves on earlier had diachronic implications.⁴² Since from the late Geometric period it had increasingly become the custom to bury neonates and small children in pots, child burials became of interest to archaeologists if there were grave-goods.⁴³

By the outbreak of the First World War the German Archaeological Institute had begun systematic excavations in the Kerameikos, while the Greek Archaeological Association remained responsible for the rest of Athens and Attika. It was widely recognized that museums and private collectors were eager to acquire sculpture and painted pottery, and antique hunters were digging busily.⁴⁴ Archaeologists still directed their attention primarily, in the countryside, to sites where they hoped to find sculpture (hence the interest in mounds), but were also more aware of chronological problems, and more likely to record some details of burial customs: forms of tomb other than simple pits or pot burials, such as cists or tile-covered graves; orientation of the tomb and of the head of the corpse; evidence interpreted as indicating commemorative offerings (pyres).⁴⁵

Even in the inter-war period much still went unnoticed, unrecorded, or unpublished.⁴⁶ The first analyses of skeletal material (from graves in the Agora and Kerameikos) were published only in 1939.⁴⁷ When Rodney Young (1942) re-examined material from Pelekides' cemetery excavation (1916) in Old Phaleron, he could only reconstruct from excavation notes and museum labels 26 of

⁴² Cf. Burrows and Ure 1908, 227 (Rhithsona) on the importance of comprehensive recording; Bosanquet 1899, 169–70; N. Momigliano 1999, ch. 2, on Duncan Mackenzie's work at Melos in 1896.

⁴³ Cf. below, at nn. 75–78. Earlier excavators had noted the contents of sarcophagi: see Lusieri 1813 in Walpole 1818, and early reports republished in *ARMA*.

⁴⁴ Cf. Venezis 1939 for a story set in Anavyssos in 1923. The material published by Buchholz (1963) from tombs in the Keratea area was all in private collections, and much more had gone overseas to museums (ch. 11 n. 16, 27 n. 53).

⁴⁵ The interest in orientation was due to Christian ideas, reinforced by Plut. *Sol.* 10 on the difference between Athenian and Megarian practice.

⁴⁶ Note the references in Whitley 1991, 88 to unpublished SM graves in the Agora.

⁴⁷ R. S. Young 1939, Breiting 1939 (cf. Whitley 1991, 64–5; on Young in the war, Lalaki 2013). The samples were small, and re-studies have shown some analyses from this period to be unreliable (*AR* 2001–2, 48, Pylos). Greece has only recently begun to catch up with other areas in the frequency and sophistication of bone analyses (compare I. Morris 1992 ch. 3, Carter a. o. 1998), though see Baziotopoulou-Valavane 2002, Mark Rose 2000, n. 73 below. Most attributions of gender are still based on grave-goods with no skeletal check; see Strøm 1998, Carter a. o. 1998 for assessments of the reliability of this procedure; Sofaer 2006.

the 87 graves dug, all but one of these being child burials in pots. Pelekides also found 18 pyres, but was not clear whether these were burials or not.⁴⁸ Subgeometric pottery was of no interest to collectors and was not much noticed by excavators.⁴⁹

Most of the development that took place in Athens, Piraeus, and (to a lesser extent) rural Attika during the first half of the twentieth century—which apart from industrialization, road and rail construction, drains, electricity, etc. included the resettlement of a high proportion of the two million refugees who arrived from Anatolia in 1923—was more likely to result in unnoticed destruction or increased supply to the antiques market than in archaeological publication.⁵⁰

Since I shall also be discussing the evidence for rural sanctuaries and dedication (ch. 12), I note here that changes in archaeologists' interests followed a more or less parallel course in that field, beginning with work on temple remains at Rhamnous, Eleusis, and Sounion, followed by excavation in search of sculpture. Much of the votive material from early excavations has never been fully published, and archaeologists became interested in dedication as a social practice only in the 1980s–1990s.⁵¹

Since the 1950s standards of salvage excavation and control over illegal excavations have improved;⁵² on the other hand, the increasing pace of development has meant that the Greek Archaeological Service is under relentless pressure,

⁴⁸ Cf. below, at n. 77–8, on Phaleron as a 'child cemetery'. Mersch (1996, cat. no. 50. 2) reconstructs 55 grave groups, with a larger proportion of adults. Mazarakis Ainian 1996 notes that is still sometimes difficult to decide whether pyre remains represent a burial or associated offerings (but the small pyres found in residential areas, once identified as child burials, are now considered to derive from non-funerary votive practices: see *City* 2000, 92–103; Rotroff 2013).

⁴⁹ Cf. R. G. Osborne 1989; Whitley 1994*a*, Table 3.2, 50% of Kerameikos graves assigned to the 7th c. had no grave-goods (cf. below, n. 87); *AR* 2003–4, 1 (Whitley) on the production by art-historical interest of 'gaps' in data. On the supposed 'gap' in 7th c. burials see also Polignac 1995, 84–8; D'Onofrio 1997. *AD* 56–59 B 1 [2010] 370–1 reports a burial area at Phoinikia, 'opposite the Kroisos mound' (see n. 9) used from LG to the mid 4th c.

⁵⁰ See (e.g.) the complaints of Keramopoulos 1919 and Philadelphus 1921 about tomb-robbers.

⁵¹ On the history of exploration at Rhamnous see Petrakos 1999; votive material other than sculpture and inscriptions has not been systematically studied or published either for Rhamnous or for Eleusis and Brauron (early Brauron terracottas, Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009). Material from the peak sanctuaries of Hymettos and Lathourea, and the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia, all excavated before WW2, is known only from later studies (Langdon 1976; Lauter 1985*a*; Mazarakis Ainian 1994; Palaiokrassa 1983, 1991), while the first instalment of that from the urban sanctuary of Nymphe was published only in 1997 (Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou, with ead. 2005), and a peak sanctuary on Parnes (Polignac 1995; D'Onofrio 1997) remains unpublished. Only sculpture has been published from the sanctuary of Herakles Pankrates near the Lykeion (Vikela 1994). On the temple of Artemis at Halai Araphenides see now Sparake and Stathe 2013, Kalogeropoulos 2010, 2013. On the late date of interest in dedications as evidence for religious practice (rather than art history) see Polignac 1996; Catherine Morgan's work has been especially influential for the archaic period.

⁵² However, illegal excavation continues (e.g. *AD* 52 B 1, 1997 [2002], 86–7, Phoinikia), though some finds are now confiscated after their context has been destroyed.

and most of its excavations are ‘published’ (if at all) only in brief notices in *Archaiologikon Deltion* and/or the media.⁵³ The catalogue of the exhibition of finds from the Athens Metro excavations (*City 2000*), though representing only a small selection of the material recovered, constitutes from the point of view of funerary data a major advance on the normal situation from the point of view both of excavation size⁵⁴ and of information published (of course it is no substitute for full publication).

The problems are intellectual as well as economic. As Matthaïou (1988*a*, 1988*b*) has forcibly pointed out, there is at present no centre of research or forum for common discussion among the archaeologists, epigraphists, and historians concerned with Athens; no archaeological research plan for the city,⁵⁵ no systematic mapping of finds, the probable extension of burial areas, etc.; no publication policy, beyond the obligation to produce minimal preliminary reports;⁵⁶ no critical thought about the type of training needed by archaeologists working in the Service,⁵⁷ or about provision of storage and conservation facilities. The result is that the constant process of selection in recording and (minimally) publishing excavations is often carried out by archaeologists who are not reflecting critically on the questions implied in their practice and have little or no exposure to the problematics of interpretation. They are not asking themselves why they regularly record percentages of tomb types (without correlating them with period, age of the dead, or any other variable), why they regularly note the direction of the head in inhumations (but not, if it is on its side, which way it

⁵³ Chronicles compiled by the foreign archaeological schools, published in *BCH*, *AR*, and (less frequently) *AJA*, summarize or occasionally supplement those publications (H.-R. Goette’s exceptional knowledge of developments in the Attic countryside will be much missed by historians of Attika). *Ergon* and *PAAH* publish only the excavations of the Archaeological Association, not those of the ephorates.

⁵⁴ Most salvage excavation areas are extremely small; see e.g. Alexandre 1968 for a typical example of a pipeline excavation. This is why so many ‘cemeteries’ contain only a few excavated tombs. Preliminary publication of Olympics-related excavations at Merenda (Myrrhinous, see ch. 25 at n. 44), Kakavogianne 2003. *Mes.-Arg.* 47–204 has several more reports, no cross-referencing, one plan, hardly legible even with a magnifying glass. See also Vivliodetes 2007.

⁵⁵ Note Gallis 1982 on the importance of systematic observation as opposed to reliance on chance discoveries.

⁵⁶ In the 1960s preliminary reports in the revived *AD* used to promise that the materials would be studied and fully published, but even this gesture is no longer made. While we must sympathize with the Archaeological Service over the burden it bears, a form of ‘salvage’ in which most of the information retrieved never reaches the public domain scarcely deserves the name. More effective procedures for rapidly making excavation notes and finds available to researchers, better cooperation with those in Greece and elsewhere who train graduate archaeologists, and more collaboration with archaeologists outside the service, should surely be considered. While additional resources were provided for salvage excavations in the areas affected by work on the Athens Metro and the facilities for the 2004 Olympic Games, I am not aware of any provision for full publication.

⁵⁷ For example, whether archaeologists excavating in areas with classical tombs should be trained to read and publish simple inscriptions.

faces⁵⁸), why they record the type of tile used to cover graves but not the dimensions of the skeletons . . . Still less are they asking themselves whether a grave is a closed ceramic deposit or the residue of historically changing and socially inflected funerary practices. There is far too little recognition that change in archaeological techniques implies changes in questions and problematics.⁵⁹

If the concept 'grave' should be subjected to critical examination, 'cemetery' is even more problematic (cf. C. B. Patterson 2006*c*). An unfortunate side effect of the concentration of systematic excavation on the Kerameikos archaeological site since the early twentieth century has been a tendency to reify its borders, which do not coincide with a gap in burial materials in any direction except (after the 470s) that of the Themistoklean walls.⁶⁰ The 'archaeological' Kerameikos does not include the area(s) where those who fell in battle were buried, and it covers rather little of the Sacred Way and even less of the road to the Academy, both of which are attested as privileged burial locations. Thus major sectors of even this urban burying ground, as well as the similar areas along the other roads leading out of the city, are known only from inadequately published old excavations, or salvage digs.⁶¹

Outside Athens, we have some idea of the classical tomb enclosures that lined the road from the fortress of Rhamnous to the temples, and on along the route leading thence to other parts of Attika;⁶² a substantial burial area west of the sanctuary of Eleusis was excavated and published by Mylonas;⁶³ but the burial patterns

⁵⁸ At Metaponto (Carter a. o. 1998, which should be required reading for all archaeologists excavating burials) direction of the face seemed more significant than orientation of the body.

⁵⁹ There is more concern with new questions in work on rural settlement sites, a field in which there has been more interaction between archaeologists and historians; salvage excavation began much more recently (cf. Steinhauer 1994*a*) and was influenced from the start by historians, while the sites rarely delivered 'art' objects.

⁶⁰ The excavations for the (abandoned) Kerameikos station of the Athens Metro found part of the NW limit of the burial area (between the Sacred Way and Peiraos St.), the absence of graves being due to ground water (*City* 2000). On burials before 470 inside the line of the Themistoklean wall see below, n. 68. The 'cemetery'—like other burial areas round the city—stretched along the roads leading outwards.

⁶¹ Papadopoulos 1993 complains that historians rely too much on the Kerameikos excavations, but in the current state of the data historians have little choice; I prefer to stress that the Kerameikos material creates an illusion that we have a firm basis for historical conclusions. For excavations along the Sacred Way see e.g. Stoupa 2000, and *City* 2000 on the Iakchou shaft; for the Academy road, Stroszeck 1999, and *AD* 52 B 1, 1997 (2002), 52–6 with Mark Rose 2000, on a site claimed to be that of 'the Demosion Sema' (but see Humphreys forthcoming *c* n. 40). Skilardi 1975 is an unusually thorough publication of classical graves excavated near the northernmost of the Long Walls linking Athens and Piraeus, but the site had been seriously disturbed by mechanical excavators before archaeological work began.

⁶² Petrakos 1999; much more attention has been paid to monuments and inscriptions (ch. 11 n. 25) than to graves.

⁶³ Mylonas 1975; the excavation did not reach the edge of the burial area, though such edges are reported from salvage digs elsewhere in the town (*AD* 43 B 1, 1988, 43–6; 47 B 1, 1992, 32–42 no. 4). It would be useful to have a comprehensive overview (and map) of burial excavations here.

of other Attic towns and smaller centres are very inadequately documented, and several major excavations remain unpublished.⁶⁴ Ironically, one of the better publications records private excavations carried out intermittently since 1947 by the owner of the surviving core of a large *çiftlik* based on Trachones.⁶⁵

If we attempt to measure rates of information loss during the last two centuries, the results are not encouraging. On the positive side, archaeologists are now much less prone to discard ceramic, stone, glass, or metal materials from periods in which they are not interested, and illegal excavators have perhaps become somewhat less active, although they certainly have not disappeared. On the other hand, there is still very little interest in non-artefactual evidence, while the increasing speed of development means that any drop in illegal excavations is counterbalanced by a huge rise in the quantity of officially legal but inadequately thought out and published salvage excavations. Comparison of the reports in the publications of the Greek Archaeological Association and the Service from the 1890s to the Second World War with those of the postwar period suggests to me that the ratio of excavated published information to excavated material has worsened. At the very least, it must be recognized both that early excavation records, however limited the excavators' interests, may preserve valuable information (see e.g. Crielaard 2007; Mazarakis-Ainian and Alexandridou 2011; Alexandridou 2012*a*, 2012*b*) and that a policy of safeguarding the archaeological patrimony without considering standards of training and publication is extremely problematic.

In these circumstances, historical conclusions inevitably rely heavily on arguments from silence. In my view we need more and better questions, and more experimentation with alternative models⁶⁶ and their methodological implications, rather than premature theories which may harden into dogma. The two scholars who have done most recently to criticize the assumptions underlying modern

⁶⁴ See Bergemann 1997 for a list of known rural periboloi; Mersch 1996 for burial areas in Attika. Lack of publication at the time of excavation is particularly frustrating in the case of the 'north cemetery' at Vari (the vases published in Papaspyride-Karouzou 1963 came from illegal excavations and not from the follow-up investigation; data from the excavation notebooks published in Alexandridou 2012*a*, 2012*b* do not solve all problems) and Papademetriou's excavations at Merenda (on the absence of records see *Mes.-Arg.* 73, n. 124; Xagorari-Gleissner 2005).

⁶⁵ Geroulanos 1973; only the Geometric graves were published, although there was other material. For the Trachones estate see Eliot 1962; ch. 23 n. 5. Cf. n. 44 above on illegal excavations in the Kephale area.

⁶⁶ I disagree here with Sourvinou-Inwood's discussion of the role of models (1995, Appendix)—though not with her practice. Explicit, clearly formulated models are more useful than the implicit, unexamined models underlying apparently empirical observation, because they promote argument over the relationships postulated (Max Weber 1904, 1906, 1917 on ideal types still provides the best statement on the role of models in the social and historical sciences). However, models are only heuristic tools, useful (as long as the assumptions on which they are based remain current) for exposing gaps in our data and orientating future research.

approaches to funerary data both seem to me, despite the value of their work, too eager to promote a single explanatory model rather than trying to refine our research questions.

Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood (1981, cf. 1995) suggested reading the funerary evidence from ancient Greece in terms of Ariès' model (1977) of a shift from 'familiar death' to a greater distanciation. Ariès' model is itself problematic, as a typical example of the modern western tendency to contrast *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, tradition and modern alienation; and the phenomena singled out by Sourvinou-Inwood, especially the move to extra-urban burial and (for men) a more self-controlled style of mourning, are also problematic. Whether the drop in the number of burials in the Athenian Agora after c.700 can be interpreted as evidence for a reluctance to bury the dead in close proximity to residential areas is still very much open to question. One Agora burial area remained in use until the end of the sixth century, and it is a *petitio principii* in this context to claim that it must have belonged to a special family group;⁶⁷ some of the early excavations on the north slope of the Areopagus uncovered but did not publish 'probably archaic' material.⁶⁸ Moreover, even if after c.700 there was a growing preference for burial in areas more closely associated in Athenians' minds with the dead, this might have more to do with conceptions of the prestigious funeral (see below at section 'Funerals, monuments, and the rise of the polis') than with repugnance. Those whose work required clay and water continued to site their workshops, in which most of them presumably also lived, in close proximity to burying grounds; indeed, 'Kerameikos' means 'the potter's quarter', not 'the necropolis'.⁶⁹ Ideas about pollution in relation to death developed only

⁶⁷ R. S. Young 1951, cf. *Agora XIV*; most of the burials were 6th c. There are still areas in the Agora where the excavations have not yet reached or are only now reaching pre-classical levels. See also Papadopoulos 2003; C. B. Patterson 2006*b*, 2006*c* on 'extramural' burial before Athens was walled.

⁶⁸ Smithson 1974. We know very little about other parts of the city, although the excavations for the Makryianni station of the Athens Metro did not uncover any graves (*City* 2000). The situation in the area of the Themistoklean wall, on the Kerameikos side of the city, is unclear; Knigge 1983 claimed to have found a grave peribolos and mound of the early 5th c. beneath the wall, but the evidence is scarcely conclusive (see now Stewart 2008, 583–4), and in any case the line of any earlier wall in this area, if it existed (Weir 1995, Papadopoulos 2008), is unknown. *AA* 2006. 2, 164 is unhelpful. Three cremations in bronze cauldrons, of c.680, were found under the wall (*Kerameikos* VI.1 gr. 62, Anlage LXII); this might have been an especially prestigious burial near an entrance to the city, like the Eretrian 'heroon' of the same period, but the Eretrian case is itself not entirely clear (cf. Crielaard 1998). Cf. also *Agora XXXV* 1–2 on possible 6th c. burials in the Agora area.

⁶⁹ On workshop siting see Papadopoulos 1996, 2003; Monaco 2000, 2012; *City* 2000, 128–31; Eschbach 2014 for Athens (cf. Humphreys forthcoming *c*, n. 46); Papadopoulos 1994 and Fischer-Hansen 2000 for comparative data. Archaeologists have only recently become interested in this topic, and little has been done on precise chronological and spatial relations between workshops and graves. Cf. Bodel 2000 on 'potters' fields'.

slowly, as did beliefs that some categories of the dead were dissatisfied and therefore dangerous.⁷⁰

The development in images of mourning practices is double: more detachment and composure for men, at least in public, but wilder grief and closer contact for women. The prothesis of the corpse seems to function here as a site for the construction of gender difference, chosen because of the prominence of funerals in cultural experience. If Ariès' model of 'familiar death' is relevant at all here, the contrast would be 'heightened death', a more conscious acting out of loss, grief, and the end of a life. Men's restraint acquires its meaning by contrast with women's grief.⁷¹

Ian Morris's work has been very important in reminding historians that funerary practices are selective, and therefore burials cannot be used as evidence for demography.⁷² However, it is important to distinguish between funerals socially 'seen' by contemporaries and funerary material that has been noticed, recorded, and published by archaeologists. Archaeologists cannot see everything that an ancient participant in a conspicuous funeral would have seen; on the other hand, they may also 'see' burials that were inconspicuous to contemporaries, such as child burials in pots, or methods of informal disposal such as the accumulation of children's and dogs' skeletons found in a Hellenistic well in the Agora.⁷³ Morris's

⁷⁰ For a historical approach to ideas about pollution see Humphreys 1991, 30–1, 37–8. Evidence that burial areas were regarded as polluting for ordinary people, or sinister, and that particular categories of dead were considered 'restless' and thus dangerous, increases over time (Parker 1983; S. I. Johnston 1999), and it should not be assumed without question that such beliefs are 'primitive'. Cf. below at nn. 126–7, on the Tritopatores. Most Athenians' experience of graves (other than those of personal acquaintances) would be as roadside structures in areas near settlements. The image of the Kerameikos as a site of dubious activities (gambling, prostitution, etc.: see *Agora III*, pp. 222–3) may have developed only in the classical period.

⁷¹ On mourning see Van Wees 1998a. In modern Europe too there was perhaps an increased focus of interest on the deathbed in the 19th c., after the move to extramural burial, before the distancing of the 20th c.

⁷² I. Morris 1987 focuses on age, but at Metaponto there was also gender imbalance (J. C. Carter a. o. 1998). For comparative data see also Houby-Nielsen 1995; Scheidel 2003; Gowland 2006; Sofaer 2006. The extreme case is Sparta, where almost no burials can be dated between c.700 and 200 BCE (Hodkinson 2000, ch. 8; but see Themom and Zavrou 2010); cf. Cornell 1995, 106–8, on the absence of graves datable between c.580 and the 4th c. in Rome, which does not necessarily imply that there were no imposing funerals.

⁷³ Lagia 2007; Liston and Rotroff 2013 (pottery, *Agora XXXIII*): at least 449 infants and children, mainly newborns or full-term foetuses, and at least 150 dogs. Liston and Rotroff argue convincingly against the interpretation of the human bones as a ritual deposit (e.g. Osanna 1989, followed by N. D. Robertson 2005, 91), but are inclined still to connect the dog bones with ritual, despite evidence of injuries and malnutrition (so also Roy 2007; Trantalidou 2013, Eretria). They suggest that the non-infant bones may have been in the lowest levels. The idea that it was midwives who disposed of neonates seems unnecessary (household slaves?). A considered argument for ritual deposit of infant and animal bones (Roman Britain) in E. Scott 1991; see also ch. 6 in Lambrick and Allen 2004; M. Maltby 2010. Archaeologists have only fairly recently begun to 'see' dog skeletons (cf. n. 81), and I am not sure when

attempt to draw sociological conclusions from variations over time in the ‘visibility’ of child burials and their proximity to or separation from those of adults is thus open to criticism.⁷⁴ I want to make three points here. First, the ‘visibility’ to archaeologists of child burials was radically altered by the introduction (in the later eighth century⁷⁵) of pot burials. Second, the evidence for the burial of children⁷⁶ in separate burying areas requires closer evaluation. Third, we need a processual analysis of the distribution of adult and child burials, based on fine-grained chronology.

Because children’s bones are relatively soft and can therefore disintegrate easily in the ground, child burials without grave-goods may well pass unnoticed, while a cluster of grave-goods may not always be recognized as such. On the other hand, as I have shown, when archaeologists became interested in pottery chronology child burials in pots, if the pot also contained grave-goods, became more visible than other burials. As we have seen, in the area at Old Phaleron

they began routinely to record bones in wells; Little and Papadopoulos 1998 for an EG II adult well burial; Lawall 2000, 70, animal bones in Agora well Q 15. 2. Cf. I. Morris 1987, 107f.; Lindenlauf 2001, on other evidence for informal disposal of corpses; Pakkanen 2011 (Kalaureia); ch. 11 n. 6. Dog burials (not casual disposal) *AR* 2004–5 47, 89 (Hellenist.), 98; Diggle 2004, 409–11; Roy 2007, 349; Versnel 2011, 493.

⁷⁴ Morris’s book has given rise to fruitful discussions on methodology: see especially Köberle and Rohweder 1992; Papadopoulos 1993; Polignac 1995; Kistler 1998; Bergemann 1999; C. B. Patterson 2006c. Morris 1998 replies to some of his critics, but he is reluctant to consider how the data were shaped by selectivity in excavation and publication.

⁷⁵ I do not know of any study devoted to the history of child burials in ancient Greece (Lagia 2007 makes useful points, see also Blandin 2007; Vlachou 2007; the École Française conferences published by Guimier-Sorbets and Morizot 2010, Hermay and Dubois 2012, do not fill the gap; Carroll 2012 for Rome), but it seems that in Attika the shift from (secondary) cremation and urn burial for adults to inhumation was accompanied by an increase in the practice of interring small children in amphoras and similar vases (cf. Mylonas 1975 II; Haentjens 1999). In the same period (late 8th c.) there are also some cases of adult cremation in which bronze mixing bowls (lebetes) are used as urns: in Attika, Dipylon grave 3 (dated MG II–LG I by Whitley 1991a; *MDAI(A)* 1893, 104f.); Pnyx (in a tripod: *MDAI(A)* 1893, 414f.); Kerameikos graves 6, 58, 71, and 72; Kriezi St. graves 45 and 67 (*AD* 22 B 1, 1967, 92–6); Kifissia, Skilardi 2013, 204; Anavyssos 73/I; Vari South Necropolis grave 38; Merenda graves 23 and 27; Old Phaleron grave 14 (for publications of rural burials see Mersch 1996). Cf. also Kerameikos Rundbau Rb 13a, early 7th c. (*Kerameikos XII*), and 3 fragments from fills (M 132, S 205, S 206). For later use of bronze (and clay) vessels as urns see ch 11 n. 4. In *Iliad* 23. 243 Patroklos’ bones are to be put in a golden phiale; bronze cups are sometimes used as lids for amphora-urns in Attika, but perhaps the term was also used for a large high-sided cup.

⁷⁶ The category ‘child’ also needs scrutiny. The 5th c. grave relief of an adolescent holding a strigil, and an associated tombstone, from the Kerameikos, were published under the title ‘Zwei klassische Kindergräber’ (Vierneisel-Schlörb 1964), but archaic epitaphs and monuments strongly suggest that the death of an adolescent near the age of puberty was culturally a very different event from the death of a small child: see Beaumont 2012, 2013. Small children are under-represented in tomb monuments in both the archaic and the classical period (cf. Lagia 2007; Houby-Nielsen 1995 for other societies), but adolescents are not.

cited by Morris as a ‘child cemetery’⁷⁷ Pelekides (1916) excavated 87 graves, but R. S. Young (1942), working from the excavation report and from labelled material in store, could only reconstruct 26 closed groups, of which all but one were child pot burials. The impression of a preponderance of children is thus due largely to Young’s interest in chronology. Pelekides’ report gives almost equal numbers of adult and child burials.⁷⁸ In section Γ of the Eleusis West Cemetery there were nine child burials, four adults (one, Γ 16, quite rich) and perhaps some further undated cremations.⁷⁹ In trying to understand differences in the way dead adults and dead children were treated, we must start from funerals. Rather than a clear-cut dichotomy, there is a continuum in the archaeological evidence running from the prestigious burial involving the use of fire and of valuable artefacts to represent the social persona and achievements of the dead to, at the extreme opposite end of the scale, the dumping of infant corpses in places used for other waste material.⁸⁰ In between, there is a wide range of material from the burials of less prestigious adults and of children. Such burials are presumably the residue of unambitious funerals in which only a small number of persons were involved; we should recognize the possibility that the task might be assigned to slaves (n. 73). While it is unlikely that there were formal restrictions on burial in particular areas, it seems quite possible that those involved in small-scale funerals would avoid sites currently associated with the most prestigious funerals. On the other hand, areas associated with the disposal of the dead were often preferred,⁸¹

⁷⁷ The term ‘child cemetery’ (still used by Houby-Nielsen 2000) has inappropriate associations (one is reminded of modern pet cemeteries), and Morris’ criteria are very loose: if the proportion of adult to child burials in an area is more than 3:2 it is an adult cemetery, if it is less than 2:3 it is a child cemetery (intermediate ratios are ‘balanced’: 1987, 58).

⁷⁸ Similar proportions in Killgrove 2016. Morris also cites Soteriades’ report of his excavations in the Vrana area (1934, see Mersch 1996, 230 no. 3), which elaborated on the sentimental significance of child burials; however, Soteriades also noted ‘pyres’, which he did not trouble to record (his main aim was to locate the Marathon Herakleion, on which see ch. 31 n. 45), and a ‘burning-place’ which had apparently been in use for a long time. ‘Pyres’ also in burial areas at Merenda (ch. 25 n. 44), with no information on contents.

⁷⁹ *AD* 52 B 1, 1997 (2002), 61 reports an area at Eleusis containing child burials of the 7th c. followed by a mixture of adult and child burials from the late Archaic and Classical periods (cf. also *AD* 44 B 1, 1989, 31–2); perhaps child graves on the margin of a burial area that subsequently expanded? See also Pologorge 2005.

⁸⁰ Cf. above, n. 73, and ch. 9 n. 10, on the difficulty of distinguishing between burial and exposure. Weinberg 2007 is a model example of a conceptually critical discussion of mortuary archaeology, beginning with funerals and continuing into post-disposal practices—but deals only with EH. On the problems of distinguishing formal deposits from dumping see A. M. Chadwick 2012; Thilderkrist 2013.

⁸¹ It is likely enough that low-prestige disposal of the dead continued in residential areas after prestigious funerals had moved to other locations. For possible slave burials near Lavreion see Salliora-Oikonomakou 1985. If low-prestige funerals took place at night, this may have given Solon the idea of restricting all funeral activity inside the city to the hours of darkness. Note Parlama 1998, 535, mass burial of 11 dogs among and above tile graves in an area of numerous, mainly poor graves; Crielaard 2007, infant burials in area previously used for prestigious ones (Eretria; cf. Blandin 2010).

and it was not uncommon for large archaic mounds covering a small number of prestigious burials to be later used for poorer graves.⁸² There are also areas in which child burials appear to cluster at the edges of areas used for adults.⁸³ We need to explore the possibility that the patterns in the data represent, rather than shifts in the attitude towards prestigious and non-prestigious funerals (between seclusion and integration), a more continuous manifestation of spatial and/or temporal hierarchy, in which the less prestigious burials always occupied more marginal spaces.⁸⁴

Morris (followed by e.g. Whitley 1994*a*) has also argued that while Athens had been in the forefront of polis development in the late eighth century there was a regression in the seventh century to a more conservative attitude, with a hardening of the boundaries of the elite, a drop in the proportion of deaths marked by conspicuous funerals, and less interest in developing ties with aristocrats from other cities by frequenting sanctuaries. Critical discussion both of the conception ‘rise of the polis’ and of the data is needed here. While the project of raising the date of the ‘rise of the polis’ may have had its uses in destabilizing models based too exclusively on a traditional type of constitutional history, it may be more helpful now to look for less reified conceptions of ‘the polis’ both in time and in space, i.e., to take more interest in processes of historical change and in the varying degrees of centralization observable in archaic and classical

⁸² See the mounds at Velanideza (Mersch 1996 no. 75. 1) and Petreza (ibid no. 77. 3), and Mound G and the Südthügel in the Kerameikos (Knigge 1988, 37; ead. 2006; Houby-Nielsen 1995). There were also later burials in classical periboloi (Stichel 1984, 1990; it is far from certain that burials after 338 in the ‘Messenian peribolos’, *Kerameikos XIV*, were Messenians), and apparently in a mass grave of plague victims, Baziotopoulou-Valavane 2002 (children). Cf. ch. 11 n. 6. In the South Necropolis at Thorikos (*Thorikos I*, 47–58) a rich adolescent burial c.700 (with a bronze cup) was followed by child burials; in the West Necropolis (*Thorikos III*, 31–56) children were buried in the ruins of a Geometric building, but there were adult burials nearby. Later child burials in mound at Diamantopoulou 10, *AD 56–59 B I* (2010), 209–10. The records from the N cemetery at Vari (Alexandridou 2012*a*, 2012*b*) are not clear on sequence, on which Houby-Nielsen 2000 is also weak. For similar data elsewhere in Greece see C. Morgan 2003, especially Platanos Almyrou Mound Γ.

⁸³ Eleusis West Cemetery areas E and H (Mylonas 1975; cf. *BCH* 1995, 861?); the material from Thorikos, known only from preliminary reports with little interpretation, might also be examined with these questions in mind. See also Mazarakis-Ainian 2011*b* (Marathon). Cf., from other parts of Greece, Vlavianou-Tsalike 1981, 27 graves, Archaic to late 5th c., of which at least 22 were child burials (19 pots, 3 small larnakes), in an area near the SW corner of the city wall of Eretria, apparently not near a gate or road, so presumably marginal; Vokotopoulou 1989, Moschonissiote 2010, Mende, 174 graves of which 10 at most were adult burials, on the beach—another marginal area (cf. Trakosopoulou 2005, Akanthos). A burial area on Astypalaia apparently used exclusively for child burials from LG to the Roman period may have been associated with worship of goddesses linked to childbirth (Hillson 2009; Michalake-Kollia 2010*a*, 2010*b*). The situation at Mitrou, *AR* 2004–5, 54–5, is less clear.

⁸⁴ J. C. Carter a. o. 1998 (I ch. 6) is a rare example of an excavation report that pays close attention to the sequence of graves within burial clusters.

Greek states.⁸⁵ Moreover, some of the key features we might associate with the Greek polis, such as the institutionalization of methods of power sharing (elective office, limited terms, and division of responsibilities among a number of office-holders) might well have been developed by an elite closing ranks against outsiders.⁸⁶

The data are in any case problematic. I have noted above that the Subgeometric pottery of the seventh century in Attika attracted little interest from either legal or clandestine excavators; it is not difficult to point to known burial areas from which Geometric material has been published, while evidence for later burials is mentioned only in passing. It will be some time before the statistics from thoroughly excavated and published sites change the balance between eighth and seventh century sites derived from looking at all publications since the 1890s.⁸⁷

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

II. What is a funeral?

The discussion about comparative levels of wealth in votive and funerary material does at least invite us to take a broader view of the occasions on which valuable objects were ceremonially removed from the household: weddings, funerals, and rituals of dedication seem to be the main examples. All might involve processions and feasting, while in the case of dedications and (sometimes) funerals a permanent marker was left in commemoration. All were concerned with journeys: the last journey of the dead, the bride's journey to a new home, the expedition to a

⁸⁵ C. Morgan 2009. On the need for a more gradualist, generative approach see also Polignac 1995, J. K. Davies 1997, Hölkeskamp 2002; on interregional sanctuaries and their varied history, Ulf 1997; ch. 18 at nn. 6–7.

⁸⁶ Cf. Crielaard 1998, 2007. Cf. below, n. 134, on alternative interpretations of the decrease in rich female burials in the later 8th c. (cf. Houby-Nielsen 1992).

⁸⁷ See R. G. Osborne 1989, Mersch 1996 for notices of inadequately published 7th–6th c. burials in Attika; D'Onofrio 1997. At Merenda, for example, LG and Late Archaic/Classical tombs were excavated by Papademetriou (*Ergon* 1960) and Vavritsas (1970), but Papademetriou noted unexcavated archaic and Classical tombs and Vavritsas found Archaic sherds in a Hellenistic dump of necropolis material (sketchy publication of these and new excavations, ch. 25 n. 44). At Eleusis post-Geometric graves had been destroyed by erosion (Mylonas 1975). 7th c. material continues to accumulate; 4 early 7th c. tombs in the Kerameikos Metro station excavation, *City* 2000, 276ff.; 7th c. burials in the Psyre area (one with a 5m mound?), *AR* 2003–4, 5, from newspaper reports (no mound in *AD* 54 B1, 73–4); along the Sacred Way, Stoupa 2000 (no. 42 a secondary cremation with weapons and a PA marker); burial areas in continuous use from the Geometric through the Archaic and Classical periods (or longer) at Sounion, *AD* 52 B 1, 89 (only 3 LG tombs published), at Phoinikia, *ibid.* 86, at Kato Kifissia, *AR* 2002–3, 11, and at Elleniko, *AD* 56–59 B 1, 473–4.

sanctuary.⁸⁸ All might be occasions for strengthening alliances, even if only weddings had this as their primary purpose; all were occasions for the construction and display of status.

A city could not regulate men's gifts to the gods (except to ensure that regular sacrificial commitments were met), but Solon is said to have limited display of wealth in both bridal and funeral processions (ch. 1 n. 62). In both, items closely associated with personal identity might be displayed together with other material from the household's stores: jewellery and (for a male corpse) armour in the first category, textiles and other artefacts in the second. Participants in the procession will have been feasted in both cases. It is not clear whether the feast after a funeral usually took place beside the grave or at the heir's home, but the *Opferrinne* ritual (see below, n. 97) represented the dead symbolically as a host, and may have increased the resemblance between a funerary procession and an expedition to a sanctuary, where again the paraphernalia will have represented the wealthy worshipper as a man used to entertaining.⁸⁹

Against this background, let us try to read the archaeological data as evidence for funerals as processes. Where did the funeral take place? What happened at it? How long did it last? What kind of statements did it make about the dead person, his/her family and associates? What did it say about death? How did all these aspects of funerals change over time? Did they also vary from one part of Athens and Attika to another?⁹⁰

Archaeologists have all too often treated burial as a means of preserving artefacts rather than as a metaphor for the transformation of life into memory. Nevertheless, the basic categories of archaeology—destruction and preservation, object and representation, above and below ground—may be helpful in thinking about funerals.

We might start with fire, because that brings out the paradox of the enterprise. Like life, it is not directly visible to archaeologists, yet it was a central part of the experience of dealing with death, in Attika, from the eleventh to the seventh

⁸⁸ Cf. Redfield 2003*b*, 116; Sabetai 2014, 70. Men. *Dyskolos* uses the metaphor of travel to a distant sanctuary to represent the social isolation of Knemon. The measurement of distance varies with gender; cf. also below at n. 136 on adolescent dedications.

⁸⁹ Cf. Isocr. 16. 34, [Andoc.] 4. 29, Plut. *Alk.* 11, Athen. 3e, on the importance of cutting a dash at Panhellenic festivals. Was the *Opferrinne* material (n. 98) displayed at the prothesis before being taken to the grave? Evidence for the classical period for the perideipnon implies that it took place in the home of the dead after the funeral (n. 17 above; Men. *Aspis* 232f. is not conclusive, since there was no burial; 4th c. building near burial area at Merenda, possibly for common phratry festivals, *Mes.-Arg.* 72). If there was in early times a sacrifice at the funeral (Plut. *Solon* 21. 5–7; [Plato] *Minos* 315c, before the ekphora) it is not clear to whom it was made.

⁹⁰ Archaeologists now proclaim the importance of thinking about funerals (cf. also Polignac 1995, 11), but this has had only a limited effect on practice: for example, Scheid 2008 is still very much focused on graves and material remains. Cf. Baines 2013, 14 for ancient Egypt.

century. It is a metaphor both for life and for an ending, a focal point for attention and for pain.

As we have seen, the funerals described by Homer lasted for several days and had more than one climax: the peak of mourning, the pyre-building, procession, and burning, the collection of the bones for reinternment, and the funeral games. Athenian funerals too, until c.760, were 'secondary' cremations, in which the bones were collected and placed in an urn in the grave after the body had been burned elsewhere; unburnt grave-goods were set round the urn, but remains of the pyre, including further grave-goods, were also placed in the grave. This might suggest that the burning took place near the grave site.⁹¹ Some funerals took place in areas that already had an association with burial, but others were close to habitation sites. Men were mainly differentiated from women, as in life, by differences in the items carried on or about their person; status differences were also perpetuated in these items. Few children's graves have been found, but the distinction between cremating adults and inhuming children crystallized only slowly.

During the ninth century more elements of competition seemed to enter into this careful, unvarying, rather standardized ritual. More attention is paid to representing the persona of the dead: markers are placed over graves, both marker vases and urns being of different shapes for men and women; more high-value and more exotic items are placed in graves, and there is some standardization of the items used to represent wealth; there is also some experimentation with forms of burial in which funerary ritual is concentrated on the grave rather than being divided between pyre and grave. The use of markers might possibly be associated with a tendency for different groups to have their own burying areas, for each of which an especially elaborate funeral had provided a point of identification.⁹²

From c.760 the pace of change increases. Prestigious funerals in the city area more clearly shape their ritual as a linear progression from prothesis through procession to interment; inhumation becomes the dominant rite, and monumental vases set up as grave-markers depict both the prothesis and the funeral procession (normally without showing the corpse).⁹³ These vases also at least to some extent take over from grave-goods the function of representing the persona

⁹¹ Later disturbances in the Kerameikos, and the limited scope of excavations elsewhere, make it difficult to settle this point; a Neolithic *ustrinum* was identified in Thessaly (Gallis 1982).

⁹² See the very thoughtful discussion in Whitley 1991*a*. The assumption that burying groups, if they existed, were defined by kinship is not based on any reliable evidence. See below, n. 105.

⁹³ Van Wees 1998*a* envisages a procession round the bier at the prothesis, but he may be reading the images too literally, and there was surely a procession at the ekphora, although transport of the bier is not usually represented on vases, possibly because it would require a second representation of the corpse (ekphora replacing prothesis on NMA 803, amphora; 990, krater: Marwitz 1961, Whitley 1991*a* pls. 30, 33). For prothesis images see also Siurla-Theodoridou 1989; Brigger and Giovannini 2004; Manakidou 2006.

of the (male) deceased, with allusions to fighting, sea travel, and perhaps victories in games.⁹⁴ Prestigious burials seem to be more (though not exclusively) concentrated in the area west of the city from which roads led to Eleusis and the Academy—the latter too already a cult site in the eighth century.⁹⁵

The change to inhumation was rather rapidly followed by reintroduction of the use of fire, to burn offerings displayed over an offering trench beside the grave, which might contain either an inhumation or a primary cremation.⁹⁶ The use of gravemarkers became rarer, burials no longer contained weapons (cf. Van Wees 1998*b*), and the Opferrinne display represented the dead as a giver of feasts.⁹⁷ We should perhaps remain open to the possibility that these leading men entertained their peers in a public building (a *prytaneion* or *basileion*), or at sacrifices, rather than in a domestic context.⁹⁸ Although burning the dead over a pyre constructed inside a deep grave would have been more difficult than using a pyre built on flat ground, a number of reports note that the primary cremations

⁹⁴ Whitley (1991*a*) suggests that the large ‘Dipylon’ grave vases were specially commissioned, but his conception of the potters’ *modus operandi* is not clearly formulated. A display of large grave-markers might have been a matter of pride for the workshop responsible. Rombos 1988, studying LG II iconography, argues that as the use of motifs such as the warrior or chariot frieze became more conventional painters’ experiments in the use of high-status symbols developed aesthetic dimensions; buyers too may not have thought in strictly biographical terms. There are clear references to games on funerary vases in LG II and PA, but not necessarily to funeral games (cf. C. Morgan 1990, 205–12).

⁹⁵ Travlos 1971, s.v.: votive deposits of LG amphorae and jugs, and much ash from sacrifices (cf. R. Parker 1996, 33–4); Mazarakis-Ainian and Alexandridou 2011. New excavations, AD 55 B 1, 2000 (2009), 84–5 (no structures). Road: Lykourge 2009. The choice of a location outside the Melite gates, in Koile, for the burial of Kimon I and his horses (n. 110) should be seen as political and not (as in e.g. APF 8429 XVI) attributed to pre-existing property interests.

⁹⁶ Houby-Nielsen 1992 stresses that grave pits became larger, both for inhumations and for cremations (cf. I. Morris 1995, 66 and 71, on ‘outsize’ pit graves). Archaeologists’ terminology for cremations is not entirely consistent, some restricting the use of the term ‘secondary’ to urn burial, and some extending the term ‘primary’ to cases of cremation on the grave site before the grave was dug.

⁹⁷ See Kistler 1998, an important attempt to reconstruct the Opferrinne ritual processually; Alexandridou 2009, 2015; Houby-Nielsen 1996, especially the remarks on possible visual associations between Opferrinne and altars; Polignac 1996 on sacrifice. Note the archaic ‘offering table’ of Kakavogianne 2003, 31 fig. 3. Markers on Kistler K I 3 (Opferrinne β, associated with mound Q, 660s, krater), K I 5, K I 8 (both stone, c.640–625). Opferrinne and Opferstelle (offering places) continue or recur sporadically in the classical period: e.g. AD 56–59 B 1 (2010) 209–10, OR at Diamantopoulou 10; 212, OS with no related grave; Eliopoulos 2010, 86–7, shaft grave with OR, both covered by mound of small stones, Kynosarges, c.420s.

⁹⁸ The suggestion in Houby-Nielsen 1992 that the banqueting symbolism is linked to inheritance does not seem very persuasive (cf. Fehr 1996*b*). For public banqueting see LSAG 336–7, nos. 43–4 (cf. p. 72), dated c.575–550, from Sigeion, recording a gift of banqueting equipment for the prytaneion (krater, stand, strainer); also Haggis a. o. 2011, excavation of archaic public dining spaces at Azoria, E. Crete, with krater-stands (cf. Erickson 2010, 2011). Athens: Kavvadias and Matthaïou 2011; on Baurein-Rebillard 1998 see K. M. Lynch 2011.

of the late eighth and seventh centuries left very little bone;⁹⁹ this may suggest that more effort was made to use resinous or seasoned wood, although as yet hardly any research has tackled this question.¹⁰⁰

Conscious development of mound-heaping as an element in funerary ritual, with the size of the mound remaining as a permanent record of the number of men taking part in the funeral, may also be a phenomenon of the later eighth century. It seems to belong with the linear model and greater formalization of funerary ritual, providing its closure, and also with a growing tendency for prestigious burials to take place in areas reserved for the dead.¹⁰¹

This period of elaboration of funerals and changes in modes of disposal and commemoration is likely also to have been one of increased speculation about death and the claims of the dead, which will also have opened up ambiguities in attitudes and practices. Did the funeral represent the end of a life, or transform a living person into a presence beneath the earth? Could the dead, if left unburied or not honoured by an appropriate ritual, bear a grievance? Did they acquire some kind of rights over the earth in which they were buried? Did they expect continuing attention? Rather than being elements of age-old, unquestioning belief, these speculations seem to me to be characteristic of a period in which funerary practice is attracting heightened attention.¹⁰² In this perspective, the

⁹⁹ At Lefkandi (Musgrave 1980) graves contained only token amounts of bone, mostly pounded into small fragments (cf. Papadopoulos 2005, 384, Torone). In some, grave-goods were laid out as if for an inhumation. Possibly these practices were encouraged by the need to commemorate men who had died abroad or at sea; cf. Popham and Lemos 1995 on the grave (with bone) of a Lefkandi ‘warrior-trader’. Boneless graves also at Koukos in Chalkidike (S. Sithonia), Snodgrass 1994. Cenotaph with model boat at Skala Oropou, Mazarakis-Ainian 1998, 30–2.

¹⁰⁰ Thorough consumption: e.g. *Kerameikos* VI 1, 83–5; Geroulanos 1973; Liston and Papadopoulos 2004. Note graves with air vents at Acharnai, *AD* 56–59 B 1 (2010), 426 (5th c.). In *Il.* 23. 110–26 the pyre (for secondary cremation) is said to be made of freshly cut oak logs. Young 1951 noted ‘carbonized logs’; Stais 1890 reported remains of large logs at Vourva; *AD* 22 B 1, 1967, 79–83 reported ‘large lumps’ of wood; Stampolidis 1990 notes use of pine, cypress, and olive in Geometric-Archaic Crete; Rundbau gr. 8, second quarter 7th c., had remains of olive wood (*Kerameikos* XII); olive wood at Ag. Andreas Zouberi, *AD* 56–9 B 1, 384; Myson’s representation of Kroisos’ pyre, in the early 5th c. (BArch 202176) shows logs; Skilardi 1975 reports vine twigs from a classical cremation. More attention to ship-building in the later 8th c. (perhaps with the development of biremes, Wallinga 1993, ch. 3) might have stimulated interest in seasoned wood; I wonder also whether there was more use of charcoal at this date in domestic braziers, pottery kilns, and smiths’ furnaces. There has been very little research on kilns until recently (above, n. 69; Baziotopoulou-Valavane 1994); Mazarakis-Ainian 1996 found olive pits perhaps stored for use as fuel. See also *Ktema* 2005; McKinley 2006; Vernet 1999 and Dufraisse 2006 for identification of charcoal sources, and research methods, in areas other than Greece; *Proceedings of International Meetings on Anthracology*, I (1991)—IV (2008, pub. 2013).

¹⁰¹ Some Opferrinne were partially covered by mounds (Kistler 1998). Any grave digging produces a small temporary mound; it is not clear when buriers began to bring in additional earth. See nn. 9, 107–8 on the large mounds of the archaic period.

¹⁰² Note Tarlow 1999, 103: ‘beliefs about death are rarely coherent, consistent and orthodox’. There will have been cross-influence between experiments with new forms of funeral and grave and poets’ descriptions.

increased archaeological visibility of children's graves in the late eighth century might be interpreted as a trickle-down effect of the increased salience of adult funerals, a growing tendency to think that some care should be exercised in dealing with any corpse. The use of pots as containers for infant burials seems to begin when their use as containers for the ashes from secondary burials ceases, as if the development of alternative methods of distinguishing adult graves had freed container-vases to serve as the graves of children.¹⁰³

What kind of appropriation of space was represented by this funerary practice? Interpretation is still haunted by the model of the 'family grave plot', in which members of a defined¹⁰⁴ kin group would bury their dead and commemorate them at regular intervals. Any trace of walls enclosing a burial area, any mounds into which later burials were cut, or cluster of graves in a regular pattern of orientation (especially if separated by a gap from other burials),¹⁰⁵ is taken as evidence for a family plot; any trace of activity in burial areas that cannot be directly related to funerals is taken as evidence for feasting at the graveside (cf. n. 89). More questions should be asked. Is a grave whose position is marked a piece of property? and if so, whose? Is the marker supposed to protect the rights of the dead? Homer refers only to memory; yet there seems to be some correspondence between the use of above-ground markers and the use of underground framing not normally visible to the living: stone slabs lining the tomb sides or covering it, tile covers, pots enclosing children's bodies or the bones of cremated adults. Seen in this context, the framing of graves by stones visible above ground might be an extension of the use of stones in cist graves, a means of protecting the dead from disturbance (or limiting their influence?) rather than a proclamation of the rights of heirs. Symmetrical placing of enclosed graves might be due to imitation and not evidence that their occupants were kin. It seems quite possible that increased emphasis on funerals had led some Athenians to feel that the dead should be left undisturbed.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Cf. n. 75. In I. Morris' calculations (1987, fig. 22) the 8th c. peak in child burials is later than that of adult burials.

¹⁰⁴ The idea of the 'family tomb' of course goes back to antiquity: see e.g. Plut. *Kim.* 19. 5 and Marc. *Vit. Thuc.* 17, 32, 55 on the *Kimoneia mnēmata* (n. 110). Just how such groups would have been defined is often not specified by users of this model: cf. Humphreys 1987 (1993, 130–4); 1990b; Sourvinou-Inwood 1994b and Sørensen 2002 on I. Morris' 'lineage tombs' at Vroulia (1992). See also n. 92 above.

¹⁰⁵ See Carter a. o. 1998 for an attempt to check such assumptions by DNA analysis. Pologiorge 2009 no. 8 (ch. 29 n. 35) *may* be right to think that a stone found in Piraeus had originally stood with others on Salamis, but such groupings should not be taken for granted.

¹⁰⁶ In the Kerameikos *Plattenbau* (graves 51–63, c.730s, *Kerameikos* V 1, 17–19) slabs enclosing each grave or couple of graves were erected sequentially, sometimes disturbing earlier burials; the structure was not planned as a whole. Cf. underground walling of graves in plaster or (once) mudbrick, *AD* 56–59 B 1 (2010) 247–50 (Pythodorou 33); 375 (Kato Souli), 382, 384.

Instead of concentrating on the model which assumes that burial groupings must be based on kinship, and trying to refine the criteria for its application, we need to analyse the factors involved in grave grouping. Is it generated by funerals, or by concern for the context in which monuments will be seen? Does it express status competition between peers, or hierarchy? Is the context of a burial grouping (e.g. a large mound) consciously designed to accommodate further burials, or are such burials subsequently attached to the area independently (cf. Shepherd 1995)?

The Plattenbau burials (n. 106) seem to be funeral-orientated (it appears to be assumed that the slabs separating the graves did not remain visible), although presumably the close association of graves also expressed some social ties. The next grave grouping to be considered is the Kerameikos 'Rundbau'. Here, according to the excavators, a large mound eventually covered five burials, one equid (M. Schaefer 1999), dating from the late eighth to mid seventh century; the earliest may have antedated the mound, while two of the later burials were probably cut into it, one of these being a pony or donkey and the other a cremation (c.675–650).¹⁰⁷ Conditions on this site were highly problematic, with interference from earlier archaeological work as well as from later burials, and the theory that this was a burial mound used by the *genos* Kerykes from c.700 until the fifth century has little solid support.¹⁰⁸ While it may be of interest as the earliest large mound in the Kerameikos (even this is far from certain), the pattern of burials seems similar to that of other archaic mounds: an initial burial, its mound sometimes covering earlier monuments, followed by some subsequent burials cut into the mound (and adding to its height?), and further activity in later periods when the area had probably lost all specific associations (cf. n. 82).

Because excavators of mounds have assumed from the start that the mound was designed to hold the grouped burials of a kin group, basic questions about

¹⁰⁷ *Kerameikos* XII (Knigge 1980; ead. 2006). Rb 8, the cremation, is said to be cut into the reddish layer with Geometric sherds which may represent the original mound. Rb 13a, the richest burial, is not in the centre of the mound as reconstructed, and Knigge therefore takes Rb 6, the oldest burial (with 5, next to it, which had no grave-goods) as that originally covered by the mound.

¹⁰⁸ The argument depends on assuming (a) that the original mound was very large and therefore must have belonged to an important *genos*; (b) that continuity between the original 5 burials and further activity on the site in the early 5th century is provided by the 7th–6th c. cremations Rb 15, 15a–c, dated only by the form of their air vents and supposedly located in a 'terrace' (for which there is no stratigraphic evidence) attached to the mound; (c) that traces of a semicircular wall of c.470 enclosing the area on the side of the Eridanos and the Sacred Way belonged to a new, walled, circular mound constructed for Rb 2 or 3, in which further graves would then have been dug (Rb 4, 13, 14, and perhaps 1 and 7); and finally (d), that the monument of the 5th c. herald Anthemokritos, seen by Pausanias (1. 36. 3) 'on the right, soon after the Sacred Gate', stood on this site. Much of this argument is circular; it may be added that we have no evidence for the appropriation of burial areas by *genè* at any date (cf. Bourriot 1976), and that c.700 one might have expected the Kerykes to be conducting their funerals in Eleusis. Cf. Bourriot op. cit. for other sites once identified as *genos* burial grounds.

process have not been asked. We have evidence from much later periods that tombs could be designed to hold a series of burials (some have inscribed lists of those entitled to use the tomb¹⁰⁹), and it is also reasonable to assume that at least some classical periboloi were planned to hold a series of burials, but it may be rash to attribute this form of prospective design to the archaic mound, which was primarily evidence of the participation of many men in the earth piling at the funeral.¹¹⁰ One inscription of c.530–520 (*IG* i³ 1267) proclaims that the dead man, Pediarchos, ‘begins the *sēmata*’, but this need not imply a mound planned for further burials; it tells us only that to stand first in a group of tombs was a cause for pride, and that in such groups each grave would have its monument. This also seems to be the case in the Kerameikos when burials succeed each other rapidly in a confined space (cf. Humphreys 1983*a*/1993, 96–7 fig. 1). Whereas in the classical peribolos competing memorials were contained within a frame that proclaimed the unity of the group (which could often also be reconstructed from inscriptions), the relation between successive mounds and monuments on an archaic burial site (assertions of alliance? subordination? aggression?) could be read only because viewers had prior knowledge of the social context.¹¹¹ Because it has been assumed that a mound was an expression of property rights, excavators have not asked whether subsequent burials in an existing mound were covered by a new mound that altered the shape of its predecessor.¹¹²

Interpretations of archaic burial practices have been over-influenced by classical periboloi, modern cemeteries, and modern conceptions of property.¹¹³ Space

¹⁰⁹ See e.g. Heberdey and Kalinka 1896; Hermann and Polatkan 1969 (a will; part only, Strubbe 1997 no. 40), NW Lydia, 1st–2nd c. CE, only F, M, Z, ZD to be buried in tomb precinct of Diophantos (*progonos* here may be a stepson or son by an earlier union, cf. ch. 12 n. 90).

¹¹⁰ Mound piling: M/L 4, Kerkyra, late 7th c. (n. 10 above); cf. *CEG* 139, Troizen, late 6th c. (Humphreys 1983*a*/1993, 90; above at n. 9). The funeral c.527 of Kimon I (after violent death in suspicious circumstances, Hdt. 6. 103) with his 4 horses must have produced large mounds, known as *ta Kimoneia mnēmata*; on Polemon’s report that Thucydides was buried there see Luzzatto 1993; *FGH* IV A 3. 1026 F 87. The bronze horses of Ael. *VH* 9. 32 are probably imaginary. For the presumed location see map in Lalonde 2006*a*, 2006*b*.

¹¹¹ Archaic epitaphs give little information on relationships. See Humphreys 1980, and commentary on the enigmatic (to us) *IG* i³ 1229.

¹¹² This process can be traced in the Kerameikos (see Humphreys 1983*a*/1993, 96–7), but there is almost no information on the composition of mounds in the countryside. Use of mounds as stone-dumping sites in more recent periods may have complicated the picture. Recent reports of mounds (cf. n. 87): *AD* 56–59 B 1 (2010) 209–10, mound with Opferrinne at Diamantopoulou 10 (c. 430?); 243–5, mound 2.22-m high, 5.40-m diameter, surrounded by 9-course mudbrick wall, at Kalogerou Samouel/Psaromelingou, dated beginning of 5th c.; 2 pyres of c.450 dug into it.

¹¹³ *Agora* XIX 16–18 is typically uncritical. Tomb horoi giving the dimensions of the precinct are 4th or 3rd c. in date (*Kerameikos* III, nos 13–14; *Agora* XIX H 66–7, note also 454–6, H 68–9, perhaps 3 stones marking one tomb; *IG* ii² 2561–6, with Sauciuc 1912; 2567 prohibits sale; cf. *SEG* 58. 883/*BE* 2009, 403, Kos; *SEG* 60. 1949; Faraguna 2012*b*); this is also the period when states began to define their frontiers, and may be the date of horoi marking deme territory (ch. 22 n. 52). Mortgage horoi do not

may be appropriated and categorized without any material indication of its boundaries, by repeated performances of ritual which—as in the case of processions—leave no material residue, or by the erection of a single marker, a sign (*sēma*) that warns potential encroachers to keep their distance.¹¹⁴ As social groups have their conceptions of personal space, which is not physically marked, they may also have conceptions of the spatial rights of the dead (in both cases varying with social status). Moreover, while the appropriation of space by a high-status burial might initially serve to keep others at a distance, it would also exert an attraction. It marked the area as funerary and, at least in the short term, as prestigious; it might attract satellite burials from those who could claim some link (not necessarily of kinship; Houby-Nielsen 1995, followed by Ismard 2010, 52–4, suggests that the huge sixth century mound G and Südhügel in the Kerameikos belonged to hetaireiai) with the deceased; on a more practical level, a mound provided easy digging for low-status burials (cf. n. 82 above).

The evidence for walls surrounding groups of graves, before the sixth century, is also very problematic. There is no clear evidence for an early wall on the Rundbau site. Two small segments of wall were found near four PG graves at Nea Ionia (Smithson 1961), but the site was much disturbed by modern workings, the wall segments (interpreted by Smithson as terracing) were not stratigraphically dated, and the view that the graves were enclosed by a (partly) circular peribolos wall is very hypothetical. In the burial area near Agios Panteleimon at Anavyssos, used c.850–700, Themelis found a wall bordering LG graves, but he dated it only by this association; it abutted on a building used in the fourth century for storing beehives and other material, and Themelis' view that both wall and building must belong to the eighth century, and the building must have been used for funerary cult, is not backed by any evidence (Mersch 1996, 104–5). Two plots in the Agora in which burials continued to be made into the sixth century were excavated by R. S. Young: the Tholos plot (Young 1939) was separated by a retaining wall (with returns) from the adjacent road, but the rest of the area was enclosed only in the late sixth or early fifth century, the only two burials in the seventh and sixth centuries were of children, and the area was not respected by the builders of the Tholos enclosure wall c.460.¹¹⁵ The Arciopagos plot

provide measurements. Cf. the criticism of the concept of 'territory' in Malkin 1996. Private ownership in the Roman period, Harter-Uibopuu 2010.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1993; 1995, 434–5, on sacred space; Polignac 1998 on processions.

¹¹⁵ Most of the burials were 8th c. (MG II/LG I to LG II), the richest being of two girls c.19 (no. 9) and c.15 (no. 17). J. L. Angel's claim (1939) that the skeletons showed evidence of kinship is not reliable (cf. Whitley 1991a, 65; Liston and Papadopoulos 2004, 15). It certainly should not be assumed without stratigraphic evidence that walls apparently enclosing grouped archaic tombs were contemporary with them (cf. Humphreys 1990b, 267). Partial enclosure round G graves near G house at Herakleidou 40, AD 56–59 B 1 (2010), 214.

(Young 1951) contained 50 graves: one late 8th century, one 7th century, 206th century, and 28 containing no dateable material. It was enclosed by a wall in the 6th century, but we do not know whether the builders were responding to a long-standing tradition of burial on the site.¹¹⁶

The concept of the ‘family burial plot’ handed down among modern historians, in addition to resting on rather vague notions of lineal continuity, presupposed that descendants had an obligation to visit graves with commemorative offerings. There is, however, little textual or archaeological support for the latter assumption; texts show only that prospective archons were asked whether they had *éria*, ‘tombs’, and if so where, and that Solon’s laws on funerals prohibited visiting the tombs of others on any occasion other than a funeral.¹¹⁷ The question about *éria* probably derived from a period when it was a matter of pride for the office-holding class to mark tombs in a conspicuous way, but the plural form might suggest reference to one or more conspicuous individual monuments rather than a collective tomb. Solon’s law implies that ambitious men were inviting allies and followers to attend commemorative visits to tombs, but may refer to ninth-day and thirtieth-day rites (above, at nn. 17–20).

Archaeological evidence for the regular performance of commemorative rituals, now that the Opferrinne are taken to be part of the funeral ceremony,¹¹⁸ appears scarce and problematic. At least some Geometric marker vases had holes drilled in them, perhaps for libations, but Attic necropoleis do not seem to have contained any permanent structures that could be interpreted as offering platforms, and the pre-classical sites in the Kerameikos identified as ‘offering places’ are not clearly associated with graves.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ I. Morris (1987, 68) assumed that the undated graves were 6th c., and suggested that the ‘plot’ belonged to an important family such as the Peisistratidai, but the area was not ‘in the Agora’ for the Athenians, and the number and relative poverty of the graves makes this idea very implausible. R. S. Young (1951, 75–7) suggested that part of a 6th c. marble sarcophagus (re-used nearby) came from this plot, but stones often move (he had to assume that the rest of the sarcophagus was carried elsewhere).

¹¹⁷ *A.P.* 55. 3; Plut. *Sol.* 21. 5–7 (*allotria mnēmata*); cf. Bergemann 1999.

¹¹⁸ On the Opferrinne see now Kistler 1998 and n. 97 above; note that the representation of the dead as host in the Opferrinne ritual implies a stress on alliance rather than descent (as do the images of funeral processions on LG vases).

¹¹⁹ Archaeologists have not asked whether evidence for offerings at tombs comes from rituals associated with the funeral (including 9th and 30th day ceremonies) or indicates repeated commemoration over a long period. For stone offering-platforms on Naxos and at Asine see Antonaccio 1995. On the supposed ‘ritual building’ at Anavyssos see above, at n. 115–16. A brief report of piles of sherds near a burial area at Phoinikia, taken as evidence for funerary/commemorative dining (‘nekrōdeipnon’, *AD* 52 B 1, 1992 [2002], 86–7), provides no evidence on date; Carter a. o. 1998 take such piles as evidence for ‘respectful removal’ of burial material. We need stricter criteria for distinguishing the remains of commemorative meals (suggested e.g. *AD* 56–59 B 1, 2010, 371, Kalyvia Kiteza/Thorikou) from use of the periphery of burial areas for dumping, as perhaps *ibid.* 132, 251–3, 396–7, 426–7, 435, 467–8. In the Kerameikos, *Opferstelle* of the classical period are found directly above the grave and apparently derive from funeral rites carried out after it was filled; Opferplatz *a* was found with a primary cremation of c.680

Research in other areas of Greece makes it increasingly clear that there was much local variation as well as intra-regional change in norms, rather than (as once assumed) a uniform set of 'natural' or 'traditional' beliefs.¹²⁰ Norms changed in part because society was changing, but also because the dead, like the gods, were removed from everyday life, and this invited speculation about their powers, needs, or desires (Humphreys 2004).

The figure of the hero should be seen as part of this speculative activity. Attempts to trace beliefs and practices concerning heroes to a single cause are mistaken. We should think instead of a dialogic interaction between the impressive funerals, graves, and monuments of powerful contemporaries, speculation about the occupants and builders of conspicuous tombs and other constructions visible in the landscape or discovered by accident, and the elaboration by poets of tales about great men and great deeds of the past. The fit between present and past tombs, between the old dead under the earth and the named heroes of epic, was a loose one; eighth-century Greeks did not build themselves tholos tombs, worry about archaeological niceties such as the distinction between inhumation and cremation, try to attach a name to every hero's tomb at which they made offerings, or restrict their identification of sites linked with epic tales to tombs.¹²¹ But their conceptions of the past and of memory took on a dimension of material practice—monuments and poems made to last—which makes them visible to us, and made them more visible to contemporaries. Heroes (and heroines) became part of the theological and physical landscape, they were there to be investigated or discovered,¹²² to be incorporated into causal narratives of human history or the explanation of good or bad fortune. They might be incorporated into the pedigrees of individual aristocratic families or stand for the identity of residential

(Anlage IV), but otherwise there seems to be no clear evidence from the archaic period of the relation between tombs and such deposits. See also Soles 2001 on criteria for 'ancestor-worship'. OS later than classical burial, Stichel 1984.

¹²⁰ See e.g. I. Morris 1987, 1992. Morris 1995 raises the question of Greek awareness of such variation.

¹²¹ Most discussions have tended to look for a single 'origin' for the hero, which inevitably leads to discovering cases that do not fit. Better to think of the category as acquiring definition only gradually, and always embracing a spectrum of statuses from the deified Herakles to heroized historical figures and anonymous local powers. For recent discussions and further references see Lorenz 1996; Mazarakis Ainian 2004; N. D. Robertson 2010, esp. 95–6, 165; Parker 2011. Note also *Corinth* XX (2003) 252, heroon over a group of PG tombs apparently discovered c.600.

¹²² For offerings made at BA tombs in Attika in the 8th c. and later see Antonaccio 1995, Boehringer 2001. Mylonas' identification of the graves of the 'Seven against Thebes' at Eleusis (1975), on the basis of a LG wall in section A of the West Cemetery is very problematic, especially since there was some looting and reuse of graves in the area during the period of the wall's construction (Antonaccio, 112–17; Boehringer 63–4).

groups; many of them may have attracted interest only for a short time and have disappeared without leaving any trace in our sources.¹²³

The Tritopatores too should be regarded as the product of speculation about (i.a.) creation, procreation, the winds, and the dead of the past, and as having gradually acquired a somewhat clearer identity over the course of time. The name implied remoteness (see Taillardat 1995); they were always nameless, and usually plural.¹²⁴ In an early fourth-century text on purification rites from Kyrene they are distinct from the Akamantes (*Akamantia*), another generic term for the dead; the two groups were worshipped on the same occasion by the Marathonian Tetrapolis.¹²⁵ There was a Tritopatration in the Kerameikos necropolis at Athens, in the angle between the Sacred Way and a road that led further westward, in the direction of Piraeus. It was identified by markers, the earliest of which is dated c.500–480; in the later part of the fifth century further markers were set up, proclaiming it *abaton*, not to be entered, and it was walled in the early fourth century. No archaeological traces of votives earlier than the fifth century have been found, and assumptions that there must already have been a sanctuary there in the archaic period rest only on prejudice. It seems to me quite likely that the first marker was set up (presumably in the course of a sacrificial ritual) at the time of the re-use of grave monuments from the area in the Themistoklean wall (479), to guard against possible anger from the dead, and that there was more ritual activity, including the erection of horoi round the area, at the time of the plague, when it might have been feared that the unceremonious mass disposal of plague victims had angered them and/or the other dead in the area; the wall may be due

¹²³ See Antonaccio 1995; Mersch 1996, 64–7; Boehringer 2001, for archaeological evidence of hero-cult in Attika; Kearns 1989 for heroes of Attic corporate groups. Kephalos seems to have featured in the genealogy of the Kerykes (ch. 20 n. 81) as well as being a deme eponym. Sacrificial calendars have provided much information on heroes in rural demes, but it should not be assumed that all these cults were old or continuous. A hero could be ‘discovered’ at any date, and many may soon have been forgotten, until perhaps a crisis (and, in some cases, compilation of a written calendar) stimulated renewed attention. Cf. Humphreys 2004, ch. 4; Mazarakis Ainian 2004, 135–8.

¹²⁴ See especially Jameson a.o. 1993, 107–114; Georgoudi 2001; Gagné 2007 (probably underestimating variation in rites and understandings of them). Important discussion in N. D. Robertson 2010, though I do not agree with his view that they originated in Attika. Antonaccio’s attempt to link the term to three-generation lineage memory (1995) seems to me mistaken. The singular use of the term by the Pyrrhakidai on Delos, c.400 (*ID* 1 66; ch. 20 n. 82), must be derivative. Local sacrifices in Attika (Marathon Tetrapolis *SEG* 50. 168, Erchia *LS* 18) may be earlier than the Kerameikos enclosure. City sacrifice, *SEG* 57. 64 B 12.

¹²⁵ Jameson a. o. 1993, 110–11. In the Kyrene regulations (*SEG* 50. 1638, 57. 2000) there seems to be a distinction between the completely anonymous dead, whose tombs and offerings do not pollute, and a category of ‘recognized’ dead, who are polluting to the pure except in the case of Battos, the Tritopateres, and Onymastos the Delphian. Probably these all had specific precincts. (See also Dobias-Lalou 1997; Ali Mohamed a.o. 2007; N. D. Robertson 2010; Pirenne-Delforge 2011, 134–6).

to further anxieties after the end of the rule of the Thirty.¹²⁶ Similarly, at Selinous, a ritual text of the mid-fifth-century prescribing offerings to be made (i.a.) to ‘polluted’ and ‘pure’ Tritopatores may have been set up after a period of civil war. We should not expect too much precision; the drafters of the text may not have asked themselves whether *miaroi* Tritopatores were polluted or polluting, nor whether there was a wholesale transformation through the ritual of *miaroi* Tritopatores into pure ones. It would be enough that there were fears that at least some of them had been stirred up into a dangerous state; possible ill-will had to be averted, and then a further offering would be made, in a more optimistic spirit, to reinforce whatever positive aspects were present in the situation.¹²⁷

FUNERALS, MONUMENTS, AND THE ‘RISE OF THE POLIS’

What do we mean by ‘the rise of the polis’? I take it to be a process of formalization and systematization of roles and procedures which in turn stimulated changes in less formal behaviour patterns.

For the elite, formalization meant the introduction of authoritative procedures of power-sharing and turn-taking. Athens developed a system in which the leading role in relations with the mass of the male population was divided into three functional spheres—assembly, army, phratries (and *genê*)—each assigned to an office-holder whose term was restricted to one year.¹²⁸ Responsibilities for cult were also formalized, and the dates of some of the major festivals may have been stabilized. There was also, on a panhellenic scale, a process of formalization of warfare, of procedures for making peace, and of truce arrangements for supra-regional festivals (cf. Ulf 1997).

What did all this imply for elite patterns of interaction? It must have become very important to be recognized as a member of the power-sharing group, and the development of the symposium will have played a key role in the ongoing process of status validation. Intermarriage provided a mechanism for closer

¹²⁶ Cf. Humphreys forthcoming *c*; Knigge 2006, 159–62; Stroszeck 2010. Horoi, *IG* i³ 1066–7 (1067 was once dated to the 6th c.). Two ‘burnt offering places’, earlier than the wall, but located outside the walled area, have been dated to the third or last quarter of the 5th c. (*AA* 1974, 191–2). The area has not been completely excavated. Re-use of monuments in the Themistoklean wall, Willemsen 1963, Niemeyer 2002; cf. Humphreys *ibid.* On tombs of plague victims see *City* 2000; *AR* 2006–7, 7. Part of another mass burial (22 graves regularly laid out) excavated at Agios Andreas Zouberi, *AD* 56–59 B 1 (2010) 383–4, but dated early 5th c. Cf. regular layout of graves in Voula (*A to Z* 203 Z 3), Kouragios 2013, 74.

¹²⁷ *SEG* 43. 630; on the historical situation see Jameson a. o. 1993, 59–60, 123.

¹²⁸ Humphreys 2004, 232–3. The list of eponymous archons began in 683; we do not know that it was based on a continuous record (ch. 1 n. 70), but the date should be approximately correct. I assume that the prohibition on repeated office was early, though there is no proof.

alliances, and these were made publicly visible in wedding and funeral processions. For many families this may have enhanced the attractions of making marital alliances within the Athenian political sphere (however this was understood at any given period), although those whose elite status was most secure may have continued to seek brides and guest-friends abroad. Formalization of rights to priesthoods, and of the sacrificial calendar, may also have affected practices of dedication in Athens and Attika.

The early Greek state was not 'democratic' by later standards. A sharp boundary between citizens and non-citizens was only needed if citizen rights were being denied to a significant underclass, and in the 8th to 7th centuries only the helots of Sparta constituted such a group. The seventh-century Spartan assembly was unusually democratic for its day, but its initiative was limited, and Sparta did not encourage free-ranging debate. By the mid sixth century (Hodkinson 2000) Sparta had also probably formalized the symposion into her syssition system, which included all citizens and may have been tied to military organization; these two features plus the formalization of the educational system, which created strong ties within peer groups, could mean that kinship played a minor role in recruitment.¹²⁹ Sparta was also probably unusual in formalizing voting by acclamation rather than by show of hands (*cheirotomia*); this made it easier for the voter to conceal his choice, except from those standing very close to him.¹³⁰

Athens, in contrast, relied on locally based patrilineally recruited phratries as the subordinate units of the citizen body (and possibly army; ch. 19 n. 2). Phratries will have been dominated by their leading families, who would recruit, as required, voters, soldiers, and participants in rituals such as the Synoikia. At least in the more distant parts of Attika, the ordinary farmer's relations with the polis will have been mediated by his relationships with horse-owning neighbours who could combine participation in city life with supervision of their estates.¹³¹ There may also have been rural horse-owners who took little interest in the social life of the city, and, on the other hand, ambitious men who thought it more important to get votes from the urban population than to cultivate rural support. In any case, adherence to formal rules was precarious, and the political game could degenerate into thuggery, stasis, or tyranny.

Such a system was likely to make short-term alliances seem more important than lineal continuity. The successes of recent ancestors would certainly improve a man's standing in the early stages of his political career (ch. 16 pp. 513–14),

¹²⁹ The link between syssition and military *enomotia* probably required syssition numbers to be standardized, and the blackball system also implies that a boy did not automatically enter his father's group. Cf. ch. 18 n. 34.

¹³⁰ Cf. Flaig 1993. It is conceivable that a syssition was expected to stand, and vote, as a block.

¹³¹ See Humphreys 2008 and ch. 18 at nn. 96–101, on the naukrariai, which may date to the (mid?) 6th c.

but matrikin would count here as well as patrikin, especially since (generation for generation) they were younger. Priesthoods were owned by *genê*, and membership of a major *genos* was probably recognized in itself as a claim to elite status (though it would be foolhardy to press such a claim without appropriate resources to back it). But there is little sign (except perhaps in the case of diviners) that length of pedigree was highly valued. The attempt of the Eupatridai (however they defined themselves) to maintain a monopoly on election to political office seems to have collapsed after three generations; and it is hard to identify features of the funerary data of this period (c.680–590) that would reflect an increased emphasis on lineage.¹³²

We should also think about the implications of such changes for relations between men and women and between fully adult males (over 30) and adolescents, who in turn must be distinguished from children. Wives and daughters will have been valued for their role in making and maintaining affinal ties, but the elaboration of the symposion will have given an increasingly homosocial cast to male social life even within the household.¹³³ Competition for political office, and the formalization of warfare, may also have encouraged ambitious men to stay in Attika rather than trying to increase their wealth and status by travel; if so, there would be less expectation that a wife should be able to run the household during prolonged absences of its head.¹³⁴

A growing separation between the lives of men and women may also be reflected in an increase in dedications made by women in sanctuaries used only by them, although inadequate publication makes it impossible to trace this process in any detail (ch. 12 n. 30). Moreover, it is hard to see how we will ever, from the archaeological record, be able to distinguish the practices of groups of mature women acting independently from those of families displaying their nubile daughters in public by escorting them to sanctuaries where they will carry out premarital rites.

¹³² It might be held that this is the period characterized by I. Morris (1987) as one of elite closure; if so, however, I would see such closure as a result of political innovation and not of conservatism. See also Polignac 1995.

¹³³ On homosociality in archaic religious festivals see ch. 12 nn. 30–1.

¹³⁴ Two of the rich women's graves that are a striking feature of the 9th–8th c. (Whitley 1996; Liston and Papadopoulos 2004) contained stamp seals, which might suggest administrative functions (cf. Strömberg 1993: a young woman in Freytag 1974, LG; the burial in Smithson 1968, end of EG I, was a cremation). The presence of a granary (?) model has also been taken as an indication of control over property, although Polignac 1998 suggests that it might indicate a role in the cult of Demeter. Cf. ch. 18 nn. 6–7 on travel to interregional sanctuaries as a feature of elite activity in the EIA. The *Odyssey* suggests a society in which there were tensions between the experience that allowed a wife to run the household in the absence of her husband, the wish of a widowed mother to stay with her son while he grew up, and the pressure from kin and society for a widow to remarry.

It may be easier to trace the activities of male adolescents, because they were independently mobile. The rise of the polis will have helped to crystallize a pattern of long male adolescence, running from puberty to full admission at thirty¹³⁵ to political life (girls, in contrast, were expected to move rapidly from puberty to marriage, with a brief period of public visibility, in ritual, during this transition). This more formal exclusion of adolescents from a political life growing in intensity seems to have been accompanied, in a gradual process that we cannot trace in detail, by a growing separation in social life. Adolescents elaborated a pattern of romantic love between bearded erastes and beardless eromenos; it may have been especially in the seventh century, the period of greatest activity at Attic peak sanctuaries, that hunting played a central role in this development, before a new space on the margins of city life was created for them in the gymnasium and palaestra. Offerings at peak sanctuaries consist mainly of simple drinking vessels, but show a high level of literacy, with some inscriptions referring, like archaic rock-cut texts, to sexual affairs. It seems to me that there is a case for ascribing these activities to adolescent hunters rather than to herdsmen.¹³⁶ In the sixth century—perhaps especially during the Peisistratid tyranny—male adolescence became more like a greatly prolonged version of the fleeting public appearances of the nubile girl, boys and young men being continuously celebrated in urban gossip and visible in games. This is also the period of statues commemorating *kouroi* who died in battle, and of development of the Athenian cavalry, which provided further opportunities for display.¹³⁷

The intensification of political activity in the city would presumably also affect relations between city and countryside. The creation of a sense of Attika as a unified territory was a slow process, in which important steps were taken only in the sixth century (Humphreys 2008), but elite life in the city will have increasingly become a focus for ambitions and a source of new cultural patterns, even if some communities on the margins of what would become Attika still looked elsewhere.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Perhaps a distinction between married men with sons (cf. perhaps Roman *patres*) and bachelors was later specified in terms of age.

¹³⁶ Polignac 1994 notes the prominence of writing but does not think of adolescents. Polinskaya 2003, 98 points out that hunting was not confined to remote hillsides (hares and foxes, often depicted as game, were farmers' enemies); nevertheless the peaks may have been attractive. Dedications of armour on Mt Parnes, Polignac 1995, D'Onofrio 1997. On rock-cut inscriptions see A. Chankowski 2002 (new material from Attika, Langdon 2015); on homosexual 'initiation' ch. 13 n. 25.

¹³⁷ There is not much evidence on the positioning of men of various ages in the hoplite army, and practice may have been more formal at Sparta than elsewhere (ch. 18 n. 34). On the cavalry see Bugh 1988; Spence 1993.

¹³⁸ There is some evidence for cult links between NE Attika and Boiotia (ch. 20 at n. 47); the question of relations with Euboia has been little researched (but see Huber 2003, 150–3; Mazarakis-Ainian 2007). It may be correct to think that the grave mounds of the Mesogeia were influenced by Athenian fashions, but cultural unity of Attika in terms of funerary practices has been assumed rather than critically examined.

In terms of class, it seems to me questionable whether in most cities the rise of the polis would encourage a sense of common citizenship uniting all classes (colonies and the quasi-colonial Laconia–Messenia state may be exceptions). Such a sense would perhaps be felt in the hoplite army, but it is increasingly clear that the early hoplite phalanx was a rather small elite corps (Van Wees 2004). The formalization of political roles and the development of a distinctive elite culture, characterized by the symposion and by public processions for weddings and funerals, might well perpetuate or intensify a perception of cleavage between *agathoi* and *kakoi*. On the other hand, the introduction of elections and probably, over time, the increasing size of armies pushed the elite to find ways of maintaining or reshaping ties with poorer neighbours. Moreover, aristocratic life was glamorous even for those excluded from it, and ideas about adolescence, gender roles, and death may have percolated downwards.

We should try to see the rise of the polis as a process of imaginative development, not merely in the narrow terms of political procedures and rights. New questions need to be asked, and this requires open and intensive discussion between historians and archaeologists, as well as more comparison between different parts of Greece.

Vari and Anavyssos, on the sea route from Phaleron to Sounion, may have been more susceptible to city ideas than inland areas. If the large mound (25 m. diameter) dug by Kakavogianne on the SE side of the Anavyssos plain was really constructed to cover the 3 G graves found under it (which seems to me doubtful; see Mersch 1996, 106; Kakavogianne and Petrocheilos 2013), it may have pre-dated any large mound in the city.

Commemoration

When I began working on the relationship between kinship and burial in classical Athens, in the 1970s (Humphreys 1980), I had to deal with an inherited conglomerate of unquestioned assumptions: that burial practices were ‘traditional’, unchanging,¹ and somehow religious in character; that families or lineages—not clearly distinguished—continued to use the same burial plot over many generations; that ‘cult’ continued at graves over long periods; that burial practices were part of private life and tombs were often located on private property;² that although burial treatment varied with wealth all members of a family, regardless of age or gender, would get comparable graves. Most of these assumptions owed more to nineteenth-century western Christian ideals than to historical or archaeological data. Some of them still linger, sometimes in modified form.³

My conclusion from the evidence, forty years ago, was that the fourth-century rhetoric in forensic speeches about family plots and perpetual commemoration as traditional both derived from and contributed to a trend towards the familialization, privatization, and sanctification of burial practices that cannot be traced back before *c.*430 and always coexisted with special treatment for exceptional individuals (and minimal burial for the most insignificant). Tomb groupings stretching over more than three generations were rare, and lateral spread was more likely to draw in affines than remote agnatic kin. There was no evidence for burial on private land; repeated annual commemorative celebrations on dates of private significance are better attested for the Hellenistic period than earlier (ch. 10 at n. 26). Archaic monuments mostly commemorated individuals. New research has not altered the balance of the evidence for the ‘familial’ range of tomb groupings, so—apart from a few currently controversial issues—kin group reconstructions based on (*i.a.*) tomb monuments will be presented in chs. 23–32.

¹ Nock’s study of change in Roman burial practices (1932) had not made much impact.

² This view, argued most influentially by Fustel de Coulanges (Humphreys 1983*a*/1993 ch. 6 part 2, orig. 1980), became less widespread in the 20th century.

³ These assumptions recur in Marchiandi 2011*a*. There is no evidence that all later interments in the Mound G area and ‘Messenian peribolos’ in the Kerameikos were connected with the original burials (cf. ch. 10 n. 82; Knigge 1988, 107; 2006, 154–5); below at nn. 75–7 on burial as ‘religious’; ch. 10 n. 119 on commemorative cult. The assumption that each classical peribolos had a ‘genealogical’ stele as its central monument is also questionable (see below, at nn. 23–4).

Other assumptions have been questioned by Ian Morris: that dead children in all periods were buried in the same style as their parents (1987); that the disappearance of stone grave monuments in Attika at some date between c.510 and c.480 was due to legislation—he suggests that it was a general Greek trend—and that the alleged law was uniformly observed (Morris 1992). Morris's arguments are often problematic,⁴ but the questions he has raised are important.

Further research has made it clearer that there were burials along some remote rural roads in Attika—but not around farmhouses away from roads.⁵ It is clear that in 1980 I underestimated the extent to which stones naming only one or two individuals were grouped in periboloi (Bergemann 1997), and we are getting a better picture of modifications and alterations to monuments already erected (Schmaltz 1998, 2001; Schmaltz and Salta 2003; Cavalier and Lambert 2004). While the term 'cemetery' is still far too often inappropriately used (cf. C. B. Patterson 2006*b*, 2006*c*), excavation records do show that small children were often unceremoniously interred in spaces between and around periboloi or on the fringes of ground intensively used for more prestigious tombs, i.e., that some areas came to be associated with burial.⁶

Various researchers have struggled with the apparent discrepancy between the domestic and 'private' atmosphere of relief monuments and the 'public' face of stones orientated to roads and epigrams addressing the unknown passer-by. Attempts to reconcile the two aspects by stressing the importance for legitimacy, after 451,

⁴ See Bergemann 1999 on reviews of Morris' earlier work; ch. 10 at nn. 72–84 on 'children's cemeteries'; Holtzmann 2001 and Berranger-Ausserve 2001 on 5th c. funerary sculpture outside Attika. Much is made of a rich burial in the Kerameikos where a sarcophagus contained a bronze *lebes* with bones wrapped in cloth (Morris 1992, 132 dates the burial c.25 years earlier than Knigge 1988, 109–10, and associates it with brick tomb e—Knigge has f—and with 'mound o', which is a post-Chaironeia fill). For another rich sarcophagus grave see Stupperich 1994*c* (possibly associated with IG ii² 6626 = CEG 568). However, metal urns in stone containers—perhaps indicating classical attempts to 'heroicize' funerals—have been discovered in increasing numbers over the past few decades, both in the Kerameikos and elsewhere. See lists in Rendeli 2005, Marchiandi 2012, 235–6, plus bronze 'hydria' between 2 stone *thékai* at Elleniko, AD 56–59 B 1, 2001–4 (2010), 474 (cf. *Mes.-Arg.* 443); *ibid.* 370–1, urn in *théké*, Phoinikia; 251–3, clay kalpis in marble theke, Athens Liosion (at Ionias/Sozopoleos); 435, other clay urns in stone thekai; *Mes.-Arg.* 604–5 (cf. *SEG* 57. 92), bronze *kalpé* with lid, Od. Pleiaddon, Kifissia, 5th c.

⁵ Lohmann 1993*a*; Goette 2000, 108–12, on SE Attika; Andreou 1994, 205–6 on Halai Aixonides; cf. ch. 10 nn. 30, 64. Recent examples: AD 55 B 1 (2009) 133–4, Pousi Ledi; 56–59 B 1 (2010) 469, Halimous, Kleious 7, 4th c. peribolos over earlier burial area; 473, Elleniko (earlier graves disturbed by later). Note the very large mudbrick tomb at Vourva illustrated in Bergemann 1999, pl. 6. 1; and urns found by Fauvel in the Aixone area, Beschi 1975.

⁶ Arrington 2010, 2015 still refers to 'the Athenian public cemetery'. A 4th c. wall found in the Kerameikos Metro site excavations, NW of the archaeological site, was low and 'unobtrusive' and separated an area used for burials from marshland (*City* 2000, 273; ch. 10 n. 60). Minor burials: ch. 10 at nn. 80–4; above, n. 3, on Mound G and the 'Messenian peribolos' in the Kerameikos; Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2002 on child burials in the top layer of the mass burial pit for plague victims; Bourbou and Themelis 2010 (Messene); *City* 2000, 269, dogs; cf. ch. 10 n. 73.

of citizen parentage on both sides⁷ do not seem to me successful, largely because they ignore the dialectical relationship between the public burial of the war dead and the private burials of the rest of the population—a topic I shall explore further below.

Ongoing problems are created by the intersection of different specializations in the field, each with its own priorities. Social historians pay insufficient attention to trends in sculpture that interest historians of art; prosopographers, epigraphists, and specialists in sculpture may uncritically accept each other's dates;⁸ too many excavators are still interested only in artefacts and chronology, skeletal remains being poorly reported and unstudied, new questions about burial practices ignored.⁹ Dating is made more difficult by the variable quality of sculpture and inscriptions.¹⁰ Selective interest, in the past, on the part of re-users of ancient stones, of excavators, and of collectors and the illegal market in antiquities, means that sculptures have been separated not only from the graves and periboloi near and in which they once stood, but also from their bases.¹¹

Some examples: a stele and two lekythoi commemorating members of a family from Lamptrai, identifiable by the rarity of some names, were dispersed as a result of illegal excavation in the 1980s, the stele being abandoned in the burial area near Koropi where it presumably once stood, while one lekythos is now in Quebec

⁷ E.g. E. A. Meyer 1993; Breuer 1995; Stears 1995; Bergemann 1997 (on which see Himmelmann 1999); Clostermann 2006; Hildebrandt 2006. Socj 2005 is more sophisticated. The arguments of Meyer from the use of demotics on tombstones are very uncritical: she does not compare other evidence for the gradual growth in the use of demotics during the 5th c. (especially ostraka: ch. 22 n. 37), and a thorough study of naming practices on Attic tombstones would need to consider the many stones on which no demotic is preserved, and the points made below on the identification of citizens among these, and on the complementarity of stones belonging to a single familial group (n. 22). Pologiorge 2002*b* joins IG ii² 12743, which has labels for Sostratos and Sokratides, to ii² 7318, which gives Sokratides' full name. For a general study of naming on stelai see Fraser and Rönne 1957. There are helpful remarks on the use of a public frame of reference for private purposes in Cicchetti 1983 and Mordenti 1983, discussing early modern Italian *libri di famiglia* (it is interesting that references to occupation, apart from fighting and slaves, disappear from Attic tombstones rapidly after the late 5th c.).

⁸ E.g. Ensoli 1987 has no interest in later burials in the peribolos of Dexileos; Hildebrandt 2006 relies on others for prosopography and (where he mentions it) epigraphy. See further below at nn. 27–8.

⁹ Contrast Andreiomenou 2007 with Papadopoulos 2005; cf. also Carter a. o. 1998 on Metaponto. I sympathize with Bergemann's suggestion (1999) that we need a new, more theoretically sophisticated (and more user-friendly) edition of Kübler's *Kerameikos* volumes. For skeletal analysis (mainly of mass graves) see ch. 10 nn. 47, 83, 126; Tritsaroli 2006 (Byzantine).

¹⁰ Note Tracy 1990, 5 on the difficulty of identifying cutters and dating in funerary inscriptions.

¹¹ Some good remarks on this point in G. J. Oliver 2000*b*; cf. also AR 2006–7, 2; Stupperich 1994*b* for separated fragments; ch. 10 n. 44. Reporting of whether a base is preserved, restored, or lost is patchy; published photographs do not always show where a stone is broken. Some stones classed as trapezai (mensae) might be better described as bases (e.g. IG ii² 5367, 5614, both with relief loutrophoroi?; see n. 37) or cult tables (D. Gill 1991). See also Kissas 2000. On IG ii² 5811 see ch. 4 n. 32. Kosmopoulou 2002 has a chapter on sculpted funerary bases but does not seem to deal with this question. For a rare, recent discovery of base, stele, and lekythos together see SEG 56. 255.

and the other in the Kanellopoulos collection in Athens.¹² The Metropolitan Museum, New York, in 1911 acquired the relief stele *IG ii² 7287* with the naiskos *CAT* 3. 846, but failed to buy a pediment perhaps belonging to the naiskos (let alone its base) and two associated lekythoi, one of which was given to the Pergamon-Museum in Berlin by a private collector in 1938, while the other was bought by the University Museum in Philadelphia.¹³ A naiskos separated in earlier excavations at Rhamnous from its inscribed base and pediment has now been reunited with them (*SEMA* 832 + 834, cf. Bergemann and Hallof 1997). Four dispersed, matching lekythoi set up by a family of Halai Aixionides have now been joined by the base of a fifth vase.¹⁴ However, while a stele commemorating Euphanes son of Myrmex was found in the area of Echelidai, with the base of a lekythos or loutrophoros set up for his son, the associated vase is still lost.¹⁵ Two loutrophoroi and a lekythos now in the National Museum, Athens, reached it separately, *IG ii² 12499* donated by a private collector in 1913, *ii² 12658* confiscated in Piraeus on its way to Marseilles, and *ii² 12967* found near Keratea. None has a base or a demotic; they have been attributed on the ground of names and the provenance of *ii² 12967* to the family of Polystratos of Deiradiotai, the subject of *Lysias* 20.¹⁶ Cf. Pologiorge 2000*b* on the stele of Euboulos son of Euboulides of Kopros (ch. 30 n. 112).

The difference between the use of inscribed names as labels to identify relief figures and their use for a more formal identification of the dead is sometimes noted (e.g. E. A. Meyer 1993, 100), but its implications have not been fully explored. It is at least partly responsible for difficulties in deciding which figure in a sculpted group represents the dead, and for controversies over the meaning of the 'loutrophoros' (below, at nn. 35–43).¹⁷ In the rare cases where a

¹² Stele, *SEMA* 386; lekythos Quebec, Université Laval, *CAT* 4. 271 = *SEMA* 1523; Kanellopoulos lekythos *CAT* 4. 326 = *SEMA* 1565. Cf. *SEG* 56. 263 (Fossey 2004); ch. 23 n. 70, Table 23.2.

¹³ *CAT* 3. 846 = *SEMA* 581, report of lost pediment in Richter 1954, no. 83; Berlin lekythos *IG ii² 12023a*, with Bergemann 1997, 210; Philadelphia lekythos *IG ii² 11118* (the lekythoi are not a pair).

¹⁴ Peppas-Delmousou 1977 (*SEMA* 70–71); see ch. 29 at n. 136. Four lekythoi were found in a peribolos excavation near Ikarion in 1983, three with relief decoration, one with inscribed names (Valavanis 2007); *CAT* 2. 379f (corrected by Valavanis) inadequately publishes one, now in the Piraeus Museum.

¹⁵ *CEG* 559–60, *SEMA* 1880, 1543. *IG ii² 11500*, found in the Agora (Euphanes Myr[–]) could belong to this group, but there are many other possibilities.

¹⁶ *APF* 12076 (the demotic from *Lys.* 20. 12); the attribution is now strengthened by Dubois 1996 no. 21, awarding Olbian citizenship to Philopolis son of Philopolis of Deiradiotai (?) the late 4th c. For the location of Deiradiotai, and the family, see ch. 26 n. 109–10. For the history of the vases see *AE* 1913, 201 and *AD* 6, 1920–1, 128–30. 12499 = Schmaltz 1970 A 94, *CAT* 2. 258; 12658 = Kokula L 81, *CAT* 4. 237; 12967 = Kokula L 59, *CAT* 3. 235. *CAT* 3. 364C (*SEMA* 2337) suggests that a loutrophoros sold at Sotheby's in 1990 came from the same set of graves. For other examples see Goette 2001 224; *SEMA* 50 with 57. 270 (n. 40).

¹⁷ Uncertainties are also introduced by additions and alterations to monuments after their initial use (below, at nn. 44–9); addition of labels may have been particularly common (e.g. the children's names on *SEMA* 866; cf. Schmaltz and Salta 2003). Some stones—especially naiskos pediments—show a mixture

lekythos or loutrophoros has been preserved or re-united with its inscribed base, a relief depicting and even naming two or more figures may have a base naming only one.¹⁸

Two main trends can be seen in recent research. One is statistical.¹⁹ Its utility is limited by problems in the data (effects of the history of research; uncertain chronology; separation of stones once grouped together) and in research design. For example, Elizabeth Meyer (1993) argues that the use of demotics on tombstones shows Athenians' attachment to citizenship, without comparing the use of name forms in other contexts, both civic and informal (decree preambles, dikastic pinakes, ostraka, curse tablets ...).²⁰ Johannes Bergemann, initiator of a new statistical database for Attic tombstones, has been criticized for trying to construe statistical norms as rigid rules (Himmelmann 1999; other criticisms, *Agora* XXXV, 1–2).

A more promising approach, in my view, is the study of process through detailed examination of monuments and peribolos groups, facilitated by the work of Bernhard Schmaltz on alterations to monuments (Schmaltz 1998, 1999, 2001; Schmaltz and Salta 2003; concordance, *SEG* 53. 231). At least in some cases we can now be fairly sure which death prompted the construction of a new peribolos, and can begin to trace the dynamics of subsequent burials. The construction of a peribolos in the Kerameikos for the cenotaph of the young cavalryman Dexileos of Thorikos, followed by other members of his family, is a well-known

of labelling with more formal identification (e.g. *SEMA* 832 + 834, discussed further below, n. 48). Note the comments of Pologiorge 2009 on the labels of *CAT* 2. 793 (*SEMA* 2170). On *IG* ii² 5294 (Scholl 1996 no. 155, *CAT* 3. 320c) the labels all appear to be in the same hand, although the cutter did not leave enough space for the last letter of the third name.

¹⁸ *IG* ii² 5980, labels Anenkletos, Nikodemou; base, Anenkletos Nikodemou Dekelieus (ch. 19 n. 105). *CAT* 3. 403 = *SEMA* 324, two-figure relief (unlabelled), base naming Aristomache Kephisodorou Kollyteôs (an uninscribed stele base found with it, Knigge 1988, no. 40). It is no accident that these examples come from the Kerameikos and the royal estate at Tatoi. Base of lekythos or loutrophoros preserved alone (if not a dedication), *IG* ii² 6775 = 6815 (*SEG* 51. 267); cf. n. 37. Lekythos and base, *SEG* 57. 270, *Mes.-Arg.* 466–7 (nn. 16, 40). Sculpted base with (incomplete) lekythos or loutrophoros, NMA 4498 (*CAT* 4. 270, Neer 2010 fig. 139).

¹⁹ See especially T. H. Nielsen a. o. 1989 (with G. J. Oliver 2000b) and Bergemann 2001.

²⁰ Similar problems in Ferrario 2006. It is interesting that Heragoras of Samos, who was buried in Athens (*IG* ii² 6417), identifies himself by his place of origin and not by a demotic (cf. Shipley 1987, 130–1; C. Koch 1993). The same should be true of at least some of the Plataians buried in Athens; this may reflect Athenians' tendency still to distinguish such persons from full citizens when referring to them. It has usually been assumed (e.g. M. J. Osborne 1981–3, III–IV, 38–9, also Humphreys 1980) that Heragoras did not get Athenian citizenship, but since he was buried in Attika, it seems quite possible that it was his choice to identify himself as Samian. Hildebrandt 2006 (no. 32) has doubts about the order in which the names were cut; all the inscriptions are cramped, but the division of ll. 1–4 between the epistyle and the stele, and the distribution of names in these lines, suggest that they were cut later than ll. 5–7. On this family cf. ch. 23 n. 49. (Humphreys 1983a/1993, 129 n. 56). There is no great reason to assume that other family monuments joined this stone. Other possible citizens still known as Samian: *IG* ii² 10223, *SEG* 59. 305, and the naukleros Hyblesios of [Dem.] 35, possibly father of *IG* ii² 6431.

example (*IG* ii² 6217, 6226–7, 6230; Table 27.6A).²¹ Schmaltz 2001 argues that another Kerameikos peribolos was initiated on the death of Korallion, wife of Agathon of Herakleia (*IG* ii² 11891); when Agathon died he was commemorated by a painted naiskos and a stele naming him with his brother Sosikrates (ii² 8550–1); the inscription on Korallion's naiskos was changed to identify her as Agathon's wife—an identification only comprehensible in the context of the other monuments—and two additional figures were added to her naiskos, which directed more attention to the figure of Agathon.²²

These examples show that peribolos sequences did not always begin with the death and monument of a patriarch. Even where a list on a stele begins with the name of a 'founding father'—as in the case of the 'Meidonidai' (Table 4.10)—his name may have been inscribed only on the death of a more junior member of the family.²³ Rather ironically, one of the clearest examples of a patriarchal foundation is probably the stone commemorating Heragoras of Samos—an immigrant new citizen—with his two sons and wife, the wife and children of one of the sons being added later (see n. 20). The stele of Euphranor of Rhamnous, with an epigram on its base saying that he lived to be 105, and names of descendants added later, is another clear example.²⁴

It should be emphasized here that the reconstructions of periboloi at Rhamnous illustrated in Petrakos 1999 are not accompanied by any archaeological evidence, and do not necessarily include all the monuments recovered around the peribolos area.²⁵ Hildebrandt (2006) assumes a priori that where a

²¹ On this family see ch. 27 n. 78, Tables 27.6A–D. Clostermann 2006 suggests an interval of c.50 years between Dexileos' stone and the later burials. Hildebrandt 2006 (107–8) thinks *IG* ii² 6227 is earlier than Dexileos' monument, but his reasons are unconvincing.

²² Ohly 1965 thought that Korallion's naiskos, another smaller naiskos, and the name stele *IG* ii² 8551 (almost 4-m high) would have been re-erected after the damage of c.338–7, when the peribolos was restored. The peribolos originally had two lekythoi, on the corners, as well as the lost naiskos (and possibly something to the right of Agathon's naiskos). Report of 1863 excavation, *ARMA* II p. 710 nos. 106–7. Cf. n. 27 below; *SEG* 61. 195 (unconvincing). Other stones on which a woman is identified as the wife or daughter of a man whose name is not given in full should be similarly explained (e.g. *IG* ii² 10567 = *CAT* 1. 431, and perhaps *IG* ii² 12912 + *SEG* 51. 247 = *CAT* 2. 364b).

²³ *IG* ii² 6971 = *CEG* 481 explicitly states that earlier members of the family (father and uncle) are commemorated. *SEMA* 469 (Etienne 1975, Table 5.2) seems to commemorate three generations of ancestors—perhaps partly to demonstrate the family's long residence in a rural deme other than its own. (ch. 25 n. 60). All names were cut by the same hand, but with a gap of one line before the last, a woman: did she give instructions for the monument? Clostermann 2006 too often assumes that periboloi were pre-planned.

²⁴ *SEMA* 820–1, Table 31.14. Euphranor's age could be calculated by the Athenian system of 42 named age-sets: the hero in whose year he had been registered in his deme would recur when he was 60 and again when he was 102.

²⁵ The relative dating of two naiskos bases apparently shown in the plan of the peribolos of Diogeiton, Petrakos 1999 I fig. 259 (but not discussed by him or by Bergemann 1997 p. 10) is the only exception. Several monuments that probably stood in the peribolos of Hierokles are not shown in the restoration. Bergemann (10–11) is entirely uncritical of the Rhamnous reconstructions.

peribolos had a name stele this was its first monument, and does not discuss conflicting evidence.²⁶

The problems besetting the reconstruction of monument sequences are well illustrated by the Kerameikos peribolos of a Melite family. Brückner (1909) assumed that the stele of Koroibos *IG ii*² 6008 (almost 3-m high) began the sequence, the relief stele of Hegeso daughter of Proxenos (*IG i*³ 1289) and the loutrophoros-stele of Kleidemos (taken to be Koroibos' grandson; *IG ii*² 6859) being later added to left and right of it. Later work on stylistic and epigraphic chronology, however, placed Hegeso's monument in the fifth century; and re-examination of the monuments and the peribolos suggested that their positions and bases were not original. The front wall of the peribolos had been destroyed c.340—i.e. probably in disturbances associated with the defeat at Chaironeia—and it was thought that members of the family had rescued the monuments and reconstructed them, on new bases (and in a different order?), further from the position near the front wall in which most monuments were originally set up.²⁷

More recently, however, Martha Weber (2001, followed by Hildebrandt 2006), has argued that the Koroibos of *IG ii*² 6008 should be identified with the architect of Plutarch *Perikles* 13, who died in 431, and that Brückner's sequence for the monuments was correct. This is prosopographically doubtful, since the name Koroibos is not exceptionally rare;²⁸ it is less rare than the name of Koroibos' father Kleidemides, otherwise only attested in Aristophanes *Frogs* 791 as that of an associate of Sophokles (the scholia guess, an actor), who had perhaps died shortly before the play was produced in 406.

Kleidemos' epigram—'once his father's pride, now a grief to his mother'—suggests to me that the father had died earlier, although perhaps when the son was already in his twenties. If Hegeso was married to a member of this family—which seems probable but is not certain—we do not know whether she was the wife of Kleidemides or of Koroibos. If she was Kleidemides' wife, Kleidemos' monument would be the earliest in the sequence.²⁹

²⁶ Cf. below, and ch. 29 s. *Melite*, on the Koroibos stele.

²⁷ Ohly 1965; Knigge 1988, 132–4 (the connection between Hegeso's monument and the rest is thus quite uncertain, see n. 29). For other possible examples of movement/re-erection of monuments after 338 see *Kerameikos XIV* pp. 29, 31, 79. Martha Weber (2001, followed by Marchiandi 2008*b*) thinks the original bases are preserved (in their original position), their rough surface showing that they had originally been covered in stucco. She also rejects, probably rightly, the claim that Kleidemos' stele was given a new anthemion (Knigge 1984, 225).

²⁸ Comm. *IEleus* 30 suggests that Perikles' architect had a homonymous grandson. The identification (Martha Weber 2001; Hildebrandt 2006) of Phormos I of Kydantidai (*IG ii*² 6609) with the Phormos (tribe unknown) of *IG i*³ 1192. 149 is also hazardous, but since his grandson Phormos II son of Prokleides II was old enough to serve as a deme official in 331/0 (*SEG* 39. 148) Phormos I should anyway have been born in the 5th c. *LGPN*'s identification of the Phormos I of the grave stele with the deme official would put all the names on the stele—cut on separate occasions—after 330, which seems to me unlikely (genitive in *o* in l. 2, *ou* elsewhere). Weber reports that Stratonike's name was not cut with that of Phormos; this is not clear on Hildebrandt's photograph (pl. 111). Cf. ch. 24 n. 94/Table 24.6. For other criticisms of Hildebrandt, and a concordance, see *SEG* 56. 34.

²⁹ Epigram *CEG I* 102 (*IG ii*² 6859), dated c.400. The argument for identifying Hegeso's father with Proxenos I of Aphidnai (*APF* 12267) is not strong, especially since the fairly common name Proxenos is attested later in Melite (*IG ii*² 2383, cf. *APF* 11473, pp. 424–5).

The relationship to Koroibos' family of the two Eiteians named on the stele (*IG ii² 6008*) is also controversial. The name of Koroibos II, the last demesman of Melite in the list, is followed by that of Euthydemos son of Sosikles of Eitea, while the name of Sosikles son of Euthydemos of Eitea was inscribed above the rosettes; a cippus naming an Euthydemos son of Sosikles of Eitea (*IG ii² 6001*) was found six metres behind the stele of Hegeso (Brückner 1909). It has mostly been assumed—perhaps due to over-patrilineal conceptions of Athenian kinship—that Sosikles' name represented occupation of the peribolos by an unconnected family, Euthydemos being commemorated both on the stele and by another stone. But it is also possible that Euthydemos I was an affine of the Melite family, perhaps married to a daughter or sister of Koroibos II, that the Sosikles (II) named on the stele was his son, and that *IG ii² 6001* commemorated his grandson Euthydemos II. At present we really know very little about the re-appropriation of monuments in the late fourth and third century.³⁰

Closer attention to process and sequence may also provide some insight into the ability of women to steer resources into commemoration.³¹ A plausible example is *IG ii² 6218*, a stele found in the Kerameikos area near the Academy road,³² with a list of names all cut in the same hand, beginning with Demochares (II?) of Thorikos³³ and ending with his widow. It also names two Thorikian brothers, perhaps her brothers-in-law,³⁴ her father, and Demochares' two sisters. This does look like a woman's view of her kin network.

A dead youth, if not shown alone (or with only a dog, horse, or slave) is often portrayed with his mother, but this need not imply that she was widowed; it could indicate that he was not yet part of the world of adult men.

The belief that such youths were commonly (though not necessarily) commemorated by the vases archaeologists call *loutrophoroi* was challenged by Bergemann (1996), but his arguments are not convincing. He claims that the statement in [Demosthenes] 44. 18,

³⁰ The epigram of *IG ii² 5768* (*CEG 480*) was partly destroyed by a later relief (*CAT 1. 891*), but the situation is still not clear.

³¹ Cf. the discussion of dedications set up by women, ch. 12 n. 93. Houby-Nielsen 1997 may exaggerate the distinction between women's choice of grave-goods and their influence on the imagery of monuments. Socj 2005 asks who set up monuments for women, but not whether women commissioned them. *IG i³ 1226* was set up by sons at their mother's request; *IG ii² 6748*, where the two women (mother and daughter?) have patronymics and the man (husband? and father) only a single name, may have been set up in a peribolos where he had already been commemorated. On *IG ii² 7702* (Kroll 1972 fig. 231; ch. 29 n. 88) the last name appears to me (*pace* Kirchner) to be cut by a different hand; possibly Kalliades' name was later added to a stone set up to commemorate his wife with her parents. Cf. *IG ii² 11103* (*CEG 548*), set up by stepmother for stepson.

³² Prophetes Daniel St. (*A to Z* 123 A1; Wilhelm 1909 no. 53).

³³ An earlier Demochares of Thorikos in *IG i³ 1032. 148*. Demochares II is probably the choregos of *SEG 34. 174*. It is curious that the rare and similar names Attabos and Atarbos are both used by prosperous Thorikos families in the same period (Tables 27.6A–D) but I see no clear prosopographical explanation. *IG ii² 6241 = Agora XVII 148*, of c.200, commemorates a later member of the family.

³⁴ A cousin of these men, Sosigenes son of Sosippos of Thorikos, was buried in the deme: *SEMA 255*, Table 27.6D.

that a loutrophoros on the grave showed that the person commemorated died unmarried, refers to a relief or statue of a boy water-carrier, but no such monument is known.³⁵ Posamentir (2006; cf. Kaempf-Dimitriadou 2000) has made a firm case for a difference in meaning between lekythoi and 'loutrophoroi', and the majority of representations on the latter are consistent with the traditional interpretation. Bergemann objected that many of the men are shown bearded and two women are shown with infants; but Athenian men were rarely married before the age of thirty (ch. 5 nn. 48–9), and a woman who died in bearing her first child might well be thought not fully to have completed the marriage process (H. King 1998; ch. 9 pp. 304–5).³⁶ The view that loutrophoroi with two handles (loutrophoros-amphorai) were set up over the graves of men and those with one handle (loutrophoros-hydriai) over women's graves is more open to question (see now Margarite 2010). Insofar as Athenians were conscious of a gender distinction, it may have derived from a stronger association of the loutrophoros-amphora with war and the hydria form with marriage (cf. Moesch 1988; Boardman 1988; Sabetai 1993, 2014; Moesch-Klinge 2006).

Kokula (1984) catalogued about 200 loutrophoroi and loutrophoros-stelai,³⁷ and of these fewer than ten present problems that require discussion. In three cases it has been

³⁵ The 'hydrophoros' found in the Kerameikos (Knigge 1988 fig. 126, CAT 1. 334) is a young girl. Loutrophoroi by two men's names on IG ii² 6193. See also Trinkl 2009; Stamatiopoulou 2014, 212 and fig. 7 (terracotta). On *loutrophoros* as a ritual office in other areas, Chaniotis 2008; on funerary use of clay loutrophoroi, Sabetai 2009.

³⁶ Women with infants, CAT 3. 703, Kerameikos P 663 (handing baby to another woman); CAT 1. 691, NMA 792, possibly not Attic, odd-shaped L-A in field. See also Schulze 1998. Niobe is shown with 'loutrophoros-amphorai' at the tomb in LIMC Niobe nos. 10, 13, 16, and 18 (Electra, however, has hydriai, lekythoi, and an amphora). Relative age is often shown by pose, the older generation seated and the younger standing, rather than by other features; however, the seated, bearded man on the L-A Coll. Makridi 1239 (Lembese 2003) is being portrayed as a writer. On SEMA 2105 the 100-year old Littias stands with a seated wife and small girl; this seems an inappropriate image. CAT 2. 342a (SEMA 319, Scholl 1996 no. 400) is a good example, where the inscription shows that two very similar bearded men, one seated and one standing, are father and son. Age may also be shown by attributes, as in SEMA 2528 (CAT 2. 879), where the older of two standing bearded men is distinguished by his stick (cf. n. 69 below). Status may be shown by size: small bearded slave batmen accompanying hoplites are not necessarily to be taken as 'dwarves' (Kokula L 59, L 81, = IG ii² 12967, 12499). Pologiorge 2009 suggests that age was sometimes differentiated by painting.

³⁷ Not all her entries are inscribed and/or figured, and there is some overlap between categories. Posamentir 2006 nos. 62, 95, and 96 (= IG ii² 6444) are new painted loutrophoroi. Other examples I have noted, published since 1984, are, in SEMA, nos. 50 (n. 40), 51, 67 (CAT 2. 346a), 184/5 (see ch. 24 n. 64), 470 (CAT 2. 295a), 596 (CAT 2. 913), 678, 772, 895 (IRb 334, SEG 40. 238), 2170 (CAT 2. 793, Piraeus Mus. Inv. 5282 + 5289a), 2299 (Piraeus mus. 5280, L-stele), 2528 (SEG 34. 236, CAT 2. 879); 2450. Not in SEMA: City 2000, 223, no. 198 (uninscribed); Lembese 2003 (private coll., Athens); Steinhauer a.o. 2005, 128–39 (Attikê Odos, Pallene); SEG 54. 341/57. 218 (Table 29.23); AD 55 B 1, 2000 (2009), 103 fig. 12 (loutrophoros base, Moschato; SEG 56. 262, AR 2009–10 fig. 11); SEG 59. 305 (Piraeus Mus. 11956, *Horos* 17–21, 218 no. 10, a Samian); AD 56–9 B1 (2010), 51–2 fig. 21, L-hydria; ibid. 321 fig. 13, stele with relief L-A, 2 hoplites setting up a trophy (*Mes.-Arg.* 413 fig. 16); part L, SEG 61. 81. IG ii² 5367 and 5614, loutrophoros-reliefs on 'mensae' (n. 11) are not catalogued by Kokula. Petrocheilos 2003 publishes SEG 54. 341 (on which see ch. 29 s.v. SEG 54.341), and 3 further uninscribed fragments. Schmaltz and Salta 2003 think that a loutrophoros was erased from SEG 47. 260; n. 37, they list later additions of loutrophoroi; n. 168, Hellenistic examples (add SEG 53. 239;

claimed that the man commemorated had attested children, but none of these is certain. Timophon son of Timostratos of Anagyrous, named on the loutrophoros *IG ii² 5636* (Kokula O 12, c.340) may be the son, rather than the father of the Timostratos son of Timophon A. named on a list perhaps to be dated c.350;³⁸ the Phalanthos of Kerameis who served as councillor in 328/7 (*IG ii³ 360*) may be the father and not the son of the Theodoros son of Phalanthos K. commemorated by the loutrophoros-stele *IG ii² 6326/7* (c.350?), since other elderly councillors are known;³⁹ the loutrophoros-stele *IG ii² 10909* has been taken to represent two brothers (both standing), both possibly fathers, but since the base is lost we do not know which was commemorated, and the prosopography is in any case conjectural.⁴⁰

Four loutrophoroi and one loutrophoros-stele show a small child, but the child may be a younger sibling of the deceased.⁴¹ A loutrophoros with a four-figure relief is difficult to interpret, especially since one of its label inscriptions is damaged.⁴²

Perhaps the most problematic case is *SEMA 596* (*CAT* 2. 913), a loutrophoros-amphora from Merenda that shows a seated woman shaking hands with a standing male accompanied by a slave. This is usually a typical mother-son scene on loutrophoroi commemorating young men (only youths and soldiers are shown with male slaves) but here

Agora XXXV 198, 204, 207–8, 211). Roman: Korres 2009, 231 (fig. 16. 14). NMA 792 is considered non-Attic (Clairmont 1988). For loutrophoros-stelai see also Moesch-Klingele 2006.

³⁸ Reinmuth 1971 no. 16; for the date see Humphreys 2010a n. 30 (the list can hardly be ephebic), ch. 23 n. 19.

³⁹ Kokula L 27; ch. 17 n. 15. Since Theodoros is a very common name, the Myrrhine daughter of Theodoros K. commemorated on *IG ii² 6335*—probably, on spelling, to be dated later than 6326/7—may be unrelated; or she may have been Phalanthos' sister. On *IG ii² 7180* and 6054 see ch. 30 n. 21.

⁴⁰ Both men are standing, though Autokles looks older. Since the stone (*CAT* 2. 279, Kokula L 16, dated c.350) was found in the Thorikos area, the Autokles and Demokles named *may* have belonged to Kephale, in which both names are attested. Demochares son of Demokles K. is named on a dikastic pinax of the 350s, Kroll 1972 111c (and may be the father of the Nikaios commemorated on *IG ii² 6365*, a lost stone of uncertain date); the Autokles son of Autokles K. who served as councillor in 304/3 (*Agora* XV 58) could be a grandson of Demokles rather than a son of the Autokles named on the stele. On the other hand Lysis of Aixone, named before his son Timokleides on their loutrophoros (*SEMA* 50, *CAT* 3. 363a, Steinhauer 2001 figs. 466–7) is definitely portrayed as a seated old man (he had his own lekythos, Piraeus Museum 3280, *Mes.-Arg.* 466–7, *SEG* 57. 270/61. 199). The prosopography of *IG ii² 6572–3* is extremely problematic (ch. 25 n. 3), but to reject the traditional view on loutrophoroi does not solve the problems. See Schmaltz and Salta 2003, no. 9 and pp. 166–7, for possible additions.

⁴¹ On *IG ii² 11634* (Kokula L 71), showing a seated bearded man, small girl, and standing youth with dog, the youth is hardly old enough to be a father; on ii² 12237 (L 93) a father and son (with patronymic) are shown with a standing woman (mother?) and small girl, both also labelled. *SEMA* 2528 (n. 37) has a small boy between an older man and a youth; ii² 7799 (L 74) has a small girl between a standing hoplite and seated woman. The stele *CAT* 2. 889 (L 36, Scholl 1996. 100) has a relief with girl between the seated and standing males; the young man is shown again, as a traveller (pilos, slave with baggage) on the loutrophoros.

⁴² *IG ii² 10612*, *CAT* 4. 205, Kokula L 96. I would guess that the standing bearded Aischylos and seated Archippe are the parents of both the hoplite Ph[eidi]ppos and the youth also named Pheidippos, the latter having been renamed when his elder brother died (ch. 8 n. 33; was Archippe an epikleros?), but certainty is impossible. (Peek 1942, no. 242, read Ph[eidi]ppos on a squeeze, Kokula read Pheidēmos on a photograph and is followed by *CAT*, but not by *LGP*.) Cf. *IG ii² 11341* = 11988 (L 97). Dead (?) hoplite with dead youth on naiskos, *SEMA* 2172 (*CAT* 3. 200 + 3. 195 + *Suppl.* 67, Despines 1991).

the label reads *Lysippe Stration KRhamnousiosiou* (*SEMA*). The carving is unusually crude, and the base is lost; possibly the intrusive K and other letters are left from an earlier label, erased when Lysippe's name was added?⁴³

We are beginning to get a clearer picture of the interaction between monument makers and their clients. Part of the stonecutter's work could be done in advance: vases were made with raised bosses into which reliefs could later be cut, and a sunken *Bildfeld* with reliefs could be cut into an already prepared stele. Addition of painted imagery or details was even easier (see Posamentir 2006). It is more difficult to tell whether masons would have prepared monuments with ready-made standard scenes. Claims that a relief is inappropriate for the inscription that accompanies it may be controversial, and the implied models of efficient labour use and off-the-peg shopping practices may be anachronistic (but see n. 36 above on *SEMA* 2105).⁴⁴ We have no evidence on the erection of tomb monuments, but it seems likely that they were set up on either the ninth or the thirtieth day after death (ch. 10 at nn. 17–20), which would give time for sculptures to be carved to order—even if in most cases a familiar schema was chosen.

⁴³ *IG* ii² 12118, with an erased first inscription and an added loutrophoros-hydria, is dated 2nd c. BCE. On *IG* ii² 10567 (*CAT* 1. 431, Kokula H 25) the labels and the relief on the loutrophoros-hydria may be added. However, on ii² 11894 (*CAT* 3. 392), a *Bildfeld*stele, the schema of seated woman with standing youth (and older man) does seem to be used to commemorate a woman. Painted L-A added to naiskos for young woman (or, less probably, her father), *IG* ii² 6582 = *CAT* 2. 436, with Schmaltz and Salta 2003 no. 53, Posamentir 2006, 87. (Youth as living member of group, *SEMA* 892 = *CAT* 3. 372b.) Two 'mensae' (cf. n. 11) with relief loutrophoroi are problematic, *IG* ii² 5367 because it seems to commemorate a married couple, and ii² 5614 because Tauriskos son of Polyektos of Amphitrope, named with (perhaps) his mother, may be the father of —xis Tauriskou A., who appears on another problematic stone, ii² 5753 (a list of names, with additions, which can hardly be a dedication but is also rather unusual in scope for a tombstone). These stones have been dated mainly on the basis of questionable prosopographical reasoning (ch. 32 n. 105), and they should be more closely examined before too much weight is based on them in argument. On *IG* ii² 7262 (*CAT* 2. 270a, Kokula L 37), with a relief of seated woman and standing youth, the inscription appears to indicate that they were siblings, but it is possible that the woman was an epikleros and her son was adopted by or to her father.

⁴⁴ Cf. ch. 10 n. 94. Kokula 1984 H 19, where a loutrophoros-amphora was converted to a L-hydria but the name is masculine (*IG* ii² 10553) is puzzling (but there is lost paintwork). Clairmont 1970 discussed correspondence between epigrams and imagery but did not think in terms of supplementation, on which see now Socj 2005, 125; *SEG* 57. 270. A good case is *IG* ii² 12151 (*CAT* 2. 286, *CEG* 513), where a naiskos representing a woman with a slavegirl is complemented by an epigram mentioning her husband, her mother (a widow?), her siblings, and her child. Cf. *IG* ii² 10864 (*CEG* 539, *CAT* 2. 820, Kaltsas 2002 no. 360), showing a seated woman with small girl and slave; the epigram refers to her husband. *IG* ii² 7394 = *CAT* 3. 352c, 3 women named (all same hand), only one represented. On the loutrophoros-stele ii² 7839a (Kokula L 14) the young Euthykritos is shown with his father or a brother (it is unusual that both have dogs); the epigram *CEG* 527 refers to his parents, sisters, and friends. A small number of representations showing the moment of death (other than battle images) must have been explicitly commissioned: some show women in childbirth (Vedder 1988, cf. Stewart and Gray 2000; Catoni 2005, 298–303), and the unusual *CAT* 2. 279b (Schmaltz 1970 A 34) seems to show a dying soldier not in combat. Cf. Bergemann 1997, 64–5; I. Huber 2001.

Schmaltz and Salta (2003) claim that alterations to naiskoi made in the sculptor's workshop (at the request of a specific client) would not be detectable, and that the changes they have observed would have been made after the monuments had been set up; I have not seen any detailed critical discussion of their work.⁴⁵

Schmaltz and Salta do not speculate much on the motives behind the decision to alter an existing monument rather than commissioning a new one, beyond associating the later alterations with Demetrios of Phaleron's sumptuary legislation. Addition of names to a list on a stele was clearly regarded as normal; and a similar list appears on the pediment and mouth of a loutrophoros-stele from Marousi.⁴⁶ Here, two of the added names designate persons represented in the relief, although not positioned over their figures (a third does not). More attention should be paid to the distinction between inscriptions added to a list of dead members of the family and inscriptions added to convey information either about sculpted figures or about their relation to other monuments in the same peribolos (as in the case of Korallion, *IG ii² 11891*, identified in a secondary inscription as wife of Agathon). Since so many tomb monuments have lost their bases, we can seldom be sure that we have the primary inscription by which the dead was commemorated when his or her stone was set up; and we do not as yet have any study of the phenomenon of labelling, i.e., use of names to identify sculpted figures (cf. above, at nn. 17–18). Some labels may have been commissioned from the start (especially if figures were small and very typical in design⁴⁷), but at the time of death and in the years soon after it kin did not need them; it seems possible that some labels on peribolos monuments were added only after some time had elapsed. (Addition of a label when the labelled person died is another possibility.) Thus in the controversial case of the Rhamnous naiskos of Hieron and Lysippe, where art historians think that the monument was designed to commemorate Lysippe but epigraphists consider her label later than that of Hieron, it seems possible that an original inscription on the base commemorating Lysippe was deleted to make place for Hieron's epigram (or was on the lost right-hand

⁴⁵ One clear case of alteration of sculpture was already noted in Clairmont 1976 (*CAT* 3. 433, *SEMA* 82). A good example is *IG ii² 6972* (*CAT* 4. 460, Schmaltz and Salta no. 10), naiskos for a youth, father's name and slavegirl added, ch. 31 n. 61. Alterations to Egyptian reliefs, Baines 2013, 219 n. 11.

⁴⁶ *IG ii² 5327*, Hamiaux 1992 no. 183, *CAT* 3. 213, Kokula L 30. Hamiaux thought that only line 3 was added, but this does not seem certain. On the accepted reconstruction of the family, Chaireas (l. 4) would be the uncle (FB) and not the son of Archedemos II (ll. 1–2); it is a little surprising to find his name in the list but not impossible. Cf. Table 29.14, ch. 29 n. 80.

⁴⁷ Added labels and central figure perhaps in *IG ii² 6572* = *CAT* 3. 90, Schmaltz and Salta 2003 no. 9. I cannot here discuss the question of portraiture in detail: see L. Giuliani 1986; Schmaltz 1999; Bergemann 2001; Piekarski 2004; Catoni 2005; Socj 2005; S. Dillon 2006. It is clear that while Athenians did not on the whole have modern conceptions of a 'likeness'—with the possible exception of some well-known figures with distinctive features, such as Themistokles—their conceptions of identity included signs of character as well as age.

stone of the base), while her label was added only after the fuller label identifying Hieron.⁴⁸ Similarly, *IG ii² 7169*, a stele with a loutrophoros in the pediment, may have had a base identifying Hippon son of Agonippos of Peiraios as the dead, supplemented by a label naming his mother Philostrate, with a further label for Hippon added later.⁴⁹ All this is speculative, but it is important to think about all the elements of a set of monuments that are not preserved, in order to avoid the trap of drawing conclusions only from the evidence available. Evidence, in most cases, is not enough.

Would the established custom of adding to or revising inscriptions on tomb monuments lead on to additions or changes to sculpture? If we feel there is a difference, we would need to explain it in Attic terms—to think about what kind of identity the image represents. In most of the cases noted by Schmaltz and Salta it is not the figure of the person originally commemorated that is changed, but that of a member of the surrounding group—more commonly, a female figure changed into a man. More attention should be paid to such nuances.

The question of the effect of legislation is also important, and here the period around 500 has to be considered as well as the law of Demetrios of Phaleron. Cicero, no doubt drawing on Demetrios, in a passage on Athenian funerary legislation, after reporting Solon's law, says that 'some time later' it was enacted that (1) no *sepulcrum* should be larger than could be made by ten men in three days, (2) *sepulcra* were not to be decorated with *opus tectorium*,⁵⁰ (3) 'what are called *hermae*' were not to be erected on them, (4) no funeral speech was to be pronounced except that delivered at the funeral of the war dead, and (5) the number of persons attending funerals was to be limited, to reduce the public expression of grief.

Cicero does not explicitly say that all these measures were enacted in a single law, and we have no guarantee that Demetrios said this, although it is fairly certain that he thought in terms of legislation. Nor should we assume without question that he was drawing on archival research, even at second hand (via Krateros?). The futility of expensive tomb monuments was a philosophical topos,

⁴⁸ *IRb* 271 + 273 (*IG ii² 13102A*) = *SEMA* 832 + 834, cf. Bergemann and Hallof 1997; Schmaltz 1998; Schmaltz and Salta 2003 p. 159.

⁴⁹ *CAT* 3. 408a, Kokula L 49. Bergemann (1997, p. 90) thought that Philostrate's name was cut earlier, presumably because that of Hippon is crowded into a smaller space; *CAT* notes only that the names were cut by different hands.

⁵⁰ *FGH* 228 F 9 = Wehrli F 135, Fortenbaugh and Schütrumpf 2000 no. 53. See Engels 1998; Bernhardt 2003, 79–81. It is generally accepted that the labour restriction referred to mounds, and that *opus tectorium*—although no one has suggested a Greek equivalent—referred to built tombs of mudbrick and/or stucco coverings for built tombs and mounds.

and the calculation of expenditure in terms of labour time is also found in Plato's *Laws*,⁵¹ as is the contrast between public and private funerals.

Archaeologists, lured by the prospect of providing a date from their own discipline for what they mostly took to be a single law, and in the process explaining the disappearance of tomb sculpture in the early fifth century, were forced if they took the reference to public funerals seriously to date the law immediately after the defeat of Xerxes. This has always been a controversial position,⁵² and the effort should probably be abandoned. A point that has not been sufficiently discussed is the term *hermae*. Had the abandonment of the custom of setting up sculptured monuments over tombs around the turn of the century not posed a problem, no one would have thought of connecting it with any form of sculpture other than the Hermes-headed pillars that became a feature of Attic roads and streets after the erection (before 514) of the Herms of Hipparchos.⁵³ 'Herms' of this form were not set up over tombs,⁵⁴ and it is arguable that any use of the term Hermes or (perhaps more likely) *herma* in association with tomb monuments should have a pre-Hipparchan origin—consciousness that the usage was archaic being possibly shown by Cicero's phrase *hermas hos quos vocant*.⁵⁵

Eckstein's view that the so-called 'law' should be seen as a collection of changes spread over almost a century may well be right, but if so we should go further and ask whether legislation was ever involved. Is it possible that a philosophical source reported a number of funerary practices which Athenians had discontinued, and Demetrios inferred that a law or laws had been passed?⁵⁶

⁵¹ *Laws* 958e (5 men in 5 days), cf. Engels 1998, 137–41; Blok 2006. This way of calculating labour cost is quite odd for antiquity, which had little conception of the daily wage outside military contexts, and especially for funerary mounds which were originally piled up by the friends and associates of the dead (ch. 10 n. 9; had the restriction of funerals to the hours of darkness made a difference?).

⁵² Sculpture dates in the period c.510–480 are notoriously problematic (cf. Stewart 2008, 583–4)—even if 'hermae' can refer to sculpture—and there are very strong arguments for dating the introduction of the public funeral in 464 (Humphreys forthcoming c). The size of mounds in the Kerameikos decreased after the erection of Mound G c.550. Felix Eckstein (1958, 1964) already argued for a succession of measures over the period c.550–464.

⁵³ The surviving Herm, *IG* i³ 1023, has lost its head but calls itself 'Hermes'.

⁵⁴ The only exceptions (*LIMC* Hermes 89–91, from Delos/Rheneia), are Hellenistic, and here the herm is a sign for the palaistra. Hermes Chthonios on Hellenistic gravestones in Thessaly, Stamatopoulou 2014, 226.

⁵⁵ The phrase is evidently corrupt, and Eckstein proposed an emendation that eliminated the reference to herms, but this is drastic and *hos/quos* may be alternatives; *hermas hos* is an emendation for *hermasos*. The term *herma* had two senses: a post used to prop up a ship on land (cf. *hermis* or *hermin*, bedpost), and a reef or pile of rocks. R. Parker (1996, 80–83) suggests that the post was set up in a pile of stones, but the connection may be less material, *herma* meaning a fixed point or marker; for Frisk (1960) the basic meaning may be 'weight', hence 'heavy stone', then 'prop'. Cf. also Triante 1977. And yet, if grave markers were in question, why not use the familiar term *sēma*?

⁵⁶ The last point in Cicero's list, limitation of numbers at funerals, may have been taken from Thuc. 2. 34. 4. It is entirely unclear under what procedure such legislation could have been enforced, had anyone wished to prosecute.

Legislation, even if designed by philosophers or reformers, must draw to some extent on ideas or feelings present in its historical context; and if, as is usually claimed, the '*post aliquanto* law' was 'democratic' (i.e. passed by an assembly?),⁵⁷ we need to reconstruct a sympathetic climate of opinion.

It may thus be significant that both the reaction against funerary sculpture—which is archaeologically attested even if hard to fit to Cicero's text—and the legislation of Demetrios of Phaleron followed on periods in which tomb monuments had been damaged and moved. Attika had been invaded and the Akropolis besieged in 480, and in the hasty wall-building that followed Xerxes' withdrawal tomb monuments from the Kerameikos had been used as building material.⁵⁸ In and after 338 there was a similar situation; a Macedonian invasion was feared, and walls were rebuilt in haste, with some reuse of funerary material (Theodoraki 2011, 119). Moreover, many young men went away to fight for Alexander (or for Persia), and there was further emigration, after the losses at Krannon, when (?) the oligarchic regime restricted citizenship (ch. 22 n. 35). The disruption of periboloi in the Kerameikos on this occasion has been documented by excavation; a few periboloi were reconstructed, many were not, and a large fill was dumped over earlier burials between the Street of Tombs and the Sacred Way.⁵⁹ In both periods the custom of erecting tomb monuments had been disrupted by external circumstances; in both periods Athenians had died in battle against an external enemy, and the war dead had been given special treatment.⁶⁰ These factors may

⁵⁷ Even if some of the supposed measures should be attributed to the tyrants (cf. Eckstein 1964), they were not insensitive to popular opinion. A Thasian law on public funerals (*LSS* 64+; Frisone 2000; see now Fournier and Hamon 2007, *SEG* 57. 820/60. 944) should have been passed in a period when Thasos was fighting independently and not as a subject of Athens. The preserved text is dated c.360–340 by Pouilloux 1954*a*, but might be repeating (on the occasion of the introduction of *gynaikonómoi*?) earlier legislation (see however Picard 2011). Their public funeral might have been an immediate imitation of Athens in 464–3, or might date to the period of oligarchic revolt 411–407, to c.405–390, or to the 360s, when Thasos was fighting in defence of her mainland interests. The latter date is preferred by Fournier and Hamon, but this fighting might have inspired revision of an earlier law.

⁵⁸ For Demetrios of Phaleron see Engels 1998; Houby-Nielsen 1998. On the Themistoklean wall cf. Bähler 2001, over-focused on 'religion'. What happened elsewhere in the suburbs of Athens, and in rural Attika, is unclear. The monument of Phrasikleia (*IG* i³ 1261) and a contemporary *kouros* were deliberately buried after damage (whether Persian or local is unknown; cf. Mastrokostas 1972; Rosenberg-Dimitrakopoulou 2015; Humphreys forthcoming *c*). One collection of monuments was buried in a place of honour under the Sacred Gate (Niemeier 2002)—perhaps volunteered by their living 'owners'? (cf. also Keesling 1999).

⁵⁹ See Ohly 1965; Knigge 1988 p. 136; Kovacovics 1990 (above, nn. 22, 27); Stichel 1984, 1990 on the periboloi of Dionysios of Kollytos (ch. 24 n. 7).

⁶⁰ The dead of Plataia, like those of the Euripos ([Simonides] F 26 Budé), Marathon, and Salamis (Stupperich 1977), were buried on the battlefield. In earlier periods there had been a distinction between the exceptional individual, buried as a mark of honour where he fell, and the rank and file; among the latter, the bones of some will surely have been brought home by their kin and friends (archaic epigrams referring to death in battle need not have stood over cenotaphs). The idea of a collective honorary burial was new (Humphreys forthcoming *c*). The bones of the dead of Chaironeia were brought to Athens

have tipped a balance, in the direction of hostility towards ambitious private monuments. There was also in both periods encouragement to divert resources from funerary display into liturgic expenditure—from the late sixth century with the creation of new tribes and tribal competitions, followed by the building of the trireme fleet, and after Chaironeia with encouragement from Lykourgos. Only Demetrios of Phaleron did not offer alternative outlets for conspicuous competitive expenditure.⁶¹

Engels has energetically argued that Demetrios was justified in arguing that expenditure on private tomb monuments had risen to unprecedented heights,⁶² but the chronology is far from solid, its only fixed date being—at the end—the legislation whose effectiveness is under discussion (cf. G. J. Oliver 2000*b*). Efforts to quantify costs are unlikely ever to reach accurate results, for a number of reasons. The state's standardized processes for procuring stelai and commissioning cutters for decrees are not necessarily a guide to the arrangements made by individual families to organize stone transport and the preparation of monuments. Quality of inscriptions and sculpture in rural demes would depend at least to some extent on the local availability of skilled cutters and artists. We do not even know the relative cost of paintings and sculpture: Posamentir (2006) thinks that painting was cheaper, but Dionysios of Kollytos had a large painted naiskos as well as an impressive carved bull over his grave (another bull, Alexandre 1973, dated c.400–350), and the (painted) naiskos of Hermon looks expensive.⁶³

(Stupperich, *op. cit.*), but the battle had been constructed as a revival of Athens' past days of military heroism (cf. Ma 2008). Late 6th c. casualty list at Thebes, recopied in 4th c., *SEG* 54. 518.

⁶¹ Lykourgos' disapproval of choregiai (1 *Leocr.* 139) does not seem to have had much effect, and he energetically promoted more patriotic forms of spending. On Demetrios see Habicht 1995, 64–7; Mikalson 1998, 54–61; O'Sullivan 2009; Csapo and Wilson 2013 on the *agonothesia*; on the meaning of the restrictions on tomb monuments, Twele 1975; Stichel 1992.

⁶² Engels 1998, 121–8; cf. Scholl 1994; Kaninia 1977 on the dating of sculpted 'trapezai' (cf. n. 11); Schmaltz 1978; Brouskare 2004. The suggestion of Goette 1989 that *IG* ii² 3206 might come from an impressive funerary monument does not seem to me likely (and crowns inscribed 'the *Athenian* demos' suggest a foreigner; cf. chs. 12 n. 25; 32 n. 59). See Palagia 2003 for another implausible conjecture. *IG* ii² 6750 comes from a large monument, but it may not be funerary; the restorations are very conjectural, so possible connections with the family of *APF* 2092 (the entry needs revision) are hardly worth discussing. If the 7-metre pillar monument found near Ikarion commemorated Hagnias (*APF* 131), as suggested by Valavanis 2007, it would date after 323/2 (*IG* ii² 1631. 637–8). Schmaltz and Salta 2003 say that the number of figures in naiskoi increases in the later 4th c., whereas that on lekythoi decreases, perhaps suggesting an increasing polarization between the most ambitious memorials and smaller efforts. (Early lekythoi with numerous figures: *IG* i³ 1285 = ii² 12196, *CAT* 5. 150; 1286 = ii² 11129, *CAT* 4. 120; 1292 = ii² 13026, *CAT* 4. 671.)

⁶³ They might borrow carts and draught animals if they did not own them; such evidence as we have suggests that quarry arrangements were variable and did not necessarily include a charge for the stone (ch. 30 at section 'Eleusis') It is in any case clear that the surviving monuments represent a wide range of expenditure (and equally clear that not every burial had a monument). Dionysios of Kollytos *IG* ii² 11169, *CEG* 593, *SEG* 51. 291, n. 59 above; Hermon, *SEMA* 1820, *CAT* 1. 419; Knigge 1988 fig. 145.

More generally, we do not have a clear idea of changes in commemorative practices over the period from c.430 to the late fourth century. The use of the stone peribolos as a frame for a set of related monuments seems to have begun in the late fifth century,⁶⁴ and developed rapidly in the fourth. We do not know whether the early periboloi were constructed to add grandeur to single monuments or to enclose grouped burials. At present it seems—despite some well-entrenched assumptions to the contrary—that a peribolos could be constructed initially round the memorial of a young person or a woman, and that both the custom of erecting ‘genealogical’ stelai to which names were added successively and the idea that every member of a family (however defined) should have some memorial were later developments inspired at least in part by the peribolos itself.⁶⁵ They were not adopted by all families, and it seems likely that some isolated monuments were still set up even in areas where periboloi became very common, as at Rhamnous.⁶⁶ It is likely also that there was considerable variation among rural demes, some generating a lively local tradition of monument construction (Rhamnous) whereas in others ambitious deme members preferred burial near the city.⁶⁷

One aspect of the dynamics of commemoration that has not been sufficiently discussed is the dialogue between the public burial of war dead and private monuments. I argue elsewhere (Humphreys forthcoming c) that on white-ground lekythoi the normal ‘unmarked’ scene of a woman visiting a grave-stele with offerings was read as a visit to the war graves—even though ‘marked’ alternative images where the tomb is that of a woman or child follow rapidly. Be that as it may, it can hardly be denied that when an Athenian in the middle of the fifth century thought of ‘tomb monuments’ the war-grave stelai would be the most salient example. A few archaic kouroi might still be standing, but they would attract much less attention than the ritual of the repatriation of bones from overseas campaigns, the *prothesis* in the Agora, and the public funeral. I also argued that the experience of mass deaths and unceremonious burials in the plague years

⁶⁴ There seems to be a development in the Kerameikos from the mudbrick enclosure wall of the Tritopatreion (c.430: ch. 10 n. 126; on possible earlier proto-periboloi see Bergemann 1997, 1999; Breder 2013a, 2013b) through mudbrick walls with a stone facing on the road side (Knigge 1988 no. 17, the peribolos very conjecturally attributed to Alkibiades’ burial, see n. 4 above) to constructions entirely of stone. Periboloi were three-sided, the enclosed area being without a border at the back; marker stones (horoi) seem to have been the exception rather than the rule (none found at Rhamnous); and it is not clear how far or in what sense periboloi were regarded as private property (ch. 10 n. 113), even if they could be called *hiera* in tragedy (Walter-Karydi 2003) and were sometimes marked by horoi. Cf. C. B. Patterson 2006b.

⁶⁵ Cf. above at nn. 21, 26–9 on the Koroibos peribolos and that of Dexileos.

⁶⁶ The situation with regard to sculptured monuments is far from clear, but it is unlikely that all the rosette-stelai stood in periboloi.

⁶⁷ Thorikos may be an instance, perhaps influenced by the prominent Dexileos peribolos in the Kerameikos.

prompted a reaction against the practice of honouring only those who died on campaign. However, the contrast between impressive public monuments and inconspicuous private burial may also have had a more lasting effect in the case of adult men than in that of the commemoration of women, adolescents, and children. The high proportion of women commemorated by late fifth century tombstones has often been noted, as has the fact that the two earliest monuments from the Kerameikos stood over the graves of a youth—represented on one of the stelai—and a boy.⁶⁸ It is also my impression (given the approximate and sometimes controversial chronology certainty is impossible) that representation of adult men as soldiers is common in the fifth and earlier fourth century, while the standard type of older men in civil dress, leaning on a staff, seems to be introduced only in the early fourth century, for a short period.⁶⁹ Images of soldiers not in battle scenes but in interaction with family members may not have stood over cenotaphs; perhaps they were used to stress that the man in question had served in war even if he did not die in battle. On the other hand Dexileos' memorial, though exceptionally conspicuous, was not necessarily the earliest private monument to a man also listed on the war grave stelai.⁷⁰ What I am suggesting here is that there was an ongoing dialogue, starting perhaps with the Marathon stelai, reinforced by the public funeral and monuments for the war dead in Athens,⁷¹ and continuing into the early fourth century, between public and private burial and commemoration; that this is the context in which the tension between public and private aspects of 'private' monuments should be

⁶⁸ Stears 2000*a*; *IG* i³ 1283 (*CAT* 1. 081), 1294. Schmaltz and Salta 2003, 144–7 note the high proportion of adolescents commemorated by naiskoi (cf. Himmelmann 1999, 118). However, the relatively early relief stele Piraeus Museum 385 (*IG* i³ 1314, c.420–410? Steinhauer n.d. pl. 17) represents two (heroicized) hoplites.

⁶⁹ Bergemann 1997, 76–8, 222 (fewer before 360; cf. list of seated men, 224, most frequent 360–330); Schmaltz and Salta 2003; Ferrario 2006. References to great age in 4th c., Humphreys 1983*a*/1993 (1980), 107, cf. n. 24 above.

⁷⁰ Schmaltz and Salta 2003 note that soldiers are rare in naiskoi, but there has not been much detailed research on this topic (list of soldiers, Bergemann 1997 p. 224; Schmaltz 1970 says that the number on lekythoi rises in the early 4th c. and again after c.340). Note also Schmaltz 1999 on *CAT* 2. 930. For battle scenes on private monuments and their relation to the war grave monuments see Clairmont 1972; Stupperich 1977; Kaempf-Demetriadou 2000; M. Schäfer 2002; Pirson 2014; Spence 1993 for cavalry (add *CAT* 3. 443; *SEMA* 2299); Arrington 2015. Dexileos' monument (*IG* ii² 6217), with its unusual record of his date of birth and specification of the occasion of death, is generally thought to have been prompted by a wish to show that although serving in the cavalry he was too young to have been involved in the oligarchy and had died serving the democracy. No monument shows a rower (unless *CAT* 1. 330, *IG* ii² 11114 does), but their casualty rates were lower. Bergemann (op. cit.) 43–4, 63–4, 79, argues that soldiers may appear on tombstones as 'survivors', they are not always to be identified as the persons commemorated.

⁷¹ Cf. Low 2012; Humphreys forthcoming *c*; for a casualty list originally from the Marathon area listing 22 members of I Erechtheis see Steinhauer 2009*b* (*SEG* 56. 430/61. 269; *BE* 2014, 165–6). Another 5th c. Erechtheis list (80 names), *AR* 2010–11, 34–5.

interpreted;⁷² and that the commemoration of men of fighting age who had not died in combat was a particularly sensitive point.

This perspective may also be relevant to the introduction of the ‘dexiosis’ motif which became so popular on tombstones. While its rapid spread and success may well be due to the multiple connotations noted by many scholars, it has also been observed that an early context for its use is the ‘warrior departure’ scene popular with vase painters. Here the gesture bridges the divide between peace and war, family life and the risk of death; as its popularity increased, the link between the living and the dead and the moment of departure became dominant, but the question of introduction can be separated from that of subsequent popularity.⁷³ Perhaps also the lack of contact during death and burial in the case of death in battle and (very often) in the plague may have played a role. It has often been noticed that whereas many scenes on white-ground lekythoi make explicit allusion to death by representing graves, Charon, Hermes, and *eidola*, while they very seldom show physical contact between the dead and the living, stone monuments from c.430 onwards avoid such funerary allusions and like to diminish the divide between life and death.⁷⁴ Dexiosis was one of the most positive means of achieving this.

Detailed study of tombstones is highly valuable for prosopography, but for the analysis of kinship it has so far been significant mainly through calling into question anachronistic or simplistic assumptions. It is still difficult to say clearly what we are learning about Athenian attitudes to the dead.

What kind of commitment was represented by the erection of tomb monuments? The treatment of the dead in ancient Greece is usually discussed under the heading of ‘religion’,⁷⁵ and in Xenophon *Memorabilia* 4. 4. 19–20 Sokrates and Hippias agree that all peoples respect the gods and parents. On the other hand, Greek practice differed radically from Christian in that less significance was attached to the treatment of corpses⁷⁶ and, above all, there was little connection between burial practices and beliefs about the afterlife—which were in any case

⁷² See n. 7 above, also Breuer 1995. The Thasian law (n. 57) repressed private mourning at public burials to increase the honour awarded to the war dead (*agathoi*). On the extension of the public funeral to celebrated individuals see C. P. Jones 1999; Chaniotis 2006, 223–6; *id.* 2012, 310; on war graves outside Attika, Low 2003. Giudice 2002 is unconvincing.

⁷³ See G. Davies 1985; Pemberton 1989; Schmaltz and Salta 2003, 153, 156–8; Socj 2005, 68; warrior departure on RF vases Spiess 1992, 176–8. Stupperich (1977, 246–7) suggested that the dexiosis motif could have been used in reliefs on the war grave monuments, but this seems to me unlikely. Warrior departure on tombstone, CAT 2. 158; dexiosis between hoplite and woman on WGL, BArch 216757.

⁷⁴ Bergemann 1997, 66–7 with 226; add Hermes: IG i³ 1285 = ii² 12196, CAT 5. 150. Cf. Socj 2005, 66; Baines 2013 on ambiguous attitudes in Egypt to representations of (private) graves.

⁷⁵ Vernant 1998, 90 more cautiously says ‘not entirely secular’.

⁷⁶ Athenians in the classical period seem to have attached little significance to the choice between interment and cremation (see ch. 10 at nn. 91–100 for earlier periods).

vague and variable.⁷⁷ Nor was belief in vengeful ghosts strongly connected to the question of proper burial. It was those unlawfully killed and unavenged, and the ‘untimely’ dead, especially infants, who were considered to bear a grudge against the living (S. I. Johnston 1999), but their resentment was attributed to being deprived of *life*; infants were scarcely prominent on tombstones. Moreover, the marked contrast maintained in Athens c.480–430, and in Thasos (n. 57) over an uncertain period, between the honorary funerals and monuments awarded to the war dead (and a few outstanding civilians) and the unceremonious treatment of other dead persons does not suggest any strong beliefs about the rights of the dead as such. Even during the period when monuments were again set up to commemorate those who died peacefully, there was still much unceremonious burial, while in many other cases the ‘memorial’ may have consisted only in the addition of a name to a list or the adaptation of an earlier tombstone (Schmaltz and Salta 2003).

Athenians surely grieved over the deaths of those close to them (and sometimes said so in epitaphs), and they seem to have been especially moved by the death of the young in the period between childhood and full adulthood (lasting until thirty for men). They were perhaps more concerned over the loss of futures than the preservation of pasts; the Greek discourse of memory is also future-orientated, towards being remembered by those who will live in later times rather than remembering forerunners. Their attitude to time, in relation to the dead, does seem to have shifted over the sixth to fifth centuries from a strong focus on the expression of grief during funerals to a quieter form of remembrance expressed in the erection and tending of tombstones.⁷⁸ But it is unclear how far the monument was felt to be a substitute for the dead person;⁷⁹ this individualistic ideal was perhaps most clearly realized in the innumerable Hellenistic *kioniskoi*, most of which bear a single name, but without any further characteristics. Between c.430 and c.338, in contrast, we have many more monuments representing groups, in a range of forms from the list of names almost like those on the war grave stelai to sculpted *naiskoi* that remind us of eighteenth-century

⁷⁷ Orphic sects were an exception and the Derveni papyrus may warn us that the dead could be given texts on perishable material to aid them in the afterlife (see Graf and Johnston 2007 for a recent discussion). It is not clear whether mystery sects with their own beliefs about the afterlife were more likely to bury in special areas (in the Hellenistic period and later) than other cult groups (ch. 12 n. 69). Note the remarks of Carneiro da Cunha 1981 on the afterlife as a domain of free speculation and fabulation; Walter-Karydi 2003; R. Parker 2005a, 363–8 on afterlife beliefs.

⁷⁸ On tomb visits see Humphreys forthcoming c. It remains odd that we have no textual references to the commissioning and erection of sculptured or inscribed monuments (apart from a few general remarks on the expense of burial, on which see G. J. Oliver 2000b).

⁷⁹ Cf. Vernant 1962, 1990, Badoud 2011b on the *kolossos*. Classical monuments (unlike archaic statues, whether dedications or monuments) rarely speak of themselves in the first person.

family portraits.⁸⁰ It is noteworthy, too, that these ‘group portraits’ appear in a period when other group sculptures (apart from battle scenes) are almost entirely absent in Attika.

The lists suggest continuity over time, even if names were sometimes cut before or after the corresponding burial, while the group images convey a sense of timeless togetherness reaching even beyond the grave. These ideas are somewhat contradictory, but in both cases there was little beyond the repeated practice of adding new names and monuments to keep them operative over a long period. Classical Athenian society was democratic, and it was difficult for a family to maintain a leading position (let alone special privileges) over many generations.⁸¹ Moreover, any exceptionally distinguished ancestor might well have been buried apart from his kin.⁸² Even at Rhamnous, where one might expect residents to have felt family pride in monuments, the name of a descendant of the family responsible for the grandest of these is cut on the wall of another group’s peribolos.⁸³

We should like to know much more about variations in practice between city and country, and among rural demes (though the pace of modern development in Attika and continuing shortcomings in excavation and publication make this unlikely). Even though there were strong pressures towards conformity in imagery and practice, kept up by the frequent experience of seeing roadside tombs and the character of the production process, it is clear that there was still room for both local and individual variation. We need to be ready to recognize this—rather than generalizing from what may well be exceptional examples—and above all we need to be aware of the huge gaps in the evidence.

These gaps are not only due to the inadequacies of research in the past; lack of communication between disciplines continues to cause serious problems. Since 1980 several new catalogues of Attic monuments and inscriptions (of varying quality) have appeared,⁸⁴ but there has been no improvement in the excavation record. Provision for the study and publication of material from salvage excavations has always been inadequate (see Matthaïou 1988*a*), and the situation is getting worse. It is even more difficult to get an overview of research in other

⁸⁰ Especially the family of Menestides, *SEMA* 862, Table 31.6.

⁸¹ Cf. *APF* and J. K. Davies 1981; ch. 12 at nn. 71–9 on family traditions in cult; ch. 20 on *genè*.

⁸² Lykourgos, Perikles (Paus. 1. 29. 3). On the *Kimoneia mnēmata* of the late 6th c. see ch. 10 n. 110.

⁸³ Peribolos of Hierokles, *SEMA* 831–43 (Table 31.7); Lykeas son of Kephisios, *SEMA* 809 (peribolos of Diogeiton).

⁸⁴ The most important are *CAT* (1993–5; reading of inscriptions not always reliable, cf. Daux 1972), Bergemann 1997; *SEMA* (2006); Posamentir 2006; and Marchiandi 2011*a*. On Hildebrandt 2006 see n. 28 above.

parts of Greece; the systematic effort of the University of Texas (Austin), in collaboration with the Italian archaeological service, to map known burial sites in the territory of Metapontum, excavate a responsible sample in full awareness of current methodology, and publish the results (Carter a. o. 1998), remains as far as I know unique. Studies of grave monuments in other parts of (modern) Greek territory⁸⁵ have seldom made any attempt to provide excavation data.

⁸⁵ Fraser and Rönne 1957; Berranger-Ausserve 2001; Holtzmann 2001. Fraser 1977 is the exception. Couilloud-Le Dinahet 1978 (Rheneia) is based only on surface exploration.

Festivals, Associations, Dedications

The Sicilian traveller Saverio Scrofani, visiting Delphi in the 1790s, carved on the rocks by the Castalian spring ‘the names of all my family with, in the middle, that of my mother; my uncle immediately after my father, my aunts near my mother, those of my brothers and sisters all mixed up, as they are in my heart’. A moment of intense experience, culmination of a secular pilgrimage, had to be shared with those closest to him.¹ This record of an inscription at Delphi is striking for the modern reader, but may be misleading. When ancient Greek inscriptions in sanctuaries list kin, those listed will have been present at the ritual of which the text is a record; the idea of sharing an emotional experience with absent kin would be anachronistic here.² Similarly, the transition from funerals and burials to ‘religion’, as contexts for the relation between identity and kinship, which may seem self-evident to the modern reader, might have been less obvious for ancient Athenians—or, rather, the connection would not rest on the classification of funerals as ‘religious’, but on the opportunity offered by all rituals to invite kin and associates to participate, and to support a representation of identity by their presence.³

The analysis in this chapter differs in purpose, and thus in content, from other recent work on more or less the same set of data in three respects. In the first place, being concerned with evidence for patterns of association, I do not here discuss activities sometimes classed as ‘religious’ which were intended to harm or

¹ Scrofani 1965, 63. Cf. *PBrMus* 854, 1st–2nd c. CE, tourist in Egypt carves names of philoi on shrines; Antoninus Placentinus 4 (*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 39. 161) for a parallel from a Christian pilgrim of the 6th c. In point of fact Scrofani had left Palermo in 1792 to avoid arrest for fraud, and was not to return until 1822; but he had translated Sterne’s *Sentimental Journey*. On pilgrimage see below, n. 35.

² The only possible candidates for inscriptions naming absent (living) persons are homosexual rock-cut inscriptions; see A. Chankowski 2002, and *SEG* 49. 2 (cf. 51. 101–3, Langdon 2015); Langdon is preparing more Attic rock-cut inscriptions for publication (*SEG* 54. 82; ch. 13 n. 25).

³ See H. J. Jones 1962, Humphreys 1983a/1993, 18–19, and Vernant 1998, 105–6 on the linking of identity to action and to association with others. Interaction with the gods was seldom solitary; on prayer see Versnel 1981*b*; Depew 1997; Pulleyn 1997. A vow might be made in solitude but would be fulfilled in the company of others. On resemblances between dedications and tomb monuments see below at notes 103–4.

constrain the victim (curse tablets, magic).⁴ Secondly—as throughout this book—I make a distinction between the nuclear family (parents and children, co-resident siblings) and wider networks of kin, normally living in separate households (for residence patterns see ch. 5). Thirdly, I distinguish the corporate groups that were concerned with legitimacy and citizenship, and recruited strictly by agnatic filiation, from more ‘voluntary’ groupings.⁵

Some of these groupings were temporary, ‘action sets’ of associates invited for a specific occasion, while others met repeatedly over a shorter or longer period. Having no specific legal functions, they were fuzzy at the edges, although, as we shall see, some made efforts to become corporate groups with established recruitment procedures, subscriptions, and even in some cases penalties for non-attendance. Since we are dealing with interaction with the gods, the rhythm of meetings might well be influenced by the local calendar of festivals.⁶ On the other hand, the gods might modify these rhythms, appearing in dreams or indicating through omens that unscheduled action was required. The distinction between public and private spheres does not fit well here.⁷ Large groups of ritual participants, and larger sacred spaces, were more ‘public’ than small; women’s festivals might exclude men, a question of secrecy rather than privacy; if associations were formalized, they used the procedures of the public sphere (assemblies, decrees, elections, accounts, etc.). One chose the company of *philoi* (a term covering kin as well as ‘friends’) and *oikeioi*—‘intimates’, who could be invited home, but also, perhaps, those one ‘felt at home with’.⁸ It must be stressed, however, that gender and age distinctions reached into the home and structured conceptions of intimacy.

Kinship, in regard to the choice of associates, provided a structural constant (based on parentage), though extended by marriage and limited by disputes (ch. 7). The question, then, is what evidence we have for the choice of kin as associates in various types of ‘voluntary’ interaction with the gods, and whether we can detect changes over time and/or synchronic differences related to specific forms of action.

Modern scholars, in considering these issues, tend to focus mainly on the nuclear family, guided by a complex of assumptions about the interconnections

⁴ See Graf 1991 on magic and cursing as solitary activities; R. Parker 2005*a*, ch. 6.

⁵ Tribes, phratries, genê, and demes are studied in chs. 18–32. N. F. Jones’s study of associations (1999) deals also with these, and under the heading of voluntary associations deals with some groupings that I consider elsewhere: philosophical schools (ch. 2 nn. 50–1) and political *hetaireiai* (ch. 13). Arnaoutoglou 2003 has a list of Hellenistic Attic associations.

⁶ The choice of a date on which to make a dedication has not been studied; Georgoudi 1998 discusses private sacrifices made on the occasion of public festivals (cf. also Van Straten 1981).

⁷ On the problems of distinguishing ‘private’ and ‘public’ dedications see now Ma 2005.

⁸ Konstan (1997) wants to restrict *oikeioi* to kinsmen, but I do not think this is strictly tenable. Cf. Pembroke 1971.

of religion, private life, tradition, and childhood.⁹ Such assumptions privilege continuity rather than change; yet all these categories (including ‘tradition’), and the category ‘family’ itself, change over time. While it is not difficult to find texts that fit modern assumptions (‘Meidias and Danaï, having made a vow to Asklepios, on behalf of their children Hediste, Sosikles, and Olympiodoros’¹⁰), to generalize from such examples may blind us to evidence for other groupings.

The (ideal) pattern of modern family life, in which married couples spend most of their leisure time with each other and with their children, developed only in the last two centuries, and spread from the middle classes to the rest of society even more recently.¹¹ In antiquity, gender and age remained very important in structuring patterns of association, though in Athens the nuclear family became more significant from the Peloponnesian War onwards. The setting of Menander’s *Dyskolos* is sometimes presented by modern scholars as a family picnic, but careful reading of the text shows that it was a women’s outing. The hero’s mother takes her daughter, slaves, a hired cook, and ‘a crowd’¹² who must be female friends, since her husband (needed for the betrothals at the end of the play) arrives only late, and the hero had made his own way to the area. Women’s offerings and festivals are considered in more detail below.

The role of ‘children’ in a family’s ritual activities also requires careful scrutiny. Rites significant for the child’s legal status were concentrated at the beginning of life and, most importantly, around the age of puberty. In the archaic and early classical periods elite families took especial pride in the beautiful adolescents who led ritual processions, danced and sang in choruses, competed in games, and were publicly displayed on their entry into adulthood as new citizens, paraded before the Council, or as brides.¹³ Less attention was paid to younger children.¹⁴ However, while girls after a very brief adolescence were expected to make a rapid transition to marriage and motherhood (H. King 1998, 23), men did not become eligible for political office (including Council membership) until they were thirty, and rarely married before that age. A son also had limited possibilities of becoming financially independent during his father’s lifetime, although from the 470s

⁹ Cf. below at n. 83–4, on Löhr’s study of *Familienweibungen* (2000), which shows no recognition that the ‘family’ may have a history. R. Parker 2005*a* begins with a chapter on ancestors, tombs, and household cults, and ends by asserting the ‘deep conservatism’ of Athenian religion; a different perspective in Humphreys 2004.

¹⁰ *IG* ii² 4403 (not necessarily Athenian citizens). In the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* Ionians go to Delos with their children and wives.

¹¹ See Bott 1957, Donzelot 1977, Poster 1978; Steedman 1990, 1995 on the history of childhood.

¹² *Polus ochlos*, 404–5; cf. 230, 432.

¹³ See chs. 19, 22 for rituals with legal implications; ch. 9 for other rites de passage, for both boys and girls.

¹⁴ On the Choes see Humphreys 2004, ch. 6; ch. 9 n. 20. Statues representing pre-adolescent children in ritual contexts seem to begin in the 4th c. (see n. 18 below).

onward pay for military service made some difference here.¹⁵ During this prolonged period of adolescence, young men had their own characteristic activities—hunting, the gymnasium, the symposion, and *kômos*—and their own social groupings. Hunting may have been at least partly responsible for the popularity of Attic peak sanctuaries during the seventh century, and the gymnasium had its own cults; as we shall see, some adolescent clubs may also have engaged in ritual activity. It was also in such clubs that rituals were parodied.¹⁶ Lykourgos' formalization of military training for epheboi of 18–20 was very successful in harnessing the traditions of the gymnasium and of tribal competition into a new set of rituals in which the epheboi collectively represented an ideal image of citizenship, but in the classical period there are few references to the individual ritual roles that had earlier been played by young men from leading families.¹⁷ In the Hellenistic period ritual performances by girls and younger boys become more prominent, and ambitious families commemorate these activities by dedicating statues.¹⁸

¹⁵ See ch. 5 on the age of marriage and financial independence for men.

¹⁶ On young men's social lives see ch. 13 and below at n. 58, on Lys. 8; in the archaic period travel and hunting were probably more important (Chaniotis 1991; Humphreys 1983a/1993, 16–18; ch. 10 at n. 136 on peak sanctuaries; n. 2 above). On parody of rituals see below, n. 57 (they are also parodied by Aristophanes).

¹⁷ Choral odes for victories in games seem to become rare after the middle of the 5th c. Kimon may still have given prominence to adolescents in the cult of Theseus (ch. 20 n. 70). On the reference in Euripides' biography to service as Torchbearer for Apollo Zoster see Lefkowitz 1979.

¹⁸ On the ritual roles of adolescents and children see also ch. 9 at nn. 21–8. The earliest surviving dedication of a kanephoros (or of her four crowns?) is IG ii² 3457, of c.300. There is no certain dedication of an arrhephoros before 229: ii² 3461 is dated 220/19, 3465 could be either [kanê-] or [arrhê]phoros, 3466 is dated only '3rd c.' (see Von den Hoff 2008; Karila-Cohen 2009; R. Schmidt 2010; Pilz 2013; list in Choreme 2009). On the description of Peisistratos' daughter as an arrhephoros in POxy 664 see ch. 4 n. 50. Clinton 1974 discusses some representations of boys (under c.14?) from Eleusis, who could have acted as *pais aph' hestias* (perhaps mentioned in IG i³ 6 C 25; the earliest dateable representation is 4th c., Mylonas 1961, fig. 80); most of the inscribed bases are for girls (cf. Mikalson 1998, 260), but ii² 3478, of the late 2nd c., is for a boy. An important body of material from Brauron has not yet been published in any detail (Kontes 1967 reports more boys, perhaps aged less than 10, than girls, aged under 12; see also Lundgreen 2009; Bobou 2015, 56–9; Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009 no. 535, TC figure of squatting boy, 5th c.); a life-size child figure (gender unclear) from the Akropolis metro station (City2000, 108 no. 91, Inv. M 413) is dated 350–300. In IG xii 9. 194. 5–6 (Eretria, c.300 BCE) children under 7 of either sex may have a role in ritual processions. There was apparently a statue of Isokrates represented as a *kerêtistês*, hockey player (Oikonomos 1920); or *kelêtistês*, jockey (H. N. Fowler 1969, 384 n. 2–3; Roisman a. o. 2015, 168) in the ball court of the arrhephoroi on the Akropolis; if this story is reliable, perhaps we have here a transitional image between earlier *kouroi* and later figures of younger children? On sculpted representations of children see Vorster 1983; Rühfel 1984a, 1984b; Beer 1987, 1988; Raftopoulou 2000; Bobou 2015; also T. L. Shear 1969, 393 with pl. 104, initiates?; Petrakos 1987a, fig. 64; conventions of age depiction have not been discussed. Cf. Van Bremen 1996, 145–7 on distinctions between older adolescents—ephebes and nubile *parthenoi*—and younger children. On IG ii³ 4. 632 (boy Pythaistai) see ch. 24 n. 43.

The Attic evidence¹⁹ becomes more problematic as we move into this area of ‘voluntary’ behaviour: it covers a wider social spectrum, the groups involved may often have been shortlived (whereas demes and phratries were sustained by their relation to citizenship), and persons who put their activities on record were less likely to use the full three-part naming formula. While some elite dedications commemorating military or athletic achievements were certainly addressed to a wide public,²⁰ many of the epigraphic texts to be discussed here were addressed primarily to the gods and/or to the members of an association linked to a specific shrine; background knowledge about identity could be presumed. Patronymics or demotics might be added only to distinguish two persons with the same name.²¹ Identification of women is particularly difficult both because they were not accustomed regularly to identify themselves in public contexts and because many of them were known in local and domestic circles by pet names drawn from a limited repertoire (ch. 8 n. 17). Brulé (1987, 237–8) finds only seven ‘usable’ names in c.120 records of dedications to Artemis Brauronia, i.e., only seven women who identified themselves by reference to a husband or father attested elsewhere.²² Slaves and freedmen, who can plausibly be identified as such in some records of dedications and associations by names typical of their status, had no supplementary names. Foreign residents (metics) might identify themselves by a patronymic and/or ethnic name denoting their city or region of origin, but there was a split between the official practice of Athens, in which metics and freedmen were identified by their deme of residence, and identification in unofficial contexts, where residence never seems to be mentioned.

Despite these problems of identification, the records of the treasurers of Athena and of the Other Gods on the Akropolis, and of dedications to Artemis Brauronia and to Asklepios, provide a substantial proportion of our knowledge of Attic

¹⁹ I cite some non-Attic data for comparative purposes (below at nn. 113ff.), but have made no attempt at systematic coverage.

²⁰ Cf. Keesling 2003, especially 32–3, on the prominent position of names in dedicatory inscriptions.

²¹ This is also true of many tombstones (ch. 11 n. 17) and curse tablets (ch. 14). Deities—Olympian or chthonic—might be assumed to have background knowledge (cf. below, at n. 100, on questions to oracles). See Lambert 1999*a* on the addition of patronymics or demotics to distinguish homonyms.

²² Brulé 1987, 237–8 (one of his cases is doubtful; he does not include Artemis Brauronia dedications listed by the Treasurers of the Other Gods). On Malthake wife of Leosthenes (of Kephale), *IG* ii² 1529. 11–12 (and copies), see n. 107 below. Brulé omits Philoumene daughter of Mnesidemus of Lamptrai (*IG* ii² 1514. 62–4, 1516. 38–9, 1518. 79–81, with *PAAH* 1949, 85), whose father is known from *SEG* 19. 174. 11 and perhaps also *SEMA* 373. 4 (*LGP*N entries need some correction). Only one woman uses her demotic of origin without a patronymic (Hedyle of Phrearrhioi, ii² 1524. 193–4, of 334/3). We have no study of the ways in which women name themselves in dedications (some data in Masson 1997*a*), or of the variations in treasurers’ records of the same label. Note Theophr. *Char.* 13. 10 criticizing excess of information on women’s tombstones.

dedications, especially those in precious metals and perishable materials.²³ They passed, however, through a double process of selection; the dedicants themselves decided whether to record their names and, if so, in what form, and treasurers varied in the amount of details copied from dedications onto stone. Dedicatory reliefs in stone, which were not recorded by treasurers, might easily become separated in the course of time from the pillars and bases on which they stood and on which dedicants' names were often recorded (cf. Van Straten 1992; ch. 11 n. 11 on tombstones); a relief might also bear the name of a single dedicant while representing a group of worshippers.²⁴

Cult associations, like other local groups (chs. 19, 22), did not regularly record their decisions and accounts on stone; many such records were probably generated in moments of crisis and dispute. Leases of land owned by such groups were, by the late fourth century, more often recorded on stone, but might be set up on the leased land rather than in a sanctuary (if the leased property was not a *temenos*), which could influence chances of preservation. On the other hand, the custom of awarding crowns to benefactors, which became common from the Lykourgan period onwards, led to dedication of the crowns and publication of honorary decrees in the group's sanctuary, and hence to an increase in records.²⁵

²³ Note also the fragmentary catalogue of bronze dedications from the Akropolis published by D. Harris 1992; Linders 1990.

²⁴ Cf. Edelman 1999; R. Parker 2005*a*, 45–9; Stafford 2008. Figures who play ritual roles in dedicatory reliefs—the kistephoros and the boy who leads the victim to the altar—may (at least in the latter case?) be slaves. Despines 2002 discusses large reliefs from Brauron, one (B5/1151) showing 4 nuclear families (father, mother, a child), decreasing in age from the altar leftwards, but his attempt to construct a 3-generation lineage is unpersuasive. On Palagia 1995 (discussing Akropolis Museum 581) see ch. 19 n. 46.

²⁵ On dedication of crowns see Humphreys 2007; Lambert 2004*b* no. 9 on *IG* ii² 298; n. 85 below; ch. 19 n. 153. The conventions of dedication, and of recopying decrees awarding crowns, have not been studied (note Tracy 2003, 52–5, on duplication of texts). The classification of stones is confused; epigraphic publications tend to class dedications as decrees when they include decrees, or as 'catalogi' when they include lists (cf. Humphreys 2010*a*; but some 'lists' have been moved to *IG* ii³ 4; Appendix 1), while archaeologists may class document-reliefs with dedications (e.g. Tagalidou 1993). Painted images of crowns are not always mentioned even when the spacing of inscriptions indicates their presence (cf. n. 61 below; Ma and Tracy 2004, *SEG* 54. 306). *IG* ii² 3202 = *Agora* XV 33 cannot be a tribal prytaneis dedication but must have been dedicated by an individual, because one crown was awarded by demotai (cf. ii³ 4. 61; ii² 3214, perhaps Mnesitheos of Kydathenaion); it is therefore unnecessary to read [*syllō*]geis instead of Ross's [*hip*]peis (cf. *IG* ii² 1233, 1238, also dedications, ch. 19 nn. 153, 151). The dedicant had received at least 12 crowns, which makes the monument comparable to *IG* ii² 3207, perhaps commemorating Lykourgos (Lambert 2015*a*). We do not know the form of either monument (ii² 3202 was seen in the Kareas monastery on the west side of Hymettos, 3207 was found on the Akropolis); both are classed as *tabulae*. Can they have been statue bases? *IG* ii² 3206, an epistyle found in the Kerameikos, has been interpreted by Goette 1989 (*SEG* 39. 211) as part of a commemorative naiskos for Nausikles son of Klearchos of Oe (cf. *APF* 10552 with D 8), set up by his son c.325. He restores 17 crowns. However, the specification that crowns and statues were awarded by the Athenian hippeis (I), the Athenian demos on Salamis (II), the Athenian demos on Imbros (III), and the Athenian demos (IV, V, for service as gymnasiarch and general) seems to me to imply that the honorand was not an Athenian citizen. Demetrios

Few non-documentary texts provide useful material for the present analysis, but those few provide useful sidelights. Plato and Demosthenes supply information on traditions of ritual specialization among the aristocracy (*Lysis*) and the urban bourgeoisie (Aischines); the role of ritual outings and parodies of ritual in the social life of young men about town is occasionally mentioned in forensic speeches; Menander's *Dyskolos* and a mime by Herondas represent women's visits to sanctuaries (Goeken 2010). Drama, mime, and Theophrastos' *Characters* help us to understand religious enthusiasm as a recognized lifestyle. Attika had no local oracle, but evidence from elsewhere suggests the range of interests of those who consulted oracles privately; dream books and astrological handbooks from a later period also provide indications of private anxieties.²⁶

All these sources have their silences. They tend to single out leading players in ritual while ignoring other participants, and they very seldom provide any sense of the passage of time, either in the process of a single ritual performance or in the dynamics of group formation and dissolution. Yet—as we have seen in the case of funerals—questions about process are essential.

Association with kin in cult is cited as an index of closeness and affection. Kiron, whose estate is claimed by his daughter's sons, 'never made a sacrifice without us, large or small, always took us with him to the Rural Dionysia and seated us beside him to watch the performances; we celebrated all the festivals at his home. And when he sacrificed to Zeus Ktesios, something to which he attached great importance (and he never had slaves or free non-kin present) we shared in the sacrifice and handled the sacred implements...' (Isaios 8. 15–16; cf. Plato *Laches* 187 d–e, children at deme festivals). The speaker of Isaios 9 is claiming the estate of his half-brother Astyphilos; he tells the jury that his father used to take Astyphilos (his stepson) to meetings of the *thiasos* of Herakles to which he belonged, and introduced him to membership at the appropriate age (§ 30). This was cited as proof of the close relations between Astyphilos and his stepfather's family. The speaker of Isokrates 19 (§ 10) emphasizes his closeness to his brother-in-law (WB) Thrasylochos by asserting that as children they had always attended sacrifices, pilgrimages (*theôriai*), and festivals together; they were closer

Poliorketes (or one of his henchmen) would be a possible candidate. In this case the monument would belong to the period after Athens recovered Imbros in 307, and the gymnasiarchy would probably be an exceptional liturgic office (for the Panathenaia? of 305/4?). CEG 761 classes IG ii² 4321 as a public monument, but the prayer for wealth, pleasure, and health for the honorand and his descendants seems to me to exclude this interpretation. It may be a private monument commemorating the grant of public honours. IG ii² 4330 (ch. 26 n. 59) is also a crown dedication.

²⁶ CEG 2. 860 is a 4th c. record on stone from Knidos of a woman who dedicated an *oikos* and *agalma* to Demeter and Kore after a dream announcing that she would become their priestess. Cf. below at n. 102 for further references to dreams.

to each other than to their own brothers.²⁷ When Strepsiades in Aristophanes' *Clouds* is trying to persuade his son to do what he wants, the memory he conjures up is of childhood treats associated with religious occasions: 'My first day's pay as a juror went to buy you a toy cart at the *Diasia*' (863–4). We also, however, have texts (from New Comedy) that portray young men as bored by such occasions.

Dinners with relatives, which would take place largely on ritual occasions, were dreary to a Menandrian youngster:

What a drag to get caught in a family dinner!
 Father starts on a speech as he's lifting the wine cup for the first drink,
 (goes on) until you're screwed to the eyeballs with good advice; then mother;
 then some granny rambles away; then a growling old man,
 auntie's father; then an old woman calls you 'Darling';
 a fellow just has to nod away at them all.²⁸

Another Menandrian character envies those with no kin; 'No hassle from brother or sister; not a glimpse of an aunt, not a murmur of an uncle—what luck to have few *anankaioi*!' ²⁹ These young men are bored by 'the family' in the wider sense, by the company of kin, and by pride in familial status and ancestry (*PCG* VI 2 F 835; 612 Sandbach 1972):

The family turn me off! If you love me, mamma, don't keep on and on about 'the family' (*genos*). It's people who have nothing good to say for *themselves* who fall back on that—tombstones, 'the family', counting up ancestors (*pappous*). They only have the same number as anyone else—everyone has ancestors!

These speeches are preserved out of context and no doubt belonged to the wild-oat-sowing phase of Menander's heroes, who by the end of the play would be engaged to respectable girls and ready to settle down to become pompous fathers in their turn. Pride in family traditions and achievements was probably increasing rather than decreasing in Athens in Menander's day. But they remind us that when adolescents participated in ritual they did so on their own terms and in their own age-set, not as part of a family gathering. The characteristic ritual activities of upper-class adolescents in classical Athens, as portrayed by our sources,

²⁷ Conversely, not to associate in sacrifices is evidence of bad relations: *Is.* 1. 31, 9. 21. The speaker in *Is.* 8. 17 tries to suggest to the jury that his opponent was not invited to sacrifices by *d.c.*, but his indirect way of doing this does not inspire confidence.

²⁸ *PCG* VI 2 F 186; Sandbach 1972, 209. The passage contains several textual problems and any translation is bound to be controversial in details, but the gist is clear. The text does not help us to decide whether the kin at dinner are co-resident in an extended household or have been invited from outside for this *triklinon syngeneias*; I prefer the second alternative.

²⁹ F 187 *PCG* VI 2, 208 Sandbach 1972. This fragment is thought to belong to the same context as the former passage.

are athletic and musical contests, all-night festivals (*pannychides*) and parodies of ritual.

The opening scene of Plato's *Republic* is instructive. Sokrates is on his way back to the city, with Plato's eldest brother Adeimantos, from Peiraios, where they have been watching the rites in honour of the Thracian goddess Bendis, recently accepted into the city's pantheon. They are accosted by Adeimantos' brother Glaukon and by Polemarchos son of Kephalos, who urge them to come to Kephalos' house and wait for the evening festivities, which will include a relay race of torchbearers on horseback. Kephalos has just finished a private sacrifice at home with his sons and three visitors; being an immigrant, he does not have kin to invite but is holding open house for his sons' friends, who can be spotted as they walk past on their way to or from the festival. Young men did not make formal plans for such occasions; they expected to find friends and kin of their own age taking part.

One attractive feature of all-night festivals, for the young, was the chance of sexual adventures. Although the number of respectable girls of citizen family represented in Menander's plays as having been raped on such occasions certainly passes belief, we should probably recognize that Athenian girls could attend these festivals and that some of them may have hoped to find husbands there. When Plato in the *Laws* (771e–772a) sees the search for marriage partners as one of the functions of the ritual dances in which young men and women are to be involved, he may be reincorporating into daytime rites a function which they had had in the archaic period (Calame 1977), but which by the fourth century in Athens was disquietingly associated with darkness and the carnival atmosphere of the *pannychis*.

Parodies of religious rites will be discussed below (n. 57) with other social activities of young-men-about-town, but it should be pointed out here that even these had roots in ritual. Jestings, horseplay, obscenity and insult, drunken revels all had their appropriate place in the religious calendar, and young men must always have figured prominently among the 'princes of misrule' (N. Z. Davis 1975, ch. 4) who set them going. Parody of ritual was accepted as a major ingredient in Aristophanic comedy, and the *kômos* or drunken revel in which any excessive drinking party might end (Plato, *Symposium* 212c–213a) wavered along the borderline between rite and parody. The pupils of the sophists went further, but not in a radically new direction.

WOMEN

Participation in ritual was structured by gender as well as age. There were traditional festivals in many parts of Greece in which the women of a city or a

smaller settlement gathered together, appointed their own officials, and made their own offerings or even sacrifice, strictly excluding all males from the proceedings. The shared social life and culture of the women of the community—gossip at the fountain, visits to borrow pots and pans or food for unexpected visitors, help in illness or childbirth, skills to be passed on to daughters—all this, like any other extensive pattern of social interaction, had to have its expression in cult.³⁰ There was presumably some element of sexual antagonism built into such rites from the beginning; myths in which women collectively murder their menfolk (the Lemnian women, the Danaidai) may have been associated with these festivals already in the archaic period, and some cities developed parallel, linked cults restricted to men (Burkert 1970*b*; 1985, 245). The secrecy of the rituals permitted a relatively free play of the imagination both on the women's side, in devising rites, and on the men's, in imagining what the women did. It also, however, made these rituals very vulnerable to the scepticism which developed in the fifth century. Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazousai*, and *Ekkleziiazousai*—the latter incorporating references to the Skira—perhaps suggest a feeling that it was unwise to allow women so much independence. The speaker of *Lysias* 1 (§ 20) complains that his wife went to the Thesmophoria (in the city) with the mother of her lover Eratosthenes. Husbands preferred to be able to supervise their wives' choice of associates.

One of the many things we do not know about the Thesmophoria is whether women could choose where they celebrated the festival. Aristophanes treats the celebration as a female counterpart to an Assembly meeting, i.e., a gathering of women from all over Attika; but he may have his own reasons for exaggerating the 'public' character of the festival (cf. Clinton 1996). Peiraios had its own sanctuary of the Thesmophoroi, used by the women of the deme at the Thesmophoria, Plerosia, Kalamaia, and Skira (*IG* ii² 1177, *LS* 36), and other demes may have had similar centres. We do not know whether the two married women elected as officials for the festival (*archousai*) in Cholargos, Pithos, and perhaps in other demes, presided over local festivities or represented their demes in Athens. Even if most demes had local celebrations, which is likely enough, a woman whose husband belonged to a rural deme but had a house in Athens could presumably join the women of the city demes in the city's celebrations, perhaps held in the City Eleusinion.³¹

³⁰ The archaeological record from some local sanctuaries suggests use mainly if not exclusively by women (Kiapha Thiti, Christiansen 2000; Lathoureza, Mazarakis Ainian 1995; Vryokastro, id. 2005, Mitsopoulou 2010; for gender segregation in ritual in other parts of Greece see S. G. Cole 2004, 91–104). Note that if women attended theatre performances (Spineto 2005, 292–315) they may well have sat separately; cf. the discussion of women watching games in M. P. J. Dillon 2000. On sacrifice by women see now Connelly 2007; N. D. Robertson 2010; on the Thesmophoria, Versnel 1994*a*, 235–60.

³¹ *Archousai*: *IG* ii² 1184, *LSS* 124 (Cholargos); *Is.* 3. 80, 8. 19–20 (Pithos); cf. *Men. Epit.* 522. The number of officials and the deme cannot be deduced from *Is.* 3. 80. On deme celebrations see Whitehead

The significance of the question from the point of view of the present study is that we should like to know whether such festivals provided women who had married outside their deme of origin with an opportunity for meeting female kin, or prevented them from doing so. Celebration of religious festivals by phratries and demes, which grouped men with their fathers, brothers and other agnatic kin, introduced discontinuities into the religious experience of women. Transfer of cult responsibilities from the phratries to the demes, which were smaller units, together with increasing spatial mobility which presumably increased rates of phratry and deme exogamy, may well have meant that a substantial proportion of Attic women were not meeting close female kin and childhood friends at deme festivals. Men who moved from their deme village to the city had a meeting place there where they could associate with fellow-demesmen, but the demesmen of Dekeleia met at a barber's shop near the Herms in the Agora (Lysias 23. 2; cf. *IG ii*² 1237. 122–3); such rendezvous were not available to their wives. Whether a woman who lived in the city would take part regularly in festivals like that of Elaphebolion 16 at Erchia (*LS* 18 A 44–51, D 33–40), in which the sacrificial meat was distributed to the women of the deme and had to be consumed on the spot, would depend on her husband's willingness to provide transport and an escort. Wealthy husbands were under some pressure from demes to provide funds for their wives' service as officials for the deme Thesmophoria, but certainly were not expected to do this every year.³²

Insofar as the Athenian religious calendar was tied to a framework of patrilineal descent groups, it created problems of discontinuity and separation for women which men did not experience to the same extent, though of course it did separate brothers from sisters and fathers from daughters. It is particularly noteworthy that a mother who had served with distinction as *genos* priestess could not pass on her position to her daughter, unless she had married within the *genos*.³³

On the other hand, the religious sphere did offer some openings for initiatives by women. The plot of Menander's *Dyskolos* is set going by an alarming dream sent to the hero's mother (407–18), which prompts her to organize a trip to a remote part of the countryside to propitiate Pan (see Borgeaud 1979, ch. 8). She takes household slaves and a hired cook. Her son says she makes such sacrifices

1986*a*, 80, 189–90; Humphreys 2004, ch. 4; R. Parker 2005*a*, 333; Sakurai 2008; ch. 26 n. 11. 'Thesmophorion' at Halimous, Mersch 1996, Kat. 7. 3–4 + *AD* 56–59 B1 [2010] 475. C. Austin and Olson 2004 think that deme celebrations would have had to be on a different date from those in the city; I doubt this. City Eleusinion: Broneer 1942, followed by Clinton 1996; *Agora* XXXI. Clinton's view that the City Eleusinion was in Melite is questionable; see Lalonde 2006*b* and ch. 29 n. 2. On the location of Thesmophoria celebrations in other Greek cities see S. G. Cole 2004 s.v.

³² The question of married women's contacts with their kin is raised for Rome by Dixon 1988, ch. 8; see also Humphreys 1998; H. Lambert 2000 for ethnographic data.

³³ See ch. 20 n. 131 for some possible cases of the influence of cognatic kinship on the selection of *genos* priestesses.

all the time; he politely declined the invitation to attend on this occasion (*Dyskolos* 260–5). A big crowd (presumably of women) was expected (404–6). Her husband arrives late (775–6). In a fragment of another Menandrian comedy a character complains that married men constantly have to pay for feasts, *heortai* (PCG VI 2 F 878 = 796 Koerte 1938); one of these would be the Thesmophoria, but there may be a reference to private initiatives too. Presumably women who were not hampered by the conventions of the stage might well invite female kin, neighbours, and friends to accompany them on such expeditions. A woman whose husband was generous, an *epikleros* with her own claims to have a say in the use made of property inherited from her father, or a widow with an adolescent son who had not remarried, could easily find convincing reasons for such enterprises. Dedications are also in some cases set up by women, some of whom may have been *epikleroi* (below, n. 93). In Herondas *Mime* 4, two women visit a sanctuary together (with slaves), bringing a cock for sacrifice, and leave a *pinax* as record (cf. Goeken 2010).

Women's activities, however, seldom leave permanent traces in our records. Presumably when a little girl went to Brauron to serve as a 'bear' in the sanctuary of Artemis, or when an older woman made a dedication there to ask, or give thanks, for help with medical problems, female kin would accompany her, but there are only a few instances in the records of offerings to Artemis that seem to provide concrete evidence of the association. In *IG* ii² 1524. 56–8 (334/3) the offering of Penteteris daughter of Theophemos is followed by that of her mother (more valuable); Penteteris' name suggests that her conception or birth may have been associated with one of the penteteric festivals, perhaps the Brauronia.³⁴ In *IG* ii² 1514. 24–6 (before 336/5) the name of Archestrate daughter of Mnesistratos of Paiania is followed by that of Mnesistrate daughter of Xenophilos, who might be her daughter. The same text (line 9) records a joint dedication by two women, Chairippe and Eukoline, but their relationship is not stated.

³⁴ On the 'bears' see ch. 9 n. 22. If the decrease in the number of *krateriskoi* dedicated at Brauron from the second half of the 5th c. onwards implies a decrease in the number of 'bears' (and not merely a shift to other types of dedication, textiles and/or terracottas), the dangers of travel in Attika during the Peloponnesian War may account for it. Garments were dedicated to Artemis by *parthenoi* with menstrual problems (H. King 1983, 114, cf. Van Straten 1981, 90–1) and perhaps also by older women experiencing gynaecological difficulties (Van Straten 99). The term *rhakos* in the lists of offerings is now generally thought to denote a dedicated garment which has become moth-eaten (W. Günther 1988, S. G. Cole 2004; but see Martha Weber 2010) rather than the rag onto which a girl's first menstrual blood was shed. For later evidence of women travelling together to healing sanctuaries see Rousselle 1976. One woman dedicant to Artemis Brauronia recorded her husband's pedigree on her gift: he was the son of Oulios and grandson of the famous general Kimon (*IG* ii² 1388. 81–2, 397/6, repeated in later lists). Penteteris' father could be Theophemos of Euonymon, the only known 4th c. bearer of the name, *APF* 7094; he was unmarried in 357 ([Dem.] 47. 38), but could well have a daughter of the right age in 334/3 (a 'Brauronia' year if the calculation of Humphreys 2004, 168 n. 93, is right; but Parker 2008, 38–9 argues for 333/2).

Even in cultic activities not restricted to women, a woman might travel in female company. When the orator Lysias offered to initiate his mistress Metaneira into the Eleusinian Mysteries she travelled from Corinth with her ‘mother’ Nikarete (for whom she had worked as a prostitute) and her ‘sister’ Neaira, a younger girl from the same establishment ([Demosthenes] 59. 22). These however were unusually independent women.

PILGRIMAGE

Whether it is useful to employ the term ‘pilgrimage’ for travel to sanctuaries in antiquity will depend on the purpose of the analysis.³⁵ The culture of ancient Greece was not one in which the experience of such travel had a religious value in itself; we are consequently told very little about it. Athenian women travelling to Delphi in midwinter had to be rescued from a snowstorm in Plutarch’s day;³⁶ visitors to some major festivals were protected from military attack by truce agreements. Some theoric expeditions were very large; the Athenian Pythais in the late second century BCE contained some 500 persons (including a cavalry squadron), plus, presumably, a large contingent of slave attendants.³⁷

Some comparative data might help us to visualize the logistics of Greek ‘pilgrimage’, on which rather little work has been done. Visitors travelling to attend games, seek healing, or consult an oracle might well spend several days at their destination. Accommodation provided by sanctuaries seems to have taken the form of dining rooms rather than sleeping areas (were couches used for both purposes?); but separate dormitories (*enkoimētēria*) for men and women are attested at the Amphiaraion of Oropos in the fourth century. Water supplies were important.³⁸

³⁵ See Rutherford 2000, Elsner and Rutherford 2005, Scullion 2005, Rutherford 2013, 12–14, for recent discussions (also on pilgrimage as tourism); Daniel 1984 for an anthropological study of the experience of pilgrimage. See also M. P. J. Dillon 1997 on women as pilgrims; Kowalzig 2007 s.v. *theōria*.

³⁶ Plut. *Mor.* 953 c–d. Attika had local legends about women being carried off from sanctuaries by hostile bands (Hdt. 6. 138. 1, Brauron; Plut. *Sol* 8. 4, Halimous, cf. Polyæn. *Strat.* 5. 14; but a theoria of leading men on its way to Sounion by ship is captured in Hdt. 6. 87). Baines 2013, 251, women’s journeys in ancient Egypt. On travel by embassies and armies see ch. 16.

³⁷ W. S. Ferguson 1911, 372–3. On the Pythais see now Karila-Cohen 2007; Ismard 2010, 368–75; Rutherford 2013, 222–30; ch. 20 n. 142.

³⁸ *IOrop* 277 (4th c.; cf. Sineux 2007); Kron 1989, M. P. J. Dillon 1990, 1997, on use of tents; Themelis 2002 on stables at Brauron. See also Tomlinson 1980, Dillon 1990, Bookidis 1990, 2010, Bookidis and Stroud 1997; Bookidis a. o. 1999 on *hestiatoria*; Knoepfler 1986, Argoud 1985, 1993, Schachter 1994 (298), Pimpl 1997 on water. Useful data also in J. W. I. Lee 2007 on military camps. The sanctuary of the Virgin on Tenos in the weeks preceding 15 August provides a useful comparison. Perlman 2000*b* deals with the travels of festival announcers, not visitors. On travel to competitions and provision for competitors see *IG* xii 9. 189, R/O 73 with comm., Artemisia at Eretria, c.340.

In the choice of travel companions, the balance between personal ties and structural categories will have varied with the purpose of the journey, the age and gender of travellers, and the distance covered. A sick person seeking healing would presumably travel and camp with carers (some at least of whom would be slaves) in a close-knit group related only coincidentally to others on the same errand, even though many might well choose the period of a festival for their visit. References to ritual obscenities (*aischrologia*) on some theôriai suggest that men and women travelled separately.³⁹ Young, unmarried men would form their own parties. A client of Lysias, involved in a dispute with boon companions (*synousiastai*), mentions that they made the theoria to Eleusis together (8. 5).

ASSOCIATIONS

The theoria thus has links to the context of religious companionship to be discussed next, the voluntary religious association. Such groups were ‘voluntary’, as I indicated earlier, in the sense that they were not linked to the definition of legitimacy and citizenship;⁴⁰ most of those for which we have any evidence are known from decrees that entitle them to the term ‘association’, although only a series of records can provide any indication of their length of life.⁴¹

There was no standard Greek terminology for such groups, and usage could be fluid even within a single document.⁴² *Orgeônes* had no corresponding term for the group as a unit, for which *koinon* or *thiasos* might be used. Folk etymology probably suggested a connection between *orgeônes* and *orgia*, which might have made the term seem appropriate for worshippers of the more exotic new deities; but *orgiônes* occurs in the *Hymn to Apollo* (389), apparently denoting cult servants, and *orgeônes* was also used by the group responsible for the sanctuaries

³⁹ See Halliwell 2000. Brumfield 1996 and O’Higgins 2001 do not consider travelling arrangements; Worman 2008 has little interest in ritual.

⁴⁰ N. F. Jones 1999 Appendix 1 lists Hellenistic associations; cf. Mikalson 1998, 145–51; Arnaoutoglou 2011. For the emphasis on shared activity in terms for associations see Chaniotis 2006, 228–9. Collection of texts and translations, with commentary, in Kloppenborg a. o. 2011 (concordance, SEG 61. 1585).

⁴¹ On procedures for incorporating new members see below, nn. 64–5.

⁴² *Thiasos* and *eranos* in IG ii² 1298, 248/7 (archon Diomedon); *thiasos* with *archeranistês* in ii² 1297, 236/5 (Kimon); also SEG 32. 149; Graml 2014, 4th c.?²; *koinon* and *thiasôtai* in ii² 1317 = SEG 59. 151, 249/8 (archon Hieron); *koinon*, then *orgeônes* and *thiasos* in ii² 1246 + AJA 1965, 104 (Dow and Gill 1965, cf. Gill 1991), end of 4th c., and IG ii² 1316. Worshippers of the Great Mother in Peiraios are *thiasôtai* in ii² 1273, 265/4 (arch. Euboulos; M. J. Osborne 2004), *orgeônes* in ii² 1314 (last quarter of 3rd c.); in ii² 1316, 272/1 (Lysitheides) they are, in my view, *orgeônes* subdivided into 4 *thiasoi*, each of which separately crowns the priestess and her husband (see also N. F. Jones 1999, 262–3). Arnaoutoglou 2003 does not deal with these variations. Given the fluidity of terminology, it is sometimes hard to tell whether inscriptions separated in date refer to the same group or not. See also below, nn. 46, 48. Todd 2007, 546–8 notes that the association of Lys. 8 may not have designated itself by any specific term.

of Amynos and Asklepios and of Dexion, and by worshippers of Asklepios from the deme Prospalta. In the Hellenistic period the term probably came to connote antiquity and tradition, but at present we have no idea how to connect the orgeones of Solon with the worshippers of new gods introduced in the second half of the fifth century.⁴³

The connotations of *thiasos* seem to have been equally vague. It may have had some Dionysian overtones, but could be used of any group that met to share sacrifices, including phratry subgroups.⁴⁴ Religious associations also used terms such as *synklinoi*, *synthytai*, *synousiastai*, or *oikos* (and *eranos*, discussed below), or used a name derived from their patron deity or the date of their meetings; terms with the suffix *-istai* or *-iastai* seem to spread during the Hellenistic period.⁴⁵

While distinguished from demes and phratries by having no officially fixed criterion of recruitment and by being open (at least in many cases) to non-citizens,⁴⁶ these associations imitated the subdivisions of the citizen body—and

⁴³ On orgeones in phratries see ch. 19 at nn. 163–7 (the evidence for continuity in groups of parasites, ch. 20 n. 129, is rather better). Byrne 2008 treats the orgeones of Asklepios from Prospalta (*IG* ii² 2355) as a phratry subgroup, but see Humphreys 2007. Orgeones at Eleusis, *SEG* 57. 416. The Eikadeis of (?) Myrrhinous (ch. 25 n. 44; Ross 1846 p. 54 no. 23, *ARMA* II no. 169; ch. 19 n. 152; below, at n. 59) might be a phratry subgroup; however, it was not uncommon for a voluntary association to take its name from a festival date (cf. the Dekadistai of *IG* ii² 2701 = Finley 1952 no. 32, and the Hebdomaistai of *SEG* 32. 244/57. 65, 330–325; R. Parker 1996, 336), and the Eikadeis who owned property on Salamis in the Lykourgan era may well (*pace* Lambert 1997a, 199–201 and Papazarkadas 2011) be a different, homonymous group. Conceivably the term *orgeōnes* was applied to or adopted by the worshippers of Bendis when her cult was introduced (by 429?; see R. Parker 1996, 170–5; Sakurai 2014) because it suggested *orgia*, and was subsequently felt to be appropriate for other newly introduced deities (for *orgia* see Motte and Pirenne-Delforge 1992); see, however, Schuddeboom 2009. Orgeones (but not phratries) appear on Lemnos: *IG* xii 8. 19, 21 = Culasso Gastaldi 2006, nos 5, 9–10 (of Herakles), end of the 4th c.

⁴⁴ Dionysos: cf. Jacottet 2003 (*thiasos* could also be used of a group travelling to a festival). On thiasoi as subdivisions of orgeones, n. 42 above; in *IG* ii² 1262, 301/0, thiasotai of (?) Tynabos (Tracy 1995, 145) award 2 crowns each to a pair of epimeletai, possibly implying a division into 2 subsections (contrast *IG* ii² 1317b, *Add.* p. 673, *SEG* 59. 153, thiasotai of Bendis on Salamis, 249/8, archon Hieron, and ii² 1298, 248/7, arch. Diomedon).

⁴⁵ *Synklinoi* in *IG* ii² 2350, dated by Wilhelm (1909, 51, no. 40) to the later 4th or early 3rd c.; if l. 2 is Aristomachos Aristaïou of Peiraios (*IG* ii³ 4. 225 and ii² ?7189), or a brother, it should belong to the Lykourgan period or earlier. See Table 30.2 on the prosopography of this family and that of ii² 7195. The *n* of 2350. 2, interpreted by Wilhelm as *n(côteros)*, is not at all clear on his squeeze photograph, and the interpretation may be anachronistic. *Homochytroi* on Lemnos, Culasso Gastaldi 2006 no. 7; 2010, 358 (ch. 19 nn. 65, 164). *IG* ii² 2360 is Boiotian (*SEG* 50. 484). For *oikos* see Wilhelm, *ibid.*; L. Robert 1969, *SEG* 21. 535–6 (end of 2nd c. BCE); Lambert 2004a. *Eranistai* are discussed below. N. F. Jones 1999, 309, lists names in *-i(a)stai*.

⁴⁶ The view that membership in some groups of orgeones was restricted to citizens came from the interpretation of *FGH* 328 F 35 as implying that all citizens were either *gennêtai* or orgeones (see ch. 19 n. 3; Arnaoutoglou 2011). The reference in Is. 2. 14–17 to introduction of an adopted son to his pater's phratry, deme, and orgeones does not necessarily support this interpretation, and its word order is against a close connection between phratry and orgeones. The 4th c. orgeones attested at the sanctuary of Pankrates (*SEG* 41. 84, unpublished) come from the demes Phlya and Probalinthos, which does not

the state itself—in their procedures. They elected officials, passed decrees, and crowned their benefactors.⁴⁷

Such groups might develop in a variety of ways. Often co-participation in ritual led to the formalization of looser, pre-existing ties, as for example in the case of non-Attic communities sharing the worship of deities introduced from their area of origin, or the cultic activities of *eranistai* and other groups formed originally for more secular purposes.⁴⁸ It is also possible that worshippers coming independently to the same shrine, in a cave or other locality thought to have numinous properties, might unite to develop the cult of its patron deity in a more structured manner. This may well have happened at the sanctuary of Pankrates by the Ilissos, near the Lykeion.⁴⁹ Additional impetus and legitimation

encourage thoughts of a shared phratry (the idea of N. F. Jones 1999, 251 that they had a base ‘in the vicinity of Pentelikon’ is topographically absurd). Until the texts are published (latest references: *SEG* 53. 160–1), we cannot tell whether the orgeones, thiasotai, and eranistai of this sanctuary were all separate groups. The *org[e]ónes* of Teos seem to be Hellenistic or later (Pottier and Hauvette-Besnier 1880, no. 21, is dated c.172–50; but McCabe and Plunkett 1985 no. 242 give 2nd c. CE).

⁴⁷ It was clearly common for office in these groups to be quasi-liturgic (female, non-citizen epimeletria honoured in *SEG* 56. 203, 3rd c.), but in addition to gratitude for benefactions there are some references to presenting accounts: *IG* ii² 1263, secretary of thiasos, 300/299, Piraeus; 1277, 278/7, epimeletes and secretary, *logos* and euthynai; 1317 with *SEG* 59. 151, 272/1, tamiai, Bendis on Salamis, *logoi* (restored); 1284 II, c.240 (archon Lykeas), orgeones of Bendis in Piraeus, secretary; cf. 1282, 263/2 (arch. Antipatros), where the commission may have been handling a donation (from Egypt?) for work on the sanctuary of Ammon. For Bendis on Salamis see M. J. Osborne 2009a. Thiasos with *archieranistés*, secretary, *logistés*, and *synepimelétai*, 4th c.?, Graml 2014.

⁴⁸ Vondeling 1961 sees the uses of *eranos* to denote a loan and a cult-group as separate developments from an original meaning ‘potluck dinner’, but this may be too legalistic; see Baslez 2006, 165–7; Faraguna 2012a. We should perhaps say only that the term implied contributions to a common enterprise carried out in a friendly spirit. *Eranos* and *eranistai* cover a spectrum of activities from making a single loan to regular meetings and formal procedures (e.g. *SEG* 54. 235). Pace R. Parker 1996, 337, there is no way we can draw a line (cf. Ismard 2010, 288–90). New *eranos*-horoi (not in Finley/Millett 1982): *SEG* 32. 236 (mine works and slaves, Lykourgan period), 41. 127 (house, Rhamnous), 48. 173 (Agrileza), 54. 256 (mine works and slaves). *Eranos* and its derivatives may be used in combination with other terms: *IG* ii² 1292, Sarapiastai with *proeranistria*, late 3rd c.; *SEG* 24. 156, *thiasos* and (?) *er[anos]*, c.290 (Tracy 2003, 39–45; 296/5 Thonemann 2005); see also n. 42 above. Dedications by workgroups: *IG* ii³ 4. 635, launderers (*pluncis*) to nymphs, 4th c.; ii³ 4. 650, by officials crowned by *ergazomenoi*, 276/5 (archon Philokrates); on ii² 4327 see below, at nn. 95–6. Cf. also Lauffer 1979, 177–204, on mine-slave cults and dedications; below, n. 57, on dining groups. An *eranos*-loan might well be raised among a dining group, and such a group might decide, once the loan had been repaid, to continue paying subscriptions (cf. *IG* ii² 1298, 248/7, arch. Diomedon) into a fund for sacrifices. New *eranos* loan documents *SEG* 48. 173, *Kerameikos* XVII 446, *SEG* 55. 290, 57. 167–8. Catalogue of *eranistai* c.50 BCE, *SEG* 54. 235.

⁴⁹ See R. Parker 2005a, 419–23, and n. 46 above on Pankrates, whose worshippers included a group of *droméis* (*SEG* 44. 139); Wycherley 1970, Andreou 1994, and Lalonde 2006a on other relatively small local sanctuaries. The sanctuary of Pan in Men. *Dysk.* had P(ai)anistai (230), but perhaps this term need not imply a lasting group. Although formed by private initiative, such groups might respond to public affairs (thiasotai of Pankrates sacrifice in thanks for a victory of King Antigonos in [261/0 or] 256/5, archon Antimachos, *SEG* 41. 83), and might be attached to a sanctuary whose priest/ess was appointed by the state (see Mikalson 1998, 148–9 on *IG* ii² 1297–8 with 788; there is no reason to suppose that the

might be provided by dreams or visions; this is not directly attested for Attika, but is a well-known phenomenon in the wider Hellenistic world.⁵⁰ I have suggested (Humphreys 2007) that the orgeones of Asklepios from Prospalta owed their existence in part to a dream in which the god was seen by one of the parents of the strikingly named Kritophantos I, in the decades following the introduction of Asklepios to Athens. Archedemos of Thera, in the later fifth century, became possessed by the nymphs and ‘developed’ the cave of Pan near Vari/Anagyrous (*IG* i³ 977–80 + ii² 4655 = *SEG* 51. 230; Schörner and Goette 2004; Jim 2012; Graf 2013, 123–7); in this case no corporate group came into being, perhaps because Archedemos was too eccentric and was not a citizen.

Voluntary associations of the types discussed here seem to have been commoner in urban areas (N. F. Jones 1999); this may be to some extent a question of preservation of evidence, especially in the case of property leases, yet leases and other records did survive in the countryside, often incorporated into later churches.⁵¹ In rural areas, however, cults associated with numinous sites in the landscape were often cared for by demes, which might respond collectively to a local manifestation of divine power, take over responsibility from pre-existing groups, or, perhaps, collect information about neglected local heroes in a period of anxiety.⁵² In the city and in Piraeus (and in kleruchies) it was more likely that a local shrine would attract worshippers of varied status or deme affiliation.⁵³ Boundaries between citizen and non-citizen would be more clear-cut in rural

‘state’ and thiasos cults were separate here, or that the thiasotai were all non-citizens). At Rhamnous, perhaps soon after 229, a new group of Amphierastai (with an archeranistes, a secretary, and a treasurer) was formed by some of the garrison to repair neglected buildings in the sanctuary of Amphiaraios (*IRb* 167).

⁵⁰ E.g. *IG* xi 4. 1299 (*SEG* 24. 1158), cult of Sarapis on Delos c.200; n. 26 above, Knidos; cf. R. Parker 2005a ch. 6 on omens and dreams.

⁵¹ Rural leases: *SEG* 24. 151–2 Teithras, *IG* ii² 2497 and *SEG* 21. 644 Prasiai, *IG* ii² 2493–4 + *IRb* 180 Rhamnous. Cf. nn. 43, 59, on horoi of the Eikadeis at (?) Myrrhinous. *IG* ii² 2701 (Finley no. 32), a horos found at Spata, includes a group of Dekadistai, but it is not certain that they were local. See also Lambert 1997a on sale of rural property by cult groups; Papazarkadas 2011. Rural dedications: *SEG* 24. 223, from a small settlement site 4 km north of Eleusis (Elaiou?), dedication by a thiasos, late 4th c. *IG* ii² 1242, from Tatoi, is a decree referring to hieropoioi and a cult of the (female) Hegemon; *pace* *SEG* 21. 528, there is no reason to attribute it to orgeones. *IG* ii² 2358, an eranos record from Chalandri in at least 4 hands, with a mixture of citizen and non-citizen names, is dated c.100 BCE by Tracy 1990, 247 (but see n. 70 below). Tagalidou 1993 no. 40, a dedication to Herakles of c.400, said to come from the church of Agios Nikolaos near Kake Thalassa (not marked in *KvA*), might come from the genos Salaminioi. *SEG* 37. 103 is dated 52/1 BCE.

⁵² Cf. Humphreys 2004, ch. 4. Examples: Herakles in Halimous (deme from genos); Steinhauer 1994a, 176, shrine and temenos at crossroads with well; Zeus Kataibates at Thorikos. On property owned by orgeones see Papazarkadas 2011, 191–206.

⁵³ Cf. n. 43 above on orgeones in kleruchies. Lambert 1997a, 255–6, suggests that almost 100 groups of orgeones might have sold land in the hekatostai sales, but only one such group is actually attested in the records.

areas, where there were fewer metics of immigrant origin (they could not own land),⁵⁴ and fewer freedmen; citizens and non-citizens would work together in both contexts, but slaves resident outside their owners' households were presumably commoner in urban areas.⁵⁵

The comparison with modern urban society implied in the term 'voluntary association' suggests a contrast between the recruitment patterns of these units and those of the descent-based deme and phratry. To some extent this is true; as was noted above, some associations developed from patterns of activity already shaped by gender, age, and class. *Eranistai* would be male, financially independent, and relatively affluent, though they may sometimes have collected money on behalf of women;⁵⁶ some groups may have developed from dining clubs; the popularity of Herakles suggests the milieu of the gymnasium or dining club.⁵⁷

These points, and the factors that often made such groups short-lived, are well illustrated by Lysias' speech *Against (pros) my synousiastai* (8). The speaker had fallen out with a group of friends with whom he had dined and shared a theoria to Eleusis. The *casus belli* was apparently the death of a horse which he had received as pledge for repayment of a loan. The speaker held that he was still entitled to repayment, but the rest of the group contested this.⁵⁸ Quarrels and backbiting ensued; the speaker claims that they resented his wealth and his pretensions to be regarded as their patron (which is likely enough). Several elements in the process of group formation are attested here: previous social ties, co-participation in ritual, creation of a fund to support group activities. But it all ended in the courts. Perhaps, if the horse had lived and Lysias' client had been more tactful, matters might have turned out differently.

⁵⁴ The extent of leasing in rural areas, which might have attracted metics, is disputed (R. G. Osborne 1985*d*). The lease by a freedman of land confiscated from an oligarch, Lys. 7. 10, is a special case (ch. 14 at n. 40).

⁵⁵ Only about 15% of slaves in our manumission records have rural occupations (Jameson 1978); they had less chance of buying freedom. The proportion of owner-occupied farms to those run by slave or freedman bailiffs is disputed (N. F. Jones 2004). Dedications by slaves or freedmen (judging by the names) from the mining area, *IG* ii³ 4. 633–5 (perhaps Herakles rather than Men); slave miners were presumably supervised by slave or freedman foremen. R. Parker 1996, 337–42, is perhaps unduly reluctant to accept that citizens mixed socially with non-citizens in the 4th–3rd c. (contrast Ismard 2010).

⁵⁶ E.g. for prostitutes to buy freedom ([Dem.] 59. 31). A woman as *plérôtria* (probably beneficiary) of an eranos in *Agora* XIX H 124 (Finley 1952, 114A; E. M. Harris and Tuite 2000; Faraguna 2012*a*, 139, thinks she is the lender).

⁵⁷ Young men whose fathers were still alive needed a meeting place; the *nothoi* of Kynosarges, who had no inheritance prospects (Humphreys 1974) provide an interesting example. The link between dining groups and illicit performance or parody of ritual (ch. 13 n. 4) supports the view that more conventional groups might meet in a cultic context. Herakles' reputation as a glutton made him a natural patron for dining clubs (cf. Lind 1985; R. Parker 1996, 334), and he was associated with male adolescence (Van Straten 1979; ch. 19 n. 47), though he was also popular in the demes (ch. 24 n. 92; ch. 20 n. 129 on parasites). Hermes was more specifically associated with the gymnasium (Parker 2004, 391–2).

⁵⁸ See Todd 2007.

A later stage in a comparable process is represented by three records from the Eikadeis of (?) Myrrhinous, whose activities centred on a shrine (*hieron*) of Apollo Parnessios. Their income was based (at least in part) on land—more secure than horses—but even so there was trouble in 324/3. Some members of the group had been using its land as security for mortgage loans (*IG* ii² 1258). Again, the question of ownership may have been unclear; possibly one or more rich local landowners had made over the income from land without necessarily making a formal transfer of ownership. The Eikadeis represent themselves as having been slandered, and appoint representatives to defend their interests in court; apparently they won their case, since they apparently set up two *horoi* warning creditors that their land was not to be used as security for loans.⁵⁹

Disputes could also arise from members' failure to pay subscriptions: *Agora* XVI 161 (*LSS* 20, early third century), set up by the orgeones of Echelos and of the Heroines, includes a list of debtors and republishes earlier decrees, a practice often inspired by disputes. The provision that the *hestiator* was not to spend more than the group's income on festivals suggests tensions generated by competitive generosity. We do not know whether the division into two *koina* of orgeones, those (sacrificing?) 'by the property of Kalliphanes' and those of the hero Echelos, was the result of fusion or fission.⁶⁰ Dedications to Homonoia also suggest reconciliation after disputes. In 302/1–300/299 the thiasotai of Aphrodite in Peiraios honoured the breastplate maker Stephanos for serving as epimeletes, and then twice as hieropoios, in three successive years; he dedicated his crowns, with copies of the decrees, to Demeter Homonoia of the koinon.⁶¹

While disputes might lead to fission, or complete dissolution, rivalry between groups worshipping the same deity or deities may sometimes have promoted

⁵⁹ A similar situation perhaps in *IG* ii² 1289, *SEG* 52. 132/58. 149, if the issue was whether the land was sacred or privately owned (a different view in Sosin 2002, followed by Papazarkadas 2009c; 2011, 194–5, 199). Vagueness in legal matters was characteristic of supposedly friendly arrangements, and often led to disputes, also in the affairs of individuals (ch. 7 Cases 1, 4, 10; ch. 14 at nn. 41–2). It is only an inference that *IG* ii² 1258 and the *horoi* ii² 2631–2 belonged to the same incident, but the *horoi* must have been generated by some process such as I have described (cf. *IG* ii² 1289, above, mid 3rd c.; ch. 25 n. 44). One of the factors influencing the sales of corporately owned land in the 340s–330s (Lambert 1997a) may have been the frequency of disputes over ownership, the sale allowing a putative private owner or sitting tenant to establish his rights. Compare the gift of revenue from a rubble quarry (*haimasia*) to the Amphierastai of Rhamnous in the late 3rd c. (*IG* ii² 1322 = *IRb* 167); the donor's claim to own this resource may have been disputable (cf. ch. 30 n. 75 on Herakles in Akris).

⁶⁰ The reference to a single *hestiatôr* in the republished decree might possibly suggest that the groups had earlier been more united. On the other hand, Echelos may have migrated to the city (the stone was found on the Areiopagos) from Echelidai near New Phaleron; he is represented with Hermes and Basile on *IG* i³ 986, found there.

⁶¹ *IG* ii² 1261, end of 4th c. The stone (lost) does not seem to have been a statue base, so there may have been a painting of Demeter Homonoia in ll. 17–21, and crowns in ll. 22–4 and 41–3. Cf. *IG* ii² 4985, a round altar (3rd c.), inscribed *homonoias tou thiasou*; Thériault 1996 on dedications to Homonoia as indicating previous conflict; Chaniotis 2006, 234. *Homonoistai* on Kos, *SEG* 55. 937/58. 886–8.

stability. The orgeones of Amynos, Asklepios, and Dexion (who had two sanctuaries) may have had a story about the introduction of Asklepios to Athens which differed from that advertised in the larger sanctuary of Asklepios south of the Akropolis; and Bendis was worshipped both by Thracian and by Athenian orgeones.⁶²

The possession of corporately owned property and/or a common fund maintained by regular subscriptions will also have promoted long-term stability, though it could not guarantee permanence; disputes could arise, or the group could fall back into dependence on the generosity of an especially rich member. Where a group arose in connection with the introduction of a new cult, or by taking over responsibility for an existing shrine, a minimal core of property was *ipso facto* present; it might include an income-producing temenos.⁶³ Groups might also acquire property by gift, or because it had been offered as security by a creditor who had subsequently failed to repay his loan. In such situations, the land might still be farmed by its original owner; if not, lessees would probably be members of the group (Jameson 1982).

Collection of regular fees by such groups is attested by the 320s (*IG* ii² 1361); the influence of the practice of cash payments to priests and priestesses, already documented in the fifth century (J. K. Davies 2001; Pafford 2013), is clear. Such payments are collected (ii² 1361) from non-members who wish to sacrifice to Bendis; her orgeones pay two drachmas each, collected three days before the Bendideia. Provision is made for new members, on passing a *dokimasia* and paying an entry fee, to be registered on the stele.⁶⁴

Descendants (*ekgonoi*) of these orgeones apparently had automatic rights of membership, though this does not necessarily mean that they were exempt

⁶² Amynos, Asklepios, and Dexion, *IG* ii² 1252 + 999, cf. 1259. See also Clinton 1994*a*; Connolly 1998; Humphreys 2007; Ismard 2010, 258–9; Beschi 2002, Riethmüller 2005 for recent work on the Telemachos inscription (n. 75). Bendis had orgeones both in Piraeus and on Salamis, and the history of her cult is far from clear. See R. R. Simms 1988; Steinhauer 1993 (*SEG* 44. 60, 153. 158, 244/3, archon Lysiades, M. J. Osborne 2009*a* for date); R. Parker 1996, 171; G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, 65–9; Ismard 2010, 261–73. The attribution of *SEG* 21. 531 to Bendis is doubtful.

⁶³ E.g. perhaps *SEG* 24. 203 (*kēpos*, *orgeōnes* of hero, 333/2). Papazarkadas 2011, 203–4, suggests that groups which sold or lacked property would be more likely to break up. A number of voluntary associations could afford to give gold crowns: *IG* ii² 1252, orgeones of Amynos, Asklepios, and Dexion, 2 crowns of 500 dr. each, Lykourgan period; ii² 1255, 337/6, citizen (?) orgeones of Bendis, 3 crowns of 300 dr. each. Horoi (excluding those recording debts to *eranistai*) show voluntary associations lending sums between 100 and 1000 dr.; there is no evidence so far of such a group funding its activities from interest-bearing loans. Cf. Shipton 2000; Humphreys 2004, 147–54.

⁶⁴ *IG* ii² 1361 (*SEG* 57. 135; date Tracy 1995, 131); we see a development from festival payments to regular subscriptions. In ii² 1252 + 999 (also probably Lykourgan in date: the proposer was *diaitetes* in 325/4, ii³ 4. 35. 122, while one of the honorands proposed *Agora* XIX L 13, of 324/3; the other was cursed in Wunsch 1897, 95b 20) the *chous* from which the honorands and their descendants were exempted was no doubt a cash subscription. *IG* ii² 1361 also refers to rent from the *oikia* and the water in the sanctuary, and to fines, providing a useful picture of group finances.

from entry fees. The provisions in the decree classifying the payments to be made when non-orgeones sacrificed, and the process of registration of new members, indicate that Bendis' cult was growing in popularity; they do not necessarily imply that the orgeones had previously formed a descent group closed to non-kin. It had probably always been possible for new recruits to be introduced by members.⁶⁵ The father of the speaker of Isaios 9 had introduced his stepson to the thiasos of Herakles to which he belonged (§ 30), and there is no strong reason to suppose that thiasoi differed from groups of orgeones in this respect.

Changes took place in the late fourth century due to emigration, depopulation of rural areas, and restriction both of the citizen body and of its functions and prerogatives. Alexander's campaigns increased the demand for mercenary soldiers (fighting for Persia as well as against her), and provided opportunities for permanent settlement overseas; return to Athens in one's thirties, after a period of adventure abroad, became a less attractive option when the poor were excluded from citizenship, the government became more oligarchic, and the city came under Macedonian control. Some of the disenfranchised were attracted to settle in Thrace. Pay for political services was abolished, and there may have been some problems in recruiting councillors.⁶⁶ After c.300 phratry and deme records almost disappear, with the exception of the 'garrison demes' Eleusis and Rhamnous. A shift in the balance of residence of deme and phratry members towards urban areas and away from an original rural base would increase the likelihood that assemblies would be held in the city (ch. 19 at nn. 44, 22; ch. 22 at nn. 109–16), and might well lead to the neglect of rural festivals. In these circumstances, religious associations based on urban shrines would offer the attraction of continuing the combination of festival and public business, in a group small enough for each member to feel a sense of belonging, that had earlier been experienced in deme and phratry. Women and children would have some share in festivals, if

⁶⁵ Sons probably entered at puberty (however that was socially defined); the Iobakchoi, c.178 CE (*IG* ii² 1368, Jacottet 2003 no. 4), specify that a member's sons pay a half-fee for entry and a half-subscription (*hemiphorion*) *mechris hotou pros gynaikas ósin*, 'while still in the women's quarters'. A member's brother paid the full entry fee; if an outsider (*exótikos*) was chosen as *hieros pais*, he and his father became members, the father paying a single fee for both. The rule of a Tenian *patra* (?), in the mid 4th c. (*IG* xii *suppl.* 303; R/O 61, *SEG* 40. 688), that a son could only enter when his father died, seems unusual; in *IG* ii² 1326 (Jacottet no. 2, 176/5; Ismard 2010, 359–63) the reference to rights of the eldest son seems to refer to honours and privileges rather than ordinary membership. On the process of recruitment in *IG* ii² 2355, orgeones of Asklepios from Prospalta, see Humphreys 2007. On commemorative cult groups outside Attika see ch. 10 nn. 27, 109; one such group at Olbia, 4th c., lists members (mostly descendants of the person worshipped) as thiasotai: Dubois 1996, nos. 8, 11–12.

⁶⁶ Cf. Humphreys 2010a, n. 29. *IG* ii² 1336, seen by Fourmont and Ross serving as threshold in the church of Ag. Demetrios at Keratea, is tentatively dated *fin. s. II*, but we cannot even be certain that it was issued by a local group.

only peripherally, as well as adult men;⁶⁷ marriages might be arranged between group members and take place in buildings owned by the group, or members might introduce their affines to it. Such units came to take on some of the functions of an extended kindred that had characterized demes and phratries.

Evidence for all this, however, is sparse. In *IG* ii² 1275 (with *SEG* 21. 534), from Piraeus, perhaps early third century, a koinon of thiasotai specifies that when a member dies his next-of-kin is to inform the thiasotai, who are to attend the funeral, bringing their *philoi*.⁶⁸ In *IG* ii² 1277, of 278/7, from the southwest slope of the Pnyx, another koinon of thiasotai crowns officials for generous performance of their duties, which included ‘taking care of those who died’. By 194/3 (*IG* ii² 1323, archon Dionysios) the officers of a city group of thiasotai are being praised for handing over the burial payment (*to taphikon*) promptly when a death occurred. In the second century CE members of the Iobakchoi (*IG* ii² 1368) are expected to celebrate a whole series of rites de passage and other achievements with the group.⁶⁹

Lists of members of such associations are relatively rare in the classical period and not always prosopographically useful, since they may not record patronymics, demotics, or ethnic affiliations. The sixteen orgeones from Prospalta who made a dedication to Asklepios, probably in the Lykourgan period, belonged to six small patrilineages perhaps linked by affinal ties (*IG* ii² 2355, Humphreys 2007; note also *SEG* 61. 169). *IG* ii² 2349, another fourth-century list, appears to record a father, Hephaistion, and two sons but we do not know what type of list it is.⁷⁰ In *IG* ii² 1252 the orgeones of Amynos, Asklepios, and Dexion honour

⁶⁷ *SEG* 21. 530 (orgeones of Echelos and Heroines, early 3rd c.) prescribes a full share of sacrificial meat for a free wife, and half shares for children and a maid; the husband is to collect his wife’s share, but the inclusion of an attendant shows that she was present. Cf. Humphreys 2004, ch. 6, on children at festivals; n. 24 above on reliefs showing dedications. Women listed in separate columns on *IG* ii² 1297 (236/5, Kimon).

⁶⁸ In line 5 I would restore *ê buo[s autou ê p]atêr*, or possibly *ê buo[s ê gunê ê p]atêr*, rather than [*ê mêtêr*] (Wilhelm) or [*ê huônos*] (Tod 1907). *Philoi* here are household members?

⁶⁹ *Taphikon* is restored in *IG* ii² 1278. 2 (270s?). Cf. ii² 10248 (Hellenistic, found in Odos Omerou, NW of the ancient city, *AEE* 2362), where eranistai erect a gravestone for a Seleukian. On Rhodes and Kos associations had their own burial grounds: Fraser 1977, 58–70; *SEG* 53. 2150, 2167; Bosnakis and Hallof 2005, 242; Maillot 2013, 207–10; so possibly did [*phrê*]terēs on Paros already in the 6th c., Matthaiou 2003a (*SEG* 51. 1071). On associations and funerals see also Baslez 2006, 160–1; Ismard 2010, 356; material from the Roman period (mainly W Mediterranean) in Rebillard 2003. On the Iobakchoi see Humphreys 2004, s.v.; Baslez 2004; Chaniotis 2006, 232–4. The tendency for cult associations to take on kinship functions may be connected with a drift towards henotheism (cf. Burkert 1982), although this link cannot be demonstrated. Three brothers in a thiasos at Olbia c.300, Dubois 1996 no. 95.

⁷⁰ *IG* ii² 2349. 1, Myrtaso, might also be related to Myrtil[os], in line 3. *IG* ii² 2353. 6, 9 (Asklepiastai, c.215 Tracy 1990, 49) has 2 sons of Thrasyleon of Kydathenaion; ii² 2346, dated before 350, is a long list of names and patronymics (some women listed separately); there are kin, but we do not know what the list represents (*pace* Koehler, N Greek names do not predominate). *IG* ii² 2343, early 4th c., is an altar

two brothers, demesmen of Peiraios (see n. 63 above); in ii² 1265, of c.300, another pair of brothers is honoured by eranistai based in the city for serving as tamias and hieropoios; in SEG 21. 532 a city koinon, in 227/6, probably honours [Gna]this with his sons. Later lists in which names are given in fuller form make it possible to identify mini-lineages (e.g. ii² 2361).

FAMILY TRADITIONS

Since membership of thiasoi and other such associations may have promoted in some families a sense of special attachment to a particular deity or sanctuary, it is worth asking whether there is other evidence for family traditions of religious specialization or loyalties. Plato supplies two references to mythical ancestry, Alkibiades claiming descent from Eurysakes and Lysis being credited with kinship (*syngeneia*) and guest-friendship with Herakles, but these are probably references to genos affiliation.⁷¹ Only members of elite families would claim a god or hero as ancestor; there is little evidence that rank-and-file gennetai, who were not favoured candidates for priesthoods, felt a special attachment to genos heroes or deities.⁷²

Elsewhere in Greece there were recognized lineages of *manteis* (Kett 1966; cf. Parke 1967, 173–8; Bowden 2003; Flower 2008*b*); in Attika we have a family in

tray dedicated by a koinon of thiasotai; there might be kinship ties between Antitheos and Amphitheos, Theophon and Theophanes, or the two men called Melanopides (FBS?). Cf. Welsh 1983; note also Theophanes son of Amphitheos, dedicant to Asklepios before 274/3 (Aleshire 1989 Inv. IV 130), although this combination shows a common pattern of name formation. IG ii² 2358 (cf. n. 51) is dated c.100 by Tracy (1990, 247), but if Philonides of Iphistiadai in l. 73 is the ephebe of ii² 1009. 103 (117/16) and also the father of Euporia Philoni of l. 45, the date should be rather lower.

⁷¹ Plat. *Alk.* I 121a, see APF 600 II (Salaminioi); *Lys.* 205c–d, cf. Table 29.18; see also ch. 20 n. 89. On genealogical inscriptions see Chaniotis 1987; n. 112 below; note the mini-genealogy of Kimon's descendants in IG ii² 1388. 81 etc. (n. 34 above). On [Plut] *Mor.* 842f–843c and IG ii² 3474 see Humphreys 2007. The discussions of genealogies and Greek historiography in Luraghi 2001 do not deal with inscriptions.

⁷² Possibly Epiteles I and Oinocharēs I, sons of Soinautes I, of Pergase, who dedicated a lustral basin to Poseidon Erechtheus c.450 (IG i³ 873) belonged to the Eteoboutadai. The family had a long tradition of cultic activity (not confined to the Akropolis): Oinocharēs II son of Soinautes II (SS of Oinocharēs I) made dedications to Ammon (IG ii² 1642 = SEG 21. 562. 12, 26), and Epiteles III son of Soinomos (SSSS of Epiteles I) councillor in 336/5 (*Agora* XV 42. 42), served as naopoios at Delphi, was one of the epimeletai for the Amphiaraiia in 329/8, and in 323/2 proposed a decree concerning Athens' theoria to Nemea and her proxenos there (IG ii² 375, restoring [Archias] in line 2). On the family see also ch. 23 n. 31. Pythodoros II son of Python II of Kedoi, naopoios at Delphi in the 320s (*CID* II 32, 79, 97, 119; ch. 23 n. 35), may have been encouraged by his name to take an interest in the sanctuary, but Pytho-based names go back in the family to the 5th c. (APF 12444) and none of his attested kin have Delphic connections. On the brothers Euthykrates and Theophron, sons of Euthyphron of Kerameis, also naopoioi in the 320s, see ch. 27 n. 7. On familial links with priesthoods see also Chaniotis 2008.

Myrrhinous in which Meidoteles I and his son Kalliteles I were both seers, while an agnatic grandson of the latter was given the rare name Hieroptes, ‘sacrifice-interpreter’ (Table 4.10). Aischines’ mother’s brother was a *mantis*, while his mother specialized in initiations, perhaps in the cult of Sabazios.⁷³ Religious expertise was a skill (*technê*) learned partly from oral instruction and partly from books; practitioners, like those in other specialities, taught their art to younger kin or to slaves, and left their books to their heirs. But practising a craft for money was not respectable, so the sons of the more successful specialists might prefer to acquire land and live as gentlemen. If a son did want to pursue his father’s trade, he had to prove his ability to retain clients; there were no established positions or congregations.⁷⁴

As in the case of Hieroptes, the choice of a child’s name sometimes suggests a family tradition of expertise or of devotion to a particular deity, but unless we have a succession of significant names in one family, theophoric names do not carry much weight; there was in any case no guarantee that a child would be guided by the meaning of its name.⁷⁵

The three attested bearers of the girl’s name Penteteris may all have had family links to penteteric festivals. Penteteris daughter of Hierokles of Phlya was priestess of Athena Polias in the second century BCE,⁷⁶ while two girls with the same name made offerings to Artemis Brauronia (above, at n. 34). Kephisodotos son of Demogenes of Boutadai set up an altar apparently in the sanctuary of the

⁷³ CEG 519 (SEMA 148); E. M. Harris 1995, 21–8. Cf. R. Parker 2005*a*, ch. 6. Bremmer 1996*b*, n. 48, suggests that Mantias and Mantitheos of Thorikos came from a family of manteis (but they clearly did not practise). A Phoenician mantis, Pologiorge 2013.

⁷⁴ Inheritance of books; Isokr. 19. 5–6; cf. ch. 6 nn. 2–3 for doctors’ families; Burkert 1982; Griffith 2001; Humphreys 2017*b*.

⁷⁵ On theophoric names see Parker 2000; Humphreys 2007 (cf. P. Wilson 2007*c* on theatrical names). EBGR 17, 2001, no. 142 notes that the name Hieropoios in Attika is mainly attested at Rhamnous, presumably deriving from office holding. As with all names, a first, possibly significant use might be perpetuated over the generations. Healing deities provide more examples of family tradition than others: IG ii² 4362–3 were dedicated to Asklepios in the first half of the 4th c. by a father and son; 4404 was dedicated to him in the second half of the century by a son of Prokleides of Kerameis, while Prokleides, *diainîtês* in 330/29 (IG ii³ 4. 33), proposed honours for Asklepios’ priest, a fellow-demesman, in 328/7 (ii³ 359). Medical families, although doctors competed with Asklepios for clientele, also made offerings to him. While the dedicants of ii² 4359 may not themselves have practised medicine (Aleshire 1989, 94–5), three of them (two brothers) were the sons of doctors. On the possible relationship between the Telemachos who claimed to have introduced Asklepios to Athens and Telemachos son of Theangelos of Acharnai see chs. 20 n. 95, 28 n. 69; Aleshire 1991 and Wickkiser 2011 note that the restoration of Thea[ngelos] as priest in IG ii² 4963 is highly speculative.

⁷⁶ Cf. Humphreys 2007; ch. 20 n. 131. Hierokleia daughter of Dionysios of Phlya (IG ii² 1036 + 1060. 61, cf. Aleshire and Lambert 2003 = SEG 53. 143) might belong to the same family. Note the dedication by a brother and sister of their brother Ptoiokles at Akraiphia in the 2nd c. BCE, SEG 15. 333. On priestesses called Theano see Brulé 1990*b*, 85–6; Freyer-Schauenburg 1989, 62–3 (but her explanation of the name of the priestess Choirine seems far-fetched); Stamatopoulou 2014 n. 37.

river-hero Kephisos at Phaleron in the late fifth century (*IG* i³ 986), but the inscriptions on it do not mention Kephisos, and the name Kephisodotos was common (attested in 20 demes).

Since names and name elements were often repeated within families (ch. 8), we can never be sure that a name carried its full semantic load at the time when it is first attested in a given family. It does, however, seem possible that the theophoric names of the largest lineage among the orgeones of *IG* ii² 2355 were derived from a religious experience connected with Asklepios (Humphreys 2007).

Occasionally we have evidence of a family tradition of dedications over time in a specific sanctuary. A family of Halai Aixonides cultivated relations with the nymphs worshipped in a cave near Vari: Eukleides and his two sons Eukles and Lakrates dedicated *IG* ii² 4651 there jointly, and another dedication, ii² 4653, was made by Eukles son of Lakles of Halai, clearly a kinsman.⁷⁷ In other cases, however, the choice of local sanctuaries derives simply from the wish to be on good terms with a supernatural neighbour. Timesios son of Lysistratos and Doros son of Timesios, perhaps his uncle (MB),⁷⁸ cut a dedication in the rock to Artemis, for whom they had apparently made a small shrine on or near their farmland near Agrileza (*CEG* 754), asking for good fortune, probably in hunting.

In other cases a family will develop a special relationship with a more distant sanctuary. Charias son of Neoptolemos from Athens dedicated a statue of his father, Neoptolemos son of Stratokles (of Auridai) in the sanctuary of Amphiaraos at Oropos before 335 and both Meidias of Anagyrous and his brother Thrasylochos made dedications there after Oropos came into Athenian hands in that year; the dedications do not form a pair, but it seems likely that one influenced the other.⁷⁹ That a dedication by one member of a family was

⁷⁷ Compare the dedications from Hermione, stretching over four generations, published by Jameson 1953. *IG* ii² 4651 does not give demotics or state relationships, but [Eu]kles Eukleidou appears on ii³ 4. 223, a list of demesmen prominent in Halai Aixonides (Table 29.21); ii² 5481 (*SEG* 13. 79), found on the Akropolis, may be another dedication by him. Eukles son of Lakles appears as a purchaser of land at Poros in SE Attika in ii² 1594. 20–1 (Lambert 1997*a*, F 7 A, 21–2; see also Whitehead 1986*a*, 431 no. 186, where ii² 4651 is omitted). If the Eukles son of Eukles of Halai who was ephebe probably in the 250s (archon Antiphon, *IG* i³ 986), and later proxenos of Delphi (*FD* III 2. 77), is a descendant, the family may have been Eumolpidai; the future hierophant Aristokles of Perithoidai was adopted into P. from this family (ch. 20 n. 116, Table 20.3; Habicht 1979, 152 n. 10; Clinton 1974, 24–7).

⁷⁸ Cf. Goette 1994*a*. See ch. 26 n. 97, Table 26.9, for the relationship. Waelkens 1982 regards them as cousins (FBS).

⁷⁹ Charias *IOrop* 341, *APF* 15339, ch. 30 n. 125; Meidias and Thrasylochos *IOrop* 335–6; cf. 361–3, thronos and pair of thrania dedicated by Meidias' son Kephisodoros *c.*322–304 (ch. 23 n. 54). *IG* ii² 3911 may be a Roman copy of another dedication by Thrasylochos (no provenance, Eleusinian stone). *IOrop* 375, set up *c.*300 by a son for his mother, is probably non-Athenian. There are also examples of repeated dedications to healing deities by a single individual: *IOrop* 325, 93 dedications to Amphiaraos by Kephalion (probably non-Athenian), late 3rd c.; Aleshire 1989 Inv. V 108, 111, 119, repeated

remembered by others, perhaps even serving as a focus for visits, is made clearer by cases in which sons add their names to monuments set up by their fathers (*CEG* 755, *IG* i³ 699, cf. Keesling 2005).

DEDICATIONS

Although at first sight Scrofani's 'dedication' at Delphi (above, n. 1) might remind one of ancient Greek dedications in which a circle of kin is recorded, there is an essential difference: the ancient texts document and perpetuate presence, whereas Scrofani's kin are present only in his memory. Indeed, the problem for an anthropological analysis of Greek dedications is that inscriptions may seriously under-represent the number of persons who took part in the ritual. Making a dedication was not a solitary activity (even if in some cases it followed a vow made privately in a moment of crisis); it was a ritual, including a sacrifice, a process of communication with both gods and humans. Herondas' fourth mime represents a minimum: a woman goes with one female companion and their slaves to make an offering to Asklepios, bringing a cock to sacrifice, and leaving a pinax recording her offering. Some of the small metal or textile offerings listed in sanctuary inventories may have been deposited without sacrifice (on the occasion of a public festival?), but the stone reliefs and inscriptions representing or recording dedications commemorate the performance of rituals; where an inscription was attached to a valuable offering (statue, tripod, vase, crown) the dedication surely also included a sacrifice.⁸⁰ This lack of clear distinction, in the case of statues, between the ritual of dedication and its commemoration is probably one reason why it is difficult—and indeed unnecessary—to decide whether an archaic *korē* represents the goddess, a servant in her sanctuary, or a specific girl on whose behalf the offering was made; the statue was a means of focusing all these ideas in a single presence, not (as Keesling 2003 tries to do) separating them.

The permanent remains of dedications (inscribed bases, reliefs, inventory lists⁸¹), as well as presenting the prosopographical problems noted above (at nn. 21–4),

dedications to Asklepios by Kallippos of Phaleron and his wife Mika; *IG* ii³ 1154. 58–78, nine dedications to the Hero Iatros by Kallistion in 221/0.

⁸⁰ Where the dedication commemorated victory in a tribal competition, it may sometimes have been set up when the dedicant feasted the team or players, or may have provided the occasion for a second feast. Aischraios of Anagyrous set up his tripod in the year after his victory (*FGH* 328 F 58, cf. *IG* ii³ 4. 460), but he had it silver-plated, and if he won at the Thargelia the interval until the beginning of the next archon year would only be two months. See P. Wilson 2000 for the process of dedication of choregic monuments; ch. 28 n. 44 on *IG* ii³ 4. 500.

⁸¹ Archaeologists also find many uninscribed dedications (see Wagner 2001 for vases as offerings on the Akropolis), but they are useless for the present inquiry. Statues often become separated from their

deliver only fragments of information torn from their context.⁸² An ancient visitor saw dedications against a cluttered background of older, larger or smaller, richer or poorer offerings, and in the light of memories of ritual occasions;⁸³ while an individual monument might attract attention as an artwork or as commemorating a famous figure, or a family member, a sanctuary's dedications also carried messages about the power and wealth of its deity or deities. A dedication was addressed to the god(s), and its material remains served as a memorial of that message, of gratitude for prayers answered or hope of future benefits.

Christoph Löhr's study of *Familienweihungen* (2000) divides the material into three classes: representations of kin, dedications made with kin, and dedications made on behalf of kin (either to fulfil vows or to plead for their safety). It is also useful, however, to classify dedications on a continuum ranging from more to less public statements, and by the occasions that prompted them.

Dedicated statues of kin usually commemorate the performance of public roles⁸⁴—ritual roles in the case of women and children, more frequently commemorated from the third century onwards. Normally a single individual is represented, though dedications by kin might be grouped together; this was also the case for dedications of tripods or crowns awarded for public service.⁸⁵

inscribed bases (Van Straten 1992); some evidence, however, is provided by texts and inventories. Note Fehr 1996*a* on dedication of temple components.

⁸² See Ma 2005 for the importance of spatial context; Hölscher 1988 on the grouping of dedications.

⁸³ Day 1994, 2010 suggests that a visitor who read an inscription aloud repeated the act of dedication; cf. Chaniotis 2012. Day does not, however, ask who took part in the dedication ritual.

⁸⁴ Statues of men were also set up by the state (recent discussions, Von den Hoff 2003, Gyax 2016; for proposal of decrees by kin see ch. 17 p. 527–33). Joint dedication by Konon and Timotheos, *IG* ii² 3774 + *SEG* 36. 246; ch. 32 n. 74. For dedications that seem to serve as substitutes for grave monuments see below at nn. 103–5.

⁸⁵ Plat. *Gorg.* 472a mentions a group of tripods dedicated by Nikias of Kydantidai and his brothers; cf. the references to a father's victory, and to a father's hopes that his children will also be victorious, in *IG* ii³ 4. 507, *CEG* 773 (Anagyrous, after 350; ch. 23 n. 53) and ii³ 4. 545. Base for set of 2 or 3 tripods, or one large one, *IG* ii³ 4. 446 (Matthaiou 1994, *SEG* 44. 129; ch. 26 n. 102). *IG* ii³ 4. 435 was part of a larger monument, the lost stone(s) perhaps dedicated by Atarbos' father (Appendix 3). See also *AD* 35 B 1, 1980 (1988) 14–18; Goette 2007*a* on *IG* ii³ 4. 466; Csapo 2010*a*. The dedications in the theatre of a homonymous grandfather (FF) and grandson, ii² 3830–1, may have stood together. *IG* ii³ 4. 231, two fragments of a stone that originally would have had at least 3 crowns at the bottom, is a dedication by Diognetos son of Hypsimos I of Hybadai and his son Hypsimos III, commemorating the award to them of crowns, one from fellow-tribesmen. Hypsimos III served as councillor *c.*333 (*SEG* 28. 52. 51), and as treasurer of the *Paralos* at about the same date (*APF* 13915, *IG* ii² 1623. 225f.). Such linked crown dedications are rare if not otherwise unknown; since we are in the Lykourgan period, perhaps both men had been involved with the ephebate. See also ch. 26 n. 63. Two dedications to Athena Ergane by brothers, found separately, may once have stood together (*IG* ii² 4329 + *Agora* XVIII V 579; the restoration Tei[sikle]s is dubious), as may *IG* ii² 4362–3 (n. 75, above, father and son to Asklepios). Paus. 1. 25. 1 notes that Perikles' statue on the Akropolis was *not* placed by that of his father. Cf. also Keesling 2005 on additions by kin to earlier dedications; *SEG* 23. 124 = *CEG* 755 (cf. n. 87); n. 91 below. List of Panathenaic victory dedications in Themelis 2007.

However, whereas a grave peribolos could act as a reserved space in which a series of monuments could be erected, it was not possible to privatize sanctuary space in this way.⁸⁶

Many dedications recorded more private forms of success, in economic enterprises or in fulfilment of a vow made in a moment of danger happily surmounted. Women as well as men made such dedications; kin might make them jointly if engaged in the same enterprise.⁸⁷

Some dedications on behalf of kin were made to fulfil vows made by men who had died, or by women; some associate children with a parent's offering. Others, however, were a response to illness. Women were expected to make dedications before marriage and after childbirth; many of these were textiles or small metal items, known only from inventories. Many small dedications (often, though not always, representations of afflicted body parts, cf. Versnel 1998) were made to healing deities. This is the most private type of offering, of interest only to those intimately concerned and, they hope, the god.

The number of Attic dedications from our period that can be identified as grouping a set of kin wider than the nuclear family is small, even smaller than that of comparable grave monuments.

If *IG* ii² 4881, dedicated by Diopeithes son of Strombichos of Euonymon, carried a statue of his uncle (FB) Strombichides I, a well-known general killed by the Thirty (as has generally been assumed since Koehler 1896, 151 suggested it), he may have made the dedication as the oldest surviving member of the lineage and as guardian of his cousins (FBS) Autokles I and Strombichides II, who certainly survived their father.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ See Van Straten 1992, Aleshire 1992, Lombardi 2009, for priests' control over the placing of offerings in sanctuaries (but the evidence, such as it is, concerns small objects kept under cover rather than stone monuments; cf. also *SEG* 48. 1198, Delos).

⁸⁷ E.g. *IG* ii² 4323 (*CEG* 762); *SEG* 23. 124 (*CEG* 755), *deina pathôn kai polla idôn*, c.350–300. *IG* ii² 4319 (*CEG* 760) might have been dedicated by Phaidimides son of Protarchos of Probalinthos when he was about to leave Attika for Samos as a kleruch, since he is now attested as councillor there c.350 (*IG* xii 6. 262 III 85); though if his father was the Protarchos of Probalinthos, who served as hellenotamias in 407/6, Ph. should have made the dedication (which indicates that he did not yet have children) by the 360s. Note that the dedicants of *SEG* 21. 752 could be husband and wife and not brother and sister. Dedication (now lost?) by brothers, *AE* 1934/5 Chr. 16 (Table 27.6A).

⁸⁸ *IG* ii² 4881 (*CEG* 746; for the family see Table 16.1 and *APF* 4386). The filiation of Strombichides II is uncertain. Statue of FB set up by BS after 266/5, *IG* ii² 3854 (Habicht 1982a, 189 ff.). *IG* ii² 3838 (*CEG* 780) was set up by a brother, Polystratos, to commemorate Polyillos son of Polyllides of Paiania. If, as seems likely in view of the rarity of the names (and the status of those involved), ii² 11630 = *CAT* 3. 343 (Getty Museum; Bergemann 1997 no. 508) commemorated Polyillos' granddaughter (SD), representing her with her parents, perhaps ii² 3838 should be dated while Polyillos' son Nikodemos was still a minor (or after his death). *IG* ii² 3841, in which brothers apparently dedicate their brother at Eleusis (*IEleus* 110) is hard to interpret.

Pausanias (10. 21. 5) reports that kin (*prosêkontes*) dedicated in the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in the Agora the shield of Kydias (presumably son of Kybernis, of Halimous) who died as a youth in his first experience of battle, fighting against the Gauls at Delphi in 279.⁸⁹

Family pride, perhaps in a local context, will also have motivated the replacement of a herm set up in the area of Chaidari (perhaps originally beside the Sacred Way, east of Daphne?) by the grandsons (*ekgonoi*) of the original dedicant Kallisthenes.⁹⁰ We also have some examples of local family pride in dedications by victorious co-choregoi who were kin.⁹¹

A woman's service as priestess of Aphrodite Pandemos was celebrated by an imposing dedication shared with her sister and sister's son, *IG ii² 4596*, a temple-like facade with their portraits. The absence of other kin may well indicate that the two women were (or had de facto become) epikleroi, the priestess's sister at least being presumably also a widow.⁹² We have as yet no analysis of the evidence

⁸⁹ Even though the name Kydias is attested in 6 demes (add Lamptrai, *IG xii 6. 252 I 19*, to the list in *LGPN*), it is very tempting to associate the Kydias who fell at Delphi with the Kybernis son of Kydias of Halimous who proposed Athens' decree welcoming the foundation of the Delphic *Sôtêria* commemorating the victory over the Gauls (*IG ii³ 1005*, archon Polyeuktos, dated 250/49 by M. J. Osborne 2009*b*; (the date of *FD III* (2) 159, granting proxeny to Kybernis, is still controversial: see Knoepfler 1995*a*; *CID IV* pp. 15–16). Since the Kydias who fell in 279 seems (*pace* Habicht 1995, 138) to have been too young to have sired a son, the proposer of *ii³ 1005* will be his father or, more probably, a younger kinsman posthumously adopted to Kydias and perhaps renamed (a Kybernis is attested as cavalryman *c.*250, Bugh 1988, cf. ch. 26 n. 22). *AD 44 B 49* = *SEMA 230*, a kioniskos for the wife of a Kybē[r]nis of Halimous, will have commemorated either Kydias' mother or the wife of the proposer.

⁹⁰ *IG i³ 1040, 460s?* cf. *i³ 964*, perhaps copying the dedication of a homonymous grandfather (FF; ch. 29 n. 58); *i³ 969 bis. IG ii³ 4. 583 (CEG 758)* refers to victories in the pankration at the Isthmian games by two sons of Empedion (of Cholleidai), Diophanes and his half-brother (*progonos*) Stephanos; the latter is now attested as a councillor after 307/6 (Appendix 1), *Agora XV 56* + *SEG 34. 127. 175*, confirming that *stephanos* is to be read as a name and not as *stephanous* (ch. 26 n. 56).

⁹¹ *IG ii³ 4. 502–3, 506*, Ikarion; on *ii³ 4. 498, 500* see ch. 28 n. 44; on 7195, a related tombstone, ch. 30 n. 17. Cf. *ii³ 4. 252*, dedication by a father and 2 sons all victorious as phylarchs in the anthippasia (*APF 3276*, Pharaklas 1969, Bugh 1988; chs. 16 n. 50; 21 p. [11] 00). On choregic dedications see now Goette 2007*a*, 2007*b*; above, n. 85. *IG ii² 3831–2*, bases dedicated by Astynomos son of Lysiades of Oion Kerameikon and a homonymous grandson, found in the same area of the theatre, may belong to this category (cf. Habicht 1982*b*).

⁹² *CEG 775*; on the monument see Beschi 1967–8, 521–6. The priestess's nephew (ZS) Archinos son of Alypetos of Skambonidai is now attested as councillor in the kleruchy on Samos *c.*350, *IG xii 6. 262 IV 127*, and should therefore have been born before *c.*380; he may have gone to Samos in 352 (Habicht and Hallof 1995). Since it is rather unlikely that his mother and her sister were both still alive in 321, when the kleruchs left Samos, he perhaps returned to Athens when his father died (cf. ch. 24 n. 7 on the return of Dionysios of Kollytos, *IG ii² 11169* = *CEG 593*; Humphreys 2010*a* n. 8). Archinos may also have stood to inherit the estate of his maternal grandfather Dexikrates of Ikarion; perhaps the dedication was an attempt to avert *phthonos*. *SEG 51. 215*, a base found in the Athens Metro excavations for Monastiraki station, held a statue of Chairippe daughter of Philophron (I) of Kephisia, priestess of Demeter and Kore, signed by Praxiteles and dedicated (presumably in the City Eleusinion) by her brothers Aristodemos II and Philophron II. Orphanou-Phlorake 2003 dates it *c.*360, but reconstruction of the family (ch. 23) would make a date *c.* 340 more likely. Pasquier and Martinez (2007, 49) say 'mid-century'.

of dedications for women's control over property. Xenokrateia, dedicant of *IG* i³ 987, whose son Xeniadēs was named after her father and probably adopted to him,⁹³ will have been an epikleros and widow. The two daughters of Eteokles of Aithalidai, who dedicated *IG* ii² 3458 to commemorate their father's agonothesia, probably did so when their brothers were out of Attika (Humphreys 2007; ch. 26 n. 65). The women who dedicated an *aparchē* or *dekatē* on the Akropolis from work profits will presumably have been widows.⁹⁴ However, some women who made vows or received divine messages had their dedications set up by male kurioi.⁹⁵

⁹³ *CEG* 744/320*b*, c.405–400 (Beschi 2002; see also R. Parker 2005*a*, 430 n. 49; Voutiras 2011; and A. Williams 2015). Xeniadēs belonged (or, since he is represented as a child, would belong) to his maternal grandfather's deme; although Xenokrateia might have married a member of her father's deme (as an epikleros, she could have been claimed by an agnate), the form of the statement seems to imply adoption by MF. Note also *IG* i³ 745 (*CEG* 228), dedication by Kynarbos to Athena on behalf of his two daughters and their (future?) descendants, *genea*; it seems likely that he had no sons (cf. ch. 26 n. 67 on possible later kin). The priestess of Artemis (in the city) who dedicated an altar to her on a rural estate, *IG* ii² 4573 = *CEG* 770, identified herself as 'mother of the children of Dionysios', so was probably a widow. The same may be true of Lysistrate, who dedicated ii² 4613 to Herakles on behalf of her children at the end of the 4th c. (though the relief shows 4 adults, with 3 children, and a victim; see Löhr 1996, no. 168). The daughters of Kleonothos who dedicated ii² 4565 to the nymphs in the first half of the 4th c. were perhaps still unmarried; but Archippe, who dedicated a statue of her homonymous daughter to Demeter and Kore c.350–325 (*Agora XXXI*, 189 no. 10), may have done so on her own because the relationship mirrored that of the goddesses. In ii² 4025 the restorations are dubious; probably the base held two statues, children dedicated by their [*patēr kai mē*]tēr or possibly parents dedicated by their [*thuga*]tēr (cf. Löhr 1996, no. 151). Dedications made by women at the end of the 5th c. are also of some interest. The gold olive-leaf crown (36½ dr.) dedicated to Athena by Aristomache daughter of Aristokles of Oe in or before 402/1 (*IG* ii² 1402 *add.*, cf. 1389, 1393, *SEG* 23. 82, Tréheux 1965) was presumably awarded to her father; possibly she was an epikleros who married an agnate and became the mother of Aristokles (II) son of Epainetos of Oe (ii² 6945*a*, p. 892; ch. 28 n. 75). Her mother Kallion perhaps made a dedication to Artemis Brauronia on the same occasion (ii² 1386 + 1381 *add.* 26, 1400. 42, 1401 + *SEG* 34. 116. 26). It is also possible that the Kleostrate daughter of Nikeratos who dedicated a silver thymiaterion of 1300 dr. in or before 405/4 (*IG* i³ 342. 6, cf. ii² 1381, 1384, 1388, 1393, 1400) was the daughter of N. of Kydantidai, killed by the Thirty. Her (?) brother Nikias II was still a minor in 404 (*APF* 10814, ch. 5 at section 'Age of marriage'). For possible examples of tombstones set up by women see ch. 11 n. 31 (dedication or tombstone, *SEG* 22. 173); for later, non-Attic evidence on women managing their own affairs see Van Bremen 1996.

⁹⁴ Melinna, who dedicated *IG* ii² 4334 (*CEG* 774, second half of 4th c.) to Athena Ergane, had raised her children by *tolmai dikaini* and hard work. While *aparchē* had associations with grain (*IG* i³ 78) and *dekatē* with the tithing of humans and perhaps flocks, there does not seem to be a significant pattern in their use on inscribed dedications (*dekatē* from a woman's land in i³ 800; both terms are rare outside the Akropolis; see now Patera 2012 s.v.; Jim 2014; 52–5). Indeed, the frequency of such dedications on the Akropolis in the late 6th and early 5th century may well be due to the involvement of artisans in a developing cash economy (and not to the 'democratic' ideas of Kleisthenes; see Keesling 2003 for discussion of that suggestion). Cf. *IG* i³ 1226 (510–500), *sēma* set up by children for father at mother's behest.

⁹⁵ E.g. *IG* ii² 4602; 4368 = *CEG* 772 (before 343/2).

Evidence on the composition of work-groups is more frequent in other sources (see ch. 6), but *IG ii² 4327* was dedicated to Athena Ergane in the middle of the fourth century by Autophilos of Phlya with his three sons and three grandsons who were sons of his daughters; very possibly his sons' sons were not yet old enough to work. The list of launderers (*pluneis*, men and women, free and slave) who dedicated *IG ii³ 4. 635* at the same period was headed by a father and son.

More private in character are the dedication by Kallias son of Demalkes of Skambonidai of statues of his adopted son Lysiphanes and the latter's mother,⁹⁶ and the dedication to Zeus Epiteleios Philios, his mother Philia, and his wife Agathe Tyche of a relief showing the deities by two women and a man whose relationships probably mirrored those of the gods.⁹⁷ Affection and the wish for good fortune are also expressed by dedications on behalf of the sick, but only a single example concerns a dedicant outside the nuclear family, a grandmother (*têthê*).⁹⁸

ORACLES AND DREAMS

We do not have oracle responses, dream books, or astrological handbooks for Attika, but evidence from other parts of the ancient world shows a similar concentration on the nuclear family. Much of our evidence for private consultation of oracles comes from men,⁹⁹ and their questions concern their own lives and those of their immediate family: 'Is the child my wife is bearing really mine?'; 'Will my son recover from sickness?' A father has concerns about his daughter's marriage; an Athenian visitor to the oracle of Zeus at Dodona (our main source of evidence on private consultations), Diognetos son of Aristomedes, asks how to ensure good fortune for himself, all his well-wishers, and his mother (whom he names). 'The children of Eurynos' ask if they will do better to move house. Men want to know how to get children. Questions of

⁹⁶ *IG ii² 3850*, early 3rd c.

⁹⁷ *IG ii² 4627*, 4th c. Dedication to Zeus Philios by two brothers, *SEG* 41. 173/ 44. 135 (cf. ch. 27 n. 86; the entry in *APF* 7865 needs revision).

⁹⁸ Aleshire Stele V 104 (*IG ii² 1534 B 229*), c.254/3; 3 *typoi* dedicated by Archestratos (2 dr.), his grandmother (4 dr.), and his mother (4 obols). See Stafford 2008 for reliefs showing family groups bringing offerings to Asklepios.

⁹⁹ Women's questions *FD III* (1) 560, end 4th c. (childlessness); Rowlandson 1998 no. 21 (*PSI* Congr. XVII 14, 2nd–1st c. BCE, health); no. 47 (*POxy* 8. 1149, 2nd c. CE, purchase of slave). From Dodona (Dakares, Vokotopoulou, and Christides 2013; cf. also Lhote 2006, Eidinow 2007) we have questions from husband and wife together (e.g. 313 A, 417 A?), and a scattering from women alone: 325 A, 'should I stay with my husband (*syμβιος*)?' (cf. 2552); 429 B, a widow (cf. 3320A); perhaps 395 A; 2762A (safety of husband); 2980, is husband dead, should wife and children *t[elein] ta nomima*; 3113A, about *panklaria toi kat<ε>gneitoio*, perhaps with reference to marriage of daughter. Slaves' questions, Eidinow 2012.

inheritance preoccupy others, and one consultant wants confirmation of his suspicion that Aristokles' female servant was kidnapped by Archonides, by Archonides' son, or by Archonides' or his wife's slave. We also have a query from Egypt, from the first century CE, from a married couple who want to know whether it is advisable (*beltion*) for them to oppose the husband's father.¹⁰⁰

The range of kin with which these questioners are concerned is narrow, and the same is true of the clients of dream interpreters and astrologers (Oberhelman 1997; Konstan 1997*b*, 169). Apparently only men are expected to seek professional interpretations of dreams about their kin, and they dream about their fathers and mothers, wives, children, and siblings, brothers more often than sisters; they may also dream of step-parents and stepchildren. Dreams of parents, children, and wives offer multiple possibilities of interpretation, depending on the details of the dream; the significance of dreaming that one sleeps with one's mother depends on the position.¹⁰¹ A brother in a dream may stand for the dreamer himself, but may equally stand for or be represented by an enemy, 'since a brother deprives a man of property he might otherwise have inherited' (cf. Konstan, 163). A daughter may stand for a sister. To dream of step-parents is bad, stepmothers being more sinister than stepfathers; *progonoi* (stepchildren, or possibly one's own children by earlier marriages) signify the return of old worries.¹⁰² The younger Pliny (*Letters* 1. 18) dreamed that his mother-in-law asked him not to take on a legal case; he did so nonetheless, and won.

The activities of the superstitious man, as portrayed by Theophrastos (*Characters* 16) centre on his household and nuclear family. When he goes each month to an Orphic specialist for purification he takes his wife or, if she is too busy, his children and their nurse. Some of these itinerant religious specialists went from house to house offering their services (Plato *Republic* 364b–365a).

These references suggest that Orphic specialists carried out their rites of initiation separately for each individual or household, and thus their clients did

¹⁰⁰ Diognetos (not in *LGP*N), Lhote 2006 no. 23; kidnapping, *SEG* 15. 385; Dakares a. o. no. 354 children of Eurynos. Hunt and Edgar 1932, 193 from Egypt (cf. Parsons 2007, 175). On questions and appeals to gods concerning theft see also *SEG* 19. 429; Versnel 1991, 1994; Konstan 1997, 162; Chaniotis 2004*a*, 2004*b*. Pugliese Carratelli 1957 may be a query about dividing the [*klaro*]*n* or [*oiko*]*n* (ch. 5 n. 81), cf. Dakares a. o. nos 45 B, 313 B, 328, *panklaria*; 2366B, should questioner do business with his ZH; 2564B, reference to B's death? 3142A to sharing with [*adel*]*phos*. One questioner perhaps asks if he should live with his *kasí*[*gnêté*]; but see *ZPE* 197, 127. Question from a slave, 3690B, cf. perhaps 3999B.

¹⁰¹ Astrologers discuss sex with mother, daughter, elder sister, mother's sister, brother's wife; for a woman, mother's husband, sister's husband (Konstan 1997, 165, 168; cf. Héritier 1994, 1995).

¹⁰² The topics of adoption and fosterage also figure in the astrological text analysed by Konstan, 1997. It is not clear whether *progonoi* in the dream oracle given to Aristichos at the Ptoion in Akraiphia (Guillon 1943, 109–14, 143–6) are stepsons or sons of an earlier marriage.

not meet together as a congregation (cf. Burkert 1982; 1985, 293–304; M. L. West 1983). Voluntary associations with a religious base do not normally seem to have formed round religious experts with the specialist knowledge required for carrying out initiations and purification rituals; the central rite of the *thiasos* was a sacrifice which could be performed by any member elected to priesthood.

TOMBSTONES AND DEDICATIONS

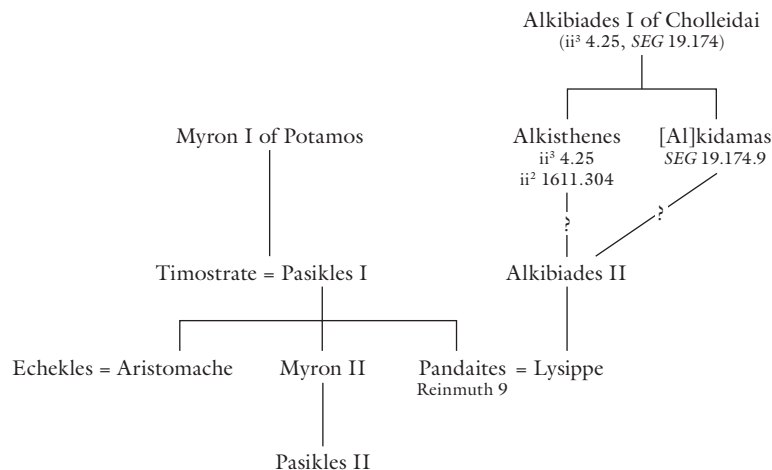
To see how far this restriction of interest to a narrow range of kin is typical for Greek antiquity we may turn to a series of selective comparisons, first with Attic tombstones of the late Archaic and Classical periods (further discussed in chs. 10–11), secondly with later Attic dedications, and finally with some examples from other parts of the Greek world.

Tombstones and dedications have much in common; indeed, one of the most extensive representations of a kin group as a dedication, *IG* ii² 3829, is apparently commemorative. It showed five figures (with a gap for a sixth, between the first two statues at the left): Pasikles (I) son of Myron (I) of Potamos and his wife Timostratē, with their son Myron II, a space probably for his brother Pandaites, their daughter Aristomachē, and Lysippe, probably the wife of Pandaites. The group was dedicated by Pandaites and by his nephew (and ward?) Pasikles II son of Myron II (Table 12.1). On this reconstruction Pandaites should have been added to the group when he died, its other members being already dead.¹⁰³ The monument may have been set up after the legislation of Demetrios of Phaleron limiting expenditure on tombstones. However, this law did not encourage a general fashion for familial commemorative dedications; on the whole, dedications in stone became rarer after the late fourth century.¹⁰⁴ In addition, *APF* 13519 suggests that the painted stele erected by Telesias of Probalinthos for his

¹⁰³ The proposography is controversial. *APF* 643 pointed out that if Lysippe (daughter of an Alkibiades of Cholleidai) was the sister of the Alkisthenes son of Alkibiades of Ch. who served as councillor in 370/69 (*IG* ii³ 4. 25), and as trierarch c.357 (*IG* ii² 1611. 304), she could not be the wife of the dedicant Pasikles, who was ephebe in 333/2/1 (Reinmuth 1971 no. 9), and is attested in the early 3rd c. as a comic playwright (*PCG* 7 p. 100). Löhr 1996 no. 161 follows *APF*. However, this calculation would also make Lysippe rather old as a bride for *APF*'s candidate Pandaites of Prospalta (father of Timostratē), unless he was her second husband (both would have been born c.400). It may be better to assume that Alkisthenes of Cholleidai or his brother Alkidamas (*SEG* 19. 174) had a son named after his grandfather, Alkibiades II, and that this was the father of Lysippe, who could then have been born c.340 (ch. 26 n. 55). See also Keesling 2007. On the career of Sthennis, who made the figures of Lysippe and Myron II, see Habicht 1998.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. R. Parker 1996, 271. Demetrios' legislation may have prompted some sculptors to leave Attika; sculpted dedications are also relatively rare c.480–430, when there were almost no sculpted tomb monuments (cf. Van Straten 1993). On Hellenistic, non-Attic dedication of statues of dead kin according to instructions in their wills see Van Bremen 1996, 178–9.

TABLE 12.1. Myron
of Potamos, *IG* ii²
3829, *APF* 643
(revised)



daughter Alkippe, *IG* ii² 4914, may fall into this category; the monument set up by Polystratos of Paiania for his brother Polylllos, on the Akropolis, is explicitly called ‘an eternal remembrance of a mortal body’ (*IG* ii² 3838, *CEG* 780), and that set up by [Ape]mon of Anagyrous on Salamis for his father (*IG* ii² 3830, *CEG* 767, *APF* 10898) was probably also commemorative. Philippides I of Paiania may have been dead when his son Philomelos II set up statues of his father and himself (*IG* ii² 3823, *APF* 14670); the statues of [Kon]on son of Kephisodotos of Aithalidai and his (?) father may also have been posthumously dedicated.¹⁰⁵

The family of Philippides was to become distinguished in public life, as far as we know, only with the career of his grandson Philippides II, although Philomelos II was clearly a rich man. We may end this discussion of the dedications of the fourth century with a text which exemplifies the problems of interpretation which these dedications pose, and the difficulty of drawing a firm line between public and private concerns. *IG* ii² 4611, of the late fourth century, is plausibly restored as a dedication to Herakles by a father and two sons:

[Straton Str]atokleos Lak
[anethe]ken Heraklei. Theodo-
[tos Stratonos.] Kleophon Stratonos.¹⁰⁶

One of the generals at the battle of Chaironeia was a Stratokles, perhaps of Lakiadai (*AO* 343, with *Agora* XVII 25). Was this text set up by his sons and grandsons? If so, how much did their descent from one of the Chaironeia

¹⁰⁵ See also Keesling 2004 on *IG* i³ 883–4; *IG* ii² 3828, perhaps dedicated by Konon’s brother Apolexis, when he inherited (‘once part of a large base’, Hurwit 1999, 293–4); cf. n. 92 above on dedications intended to avert *phthonos*. On the prosopography see Table 26.4.

¹⁰⁶ Straton II, son of Kleophon, was one of the councillors from Lakiadai in 303/2, *Agora* XV 62. 190.

commanders mean to them and to their contemporaries? In the days of radical democracy, descendants of the great families of the Athenian aristocracy had to reshape their family history to conform to the discourse of the polis (R. Thomas 1989); after Chaironeia this discourse itself began to serve as the legitimating ideology of a new aristocracy.

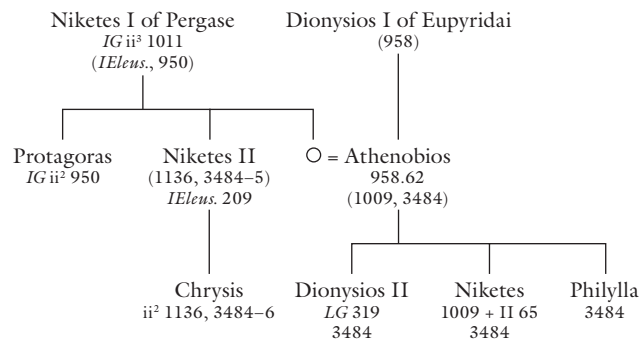
It may be an accident of the preservation of evidence, which comes only from literary sources, that our only references to the dedication of painted portraits are also commemorative. A *pinax* by Ismenias of Chalkis in the Erechtheion represented the statesman Lykourgos and his sons, with their forebears Lykomedes and Lykophron and their remote ancestors Erechtheus, Hephaistos, and Ge; a painting in the sanctuary of Zeus and Athena in Peiraios depicted Leosthenes son of Leosthenes of Kephale, hero of the Lamian War of 323/2, with his sons (*paides*). Both of these family portraits were probably dedicated soon after the restoration of democracy in 307.¹⁰⁷ One would like to know whether there were precedents for these family portraits, and whether the fashion continued. When dedications again became more frequent, it remained very rare for any large group of kin to be concerned in a dedication.¹⁰⁸

Two later developments in Athens seem particularly worth noticing. The first, continuing a trend which has its beginnings in the fourth century, is the frequent dedication of statues of children to commemorate their performance of the ritual roles of *kanêphoros* and *arrhêphoros* (girls), *pais aph' bestias* (boys, and girls also from the second century BCE), or *kleidouchos* (boys). These statues are of course most frequently set up by parents, but we find a few dedications also by grandparents (perhaps acting as guardians), and one in which the mother's two sisters join her in honouring their niece.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Lykourgos, [Plut.] *Mor.* 843e in the text of J. Mau 1971; cf. Humphreys 2004, 102 n. 61; Appendix 4. In my view *katagôgê tou genous* does not necessarily imply a full genealogy, and Paus. 1. 26. 5, 'paintings on the wall, of the genos Boutadai', probably refers to Ismenias' picture (Löhr 1996, no. 167, and Von den Hoff 2008, 180, imagine a row of portraits of priests). Paus. 1. 1. 2 says that Themistokles' sons, when they returned, dedicated a painting in the Parthenon that included their father. Leosthenes: Paus. 1. 1. 3, *APF* 9142. The discovery of a dedication to Athena by Philoumene daughter of Leosthenes of Kephale commissioned from Kephisodotos in the middle of the 4th c. (*SEG* 44. 136, Matthaiou 1994) makes it rather unlikely that her father was the general Leosthenes condemned for treason in 361, whose property was confiscated (cf. Humphreys 2009, n. 9; ch. 16 at section 'Akamantis'; ch. 27 n. 55).

¹⁰⁸ The narrow range of dedicating groups in Athens, in contrast to Rhodes, is noted in Fraser 1977, 58; Rhodian dedications have now been studied by Rice, 1986 (see also Bresson 1991). Even in a milieu as close to Athens as Hellenistic Delos we find Athenian texts associating six or even nine kin as dedicants (*ID* 1871, 1891, 2226), and a mixture of vows for kin with those for public bodies and officials which is not found in Attic texts (cf. Vial 1984, 304).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. n. 18 above; Von den Hoff 2008. *IG* ii 3480 set up by MF and MM for a female *pais aph' bestias*, 2nd c.; *IEleus* 238 by mother and her sisters for *pais aph' bestias*, 2nd c.; *IG* ii² 3492, by FF and FM for a female *pais*, 1st c. Mansfield 1985, 296–301 has a list of arrhêphoros dedications, with discussion of the dedicants (see also Choreme 2009, Pilz 2013). *IG* ii² 3496 was probably dedicated by the girl's MF,



Notes: Protogoras, the leading donor in the epidosis of (?) c.210 (Tracy 1990, 57 with 262), had a younger brother whose name is lost, *IG ii² 2333a 1–3*, possibly Chrysis' father (but the chronology of this family needs more work; cf. Karile-Cohen 2012).

Pace LGPN Niketes 26, Protogoras 4, we have no evidence that Chrysis' father was a son of Protogoras.

TABLE 12.2. Niketes of Pergase, *IG ii² 3484*

In these monuments children are publicly honoured for playing a ritual role in the public sphere. The same phenomenon is found in the portrayal of women: statues are set up to commemorate their service as priestesses, or their priestly status is highlighted in a dedication with which they are associated. In *IG ii² 3484* two brothers who themselves had been *Pythioi paides* as children set up, with their sister, a statue of their cousin (MBD?) Chrysis, priestess of Athena Polias (Table 12.2).¹¹⁰

The second interesting innovation in Attic dedications of the Hellenistic and Roman periods is the upper-class practice of tracing the honorand's descent from famous figures of past history; here too several of the most elaborate texts commemorate women. *IG ii² 3474 + 4283* was set up in the late third or early second century for another priestess of Athena Polias, Phil(o)tera, daughter of Pausimachos (Humphreys 2007; *SEG* 57.45); it celebrates her father's military achievements, the restoration of the Piraeus to Athens in 229 by her ancestor Diogenes, and her descent from the orator Lykourgos (Table 12.3).

Lykourgos' descendants also allied themselves with the powerful family of Medeios of Peiraios and, at the end of the first century BCE, with a family from Hagnous that traced its descent from Themistokles and had married into one of the leading families of the Kerykes, that of Leontios of Acharnai (*IEleus* 300–1).

since her father's demotic is given; the MF may be Hippon[ikos of Phlya]. The statue of Habryllis daughter of Mikion of Kephisia, priestess of Demeter and Kore (*Agora XXXI* no. 75; Themis 2009a, *SEG* 56.235), was probably dedicated by her father, brother, and husband (ch. 20 n. 141).

¹¹⁰ Cf. Humphreys 2007. *IG ii² 3902*, of the end of the 1st c. BCE, *may* be a dedication by grandchildren to honour their *pappos* which refers to the priestesshood of the grandmother (*tēthē*), but it is very fragmentary.

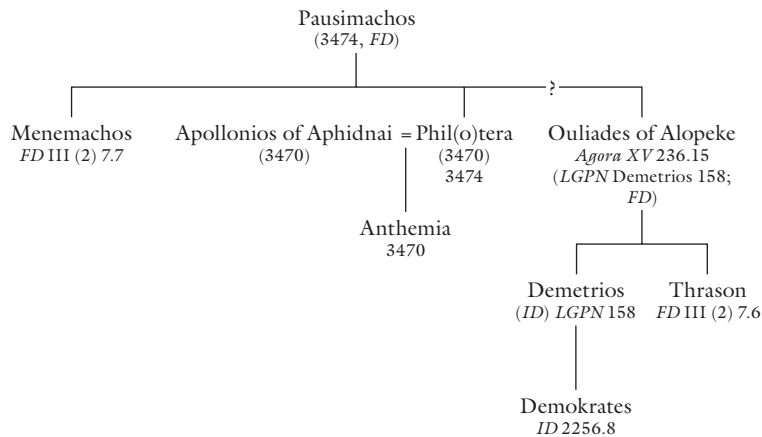


TABLE 12.3. Philoterai (Humphreys 2007/SEG 57.45)

Pausanias (1. 37. 1) tells us that Akestion, the woman whose marriage made this latter connection, was buried close to the tomb of Themistokles son of Poliarchos, grandson of the great Themistokles, and to the tombs of other members of the family, about which Pausanias regrettably chose not to inform us;¹¹¹ Akestion's monument carried the information that she was descended from three generations of holders of the office of daidouch (Torchbearer) at Eleusis and lived to see her brother, husband, and son hold the same office (cf. Schmalz 2009).

Another genealogical inscription commemorates the service as *pais aph' hestias* of Tiberius Claudius Demonstratos in the second half of the first century CE.¹¹² Titus Flavius Glaukos III of Marathon, in the third century, made a practice of composing poems for inscriptions honouring his kin (J. H. Oliver 1949; Follet 1976, 262–7); those that survive were written for his niece (BD) Euneike II, his grandmother (MM) Isidote, *hierophantis* at Eleusis, his uncle (FB) T. Flavius Glaukos II, hierophant, and for a monument set up by his aunt (FZ) Flavia Euryale for her husband, who also held office as hierophant. The poet also honoured a young cousin (FMBSS?), Q. Statius Themistokles, for his service as kleidouchos, this time in prose. The poem for Euneike II (IG ii² 3709) names her parents, her grandparents (FF, FM), her great-grandmother (FMM) Isidote, and a still more remote ancestor (FMMFF), the 'Assyrian' sophist Isaеus. It also

¹¹¹ The name should be Archeptolis if Pausanias' information was correct; APF 6669 VI suggests Polyektos, but since the elements of Greek names were still semantically 'live', the substitution of Poliarchos for Archeptolis would be an easy slip to make.

¹¹² Kapetanopoulos 1964, Schmalz 2009. This Demonstratos appears also as an ancestor of the hierophant whose genealogy is recorded, in a somewhat more technical format than that of earlier texts, in IG ii² 2342 (4th c. CE); see Woloch 1973, 181; Kapetanopoulos 1968 stemma C; Follet 1976, 273; Byrne 2003. Another example, Clinton 2004 (SEG 54. 307). IG xii 6. 310, a Samian claiming descent from Alkibiades (2nd c. CE).

mentions her illustrious cousins (*anepsiadoi*), perhaps the children of her FFBS Flavius Dryantianos. The poem for Isidote (*IG ii² 3632*) was part of a monument set up by her daughter and grandsons (DS), of whom the poet was one. The text for Q. Staius Themistokles (*IG ii² 3704*) mentions that he and the poet had a common great-grandfather, Q. Staius Sarapion, and alludes to a nearby monument set up by Sarapion to commemorate *his* grandfather (FF; *IG ii² 3631*; cf. *Agora XVIII C 187*, M. J. Osborne 2010*b*, 2013; Karila-Cohen 2007, 378–9). The statue of Aelia Epilampsis, priestess of Demeter and Kore c.160–170 CE, set up by her grandchildren (SS, SD; *IG ii² 3687*), lists the offices held by her grandfather (FF), uncle (FB), cousins (FBS), son, and grandson (Byrne 2003 stemma I).

KIN REPRESENTED AS GROUP

The harvest of evidence on kinship from Attic dedications and their inscriptions is a modest one in comparison with that provided by other Greek cities, and the wealth of material from the Greek world generally increases in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Two well-known monuments from other parts of Greece, which neatly bracket our period—the Geneleos group of c.560 from Samos and the Daochos monument of (?) the 330s at Delphi, set up by a Pharsalian—serve to indicate the wider range of archaic and classical evidence that is missing from the Attic corpus. The group sculpted by Geneleos and dedicated in the sanctuary of Hera on Samos, read from right to left, consisted of a reclining man, three standing girls, the two last being named Philippe and Ornithe, a standing boy, and a seated woman, Phileia—father, daughters, son, mother?¹¹³ The monument set up by Daochos II of Pharsalos at Delphi contained nine standing male figures. Reading from right to left again, they are: ? Apollo, Aknonios son of Aparos, his son Agias, Agias’ brother Telemachos, a third brother (or cousin?) Agelaos, Agias’ son Daochos I, his son Sisypchos I, his son Daochos II, and his son Sisypchos II. Aknonios had ruled as ‘tetrarch of the Thessalians’ in the early fifth century; the three athletes would have won their victories about the middle of the century; Daochos I is thought to have ruled Thessaly from 431–404; Daochos II came to power in the 330s as a supporter of Philip. His monument may have

¹¹³ Geneleos group (550s?) *IG xii 6. 559*; Walter-Karydi 1985; Löhr 1996, 2000; Steuben 1999*b*; Duploux 2006; Giannisi 2006, 21–3. The second line of the inscription reads from right to left, the first line is illegible. Possibly the statue group commemorates ritual performances by its younger members; we cannot be sure that it represents a family. There were other groups of figures at Samos (*LSAG* 328–9, nos. 4, 7; Lazzarini 1976, 727–8) and at Miletos (*LSAG* 332, Lazzarini 168), but relationships cannot be reconstructed. At least 10 seated figures, both male and female, were set up c.530–525, in a temenos in a prominent position beside the road from Miletos to Didyma, and were destroyed during the first half of the 5th c. (Tuchelt a. o. 1996; Duploux 2006).

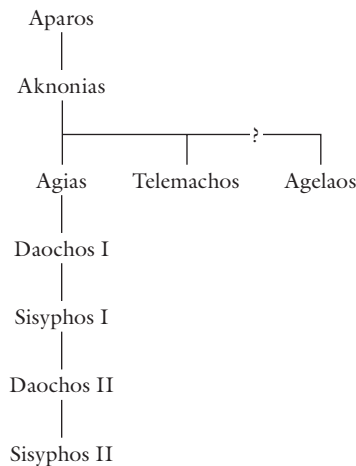


TABLE 12.4. Daochos

been inspired by the Philippeion constructed by Alexander at Olympia to honour his parents, although that group included only Philip's parents Amyntas and Eurydike, Philip and his wife Olympias, and Alexander (Pausanias 5. 20. 9);¹¹⁴ Preuner (1900) also compares the Mausoleum, and the Nereid monument at Xanthos. The length of the six-generation pedigree in the Daochos monument is impressive, but it is also noteworthy that it spreads to include collateral lines only to record the athletic victories of Daochos I's uncles. The athletes' descendants, if any, were not included in or associated with the monument (Table 12.4).

Larger groups of sculptures of kin were favoured in the Hellenistic period especially by royal families (Hintzen-Bohlen 1990); a much more widespread fashion, in some areas, was to list a sometimes extensive group of kin as co-dedicants. For example, in Rhodes a man was honoured in the second century by his parents, mother's brother and the latter's son, brother's wife and two nephews (BS?), four patrilateral first cousins, and three patrilateral first cousins once removed (probably agnatic: Rice 1986, *IG* xii 1. 72b). On the Rhodian *peraia* c.110–81 the dedicants were parents, brothers, mother's brother, and a sister's daughter who had married her MB (Bresson 1991, no. 9). On Delos, in the second century, another (Delian) man is honoured by his mother, three nephews, and two cousins (FBS?; *ID* = *IG* xi 4. 1181). On Kos, a priestess was honoured c.190–160 by her husband, son with his wife, (perhaps his FBD) and son, and daughter with another

¹¹⁴ Cf. Hintzen-Bohlen 1990. Daochos group (possibly earlier than the Philippeion, though dated c.287–277 by Geominy 1998, 2007; see also Löhr 2000, 139): Jacquemin a. o. 2012 no. 48. Agelaos is described as *syngonos* of Agelaos and Telemachos: either a brother or possibly a more distant kinsman (FBS?).

grandson, probably DS (Höghammar 1993, no. 65; cf. also *IG* xii 4. 449). It is notable in these cases that women appear among the co-dedicants even when their husbands are alive.

In considering the relations between kinship and identity in this field of 'religious' action, the interesting questions for further research seem to concern (1) the decreasing importance over time of homosocial groupings, (2) the connection between stratification systems and interest in proclaiming kinship ties, and (3) whether the spread of 'voluntary' religious associations indicates a trend towards henotheism and, possibly, towards some blurring of the distinction between kinship ties and membership of a religious community, at least in the lower social strata (and thus an anticipation of patterns found in early Christianity).

For Athens, in the period studied here, there does seem to be a development away from homosocial groupings, starting already in the Peloponnesian War, and perhaps associated with a more urban environment. Esoteric rituals become 'mysteries' rather than being restricted to one gender. Reliance on epigraphic evidence for prosopographical data makes it more difficult to assess either the extent of any drift towards henotheism or the relation between stratification and display of kinship ties; the development of the use of writing as a means of conveying information had its own dynamics and patterns of distribution. As I have noted, kin may well have participated in dedication rites even when their presence was not recorded on stone. The trend in the Hellenistic period (and later) towards recording a wider range of kin on dedications may well be associated with the increased presence of women and children among honorands and dedicants; this implies some weakening of the distinction between public and private spheres, which in itself may be related to steeper social stratification.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ See the discussion in Van Bremen 1996, especially 173–80.

PART THREE

Politics, Informal

Young Men's Social Groupings

Male adolescence in Athens was, as we have already seen, a long period, lasting from puberty to the early thirties. Citizenship was acquired (from 507) at 18, with deme membership, and this gave a young man the right to attend the Assembly, to vote, and to defend his interests in court, together with the obligation to serve in the army.¹ He could perhaps hold minor military offices. But he could not stand for election to major military or political office, or serve as a councillor, until he was thirty. Young men were not expected to speak in the Assembly; according to Xenophon (*Memorabilia* 3. 6. 1) Plato's brother Glaukon, who rose to speak when not yet twenty, was mocked by the audience and forcibly silenced.

Fathers in the late fifth century may have liked to believe that they had spent their adolescence docilely sitting at the feet of older kin, internalizing traditional ideals, and imbibing political wisdom (Plato *Laches* 179a–e). That was hardly true; young men had been gathering in gymnasia at least since the time of the tyrants, and in the archaic period they had probably spent much of their twenties voyaging in search of booty, trade goods, victory in the Panhellenic games, or wives from leading families in other cities, their aims and trophies varying with their social status. Archaic Greek society seems to have had quite a sharp sense of distinction between age-classes. But new features were indeed introduced during the fifth century. Symposia, in which the city's leaders had once drunk while young adolescents waited at table, became increasingly the preserve of the young;² they would meet in the house of a rich contemporary whose father had died and left him in possession of his inheritance (below, n. 35), or of an older man who still clung to a bachelor style of life. Professional teachers came to Athens to offer training in athletics, hoplite fighting, rhetoric, and politics. Sons were less dependent on their fathers economically, being paid for military service; those

¹ The period between 18 and 20 (earlier, 16–18) was more formally liminal: see ch. 19 n. 37. The view of Kleijwegt 1991 that Greek and Roman society lacked adolescence is very strange. On terms for age categories see J. Davidson 2006.

² Symposiasts usually seem to be bearded on BF vases, and get younger with the development of RF; the chronology of this shift, which was of course gradual, while the evidence is affected by the preferences of individual painters, needs more detailed study. Bearded revellers in the late 6th c., Kurtz and Boardman 1986; see also Lissarrague 1987, M. C. Miller 1999.

with political ambitions were conscious that they lived in a rapidly changing world, and easily lost their awe of the older generation.

The adolescents of late fifth century Athens were the first student society documented in historical record: testing themselves in sport and drinking competitions, getting their first experience of sex and of romantic love, resentful of parental authority, easily captivated by new ideas that challenged conventional norms and beliefs. Their specific cultural heritage included the implicit assumption that society would tolerate some deviant behaviour from them, indeed almost expected them to play at role-reversal in permitted contexts; well-established conventions of homosexual courting and romantic love (D. Cohen 1991); and a complex of ideals and behavioural patterns clustered round the term *hetairos*, which is hard to translate adequately in English.

Hetairos in Homer is used in two ways: reciprocally between equals, and hierarchically to denote the nameless followers of a leading warrior. It is, however, a rather euphemistic term for the relation between leader and followers—*laos*, an alternative, puts the rank and file more clearly at a lower level—and thus seems to have had some egalitarian overtones from early times. These had become stronger by the fifth century; and aristocratic resistance to tyranny in the sixth century had added to the context of adventure in war and voyages familiar from the Homeric poems a new use for the term in internal politics. An oppressive government could be overthrown by the daring and loyalty of *hetairoi*.³

A parallel note of defiance is struck in the use of the feminine form of the word, *hetaira*, for the women who shared the couches of the *hetairoi* at symposia instead of leading the sheltered life prescribed for the wives and daughters of citizens. Parties in their company were very different from those family dinners that young men found so boring; *hetairai* shared their lovers' enthusiasms and urged them on to further extravagances instead of preaching caution or reminding them of future responsibilities (cf. Kurke 1999).

It is, I think, against this rather frivolously rebellious, romantic background that we must see the practice of oath taking between *hetairoi*. It was widely believed by the early fourth century, and probably earlier, that groups of young men made a practice of breaking religious and other taboos, either as a pledge of their daring and loyalty to the group (cf. Thucydides 3. 82. 6), or more generally because group drinking led them to throw off traditional restraints. Lysias (F. LXXXV/195 Carey 2007, V Gernet/Bizos 1926, 53 Thalheim 1913) alleged that the dithyrambic poet Kinesias, frequently attacked as a passive homosexual by comic poets, belonged to a club whose members called themselves the

³ On the use of *hetairoi* in war see now Van Wees 2004, 95–7. They could also be involved in attempts to set up tyranny: Hdt. 5. 71. 1 reports that Kylon was aided by a *hetaireia* of age-mates (*hēlikiotai*). Thuc. 1. 126. 10 mentions his brother. See also P. J. Rhodes 1986; Milani 1995.

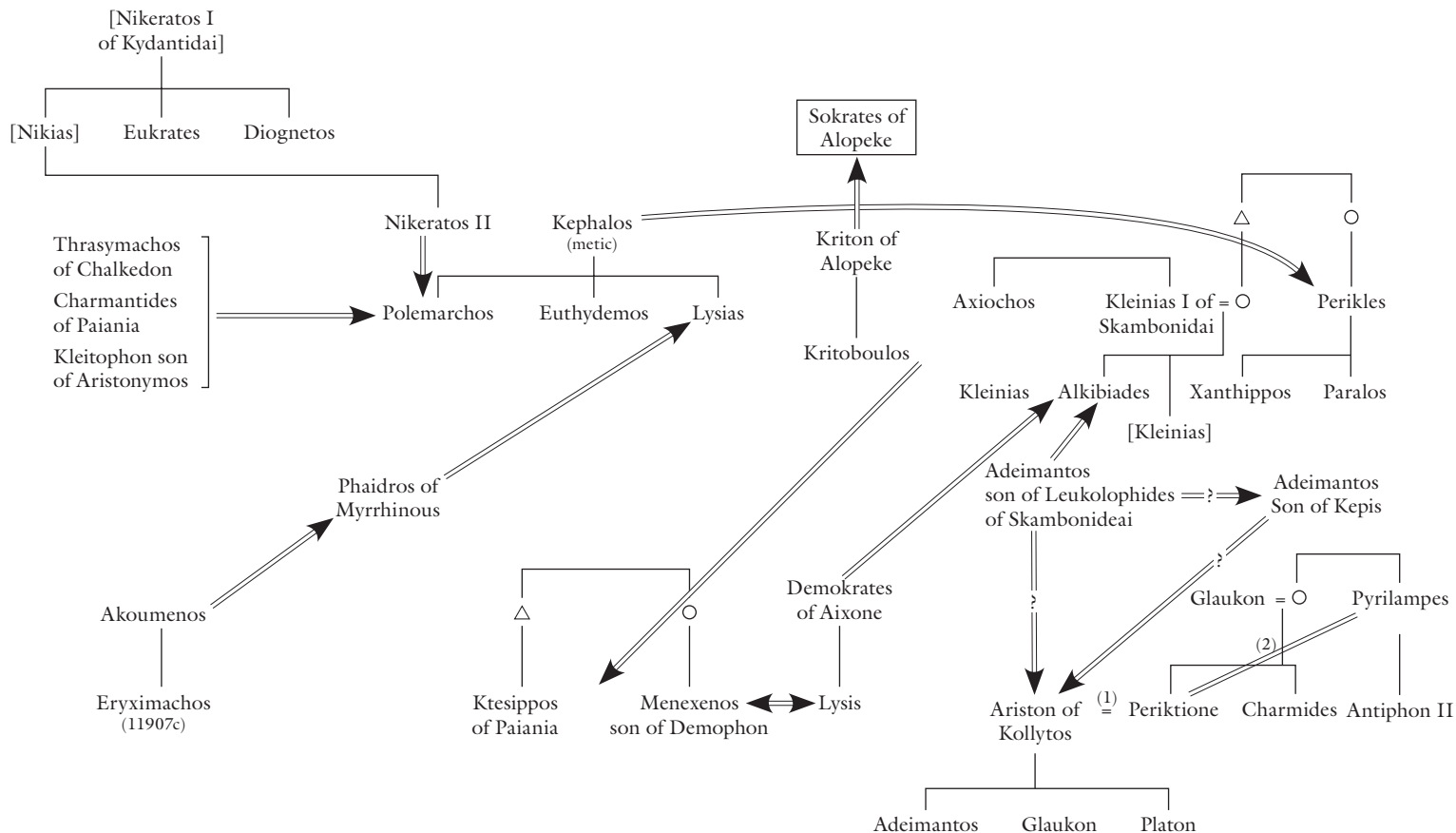
Kakodaimonistai, worshippers of ill luck; they held their symposia on unlucky days. The speaker of Demosthenes 54 claims that his opponent Konon used to hold 'ithyphallic' mock initiations with his sons, and as a young man in the 380s or 370s had belonged to a club called the Triballoi 'Bongo-Bongo', whose members feasted on offerings to the underworld goddess Hekate and on the pigs' testicles used in purification rites. Such stories lost nothing in the telling, but may well have had a real basis in initiatory ordeals imposed on new members of drinking clubs; oaths may also have been exacted.⁴ In 424, when Kleon in Aristophanes' *Knights* sees the chorus of young cavalymen, he shouts in alarm, '*Synômotai!*' (oath-brothers, line 452), and calls on the audience for help.

As class antagonisms sharpened, during the period of the Peloponnesian War, and rationalist criticism of traditional religious and political practices and beliefs became fashionable among the sophists' pupils, membership of some symposion groups will have begun to take on distinctive ideological colourings. Instead of being an agreeable milieu in which to pass the time until one was old enough to play an active part in political life, the symposion became a setting in which a young man could develop a new, unconventional or revolutionary identity, supported by a like-minded peer group.

We should therefore like to know how radical a change of companions was involved: to what extent hetairoi were recruited through pre-existing ties of kinship and alliance between families, and whether ties forged at this stage of life were carried forward into later years. The evidence is of course scantier than one would wish, but we do have two unusually detailed sources for the constitution of adolescent groups in the late fifth century: Plato's portraits of Athenian society in the introductions to the Socratic dialogues, and Andokides' account of the indictment of upper-class groups in 415 for acts of impiety.

Table 13.1 represents some of the attested ties of kinship, friendship, and love between members of Sokrates' circle. The opening scene of Plato's *Republic*, as we saw in ch. 12, brings Sokrates to the house of the metic Kephalos. The others present are Kephalos' sons, Plato's two older brothers Adeimantos and Glaukon, Nikeratos son of the general Nikias of Kydantidai, Kleitophon son of Aristonymos, who was later to be involved in the oligarchic proposals for constitutional reform in 411 (*A.P.* 29. 3), Charmantides of Paiania (*APF* 15502), and Thrasymachos of Chalkedon. Apart from the older Kephalos, all seem to be age-mates and friends. Kephalos, who had come to Athens from Syracuse, is said to have been encouraged by Perikles to settle in the city (Lysias 12. 4, [Plutarch] *Moralia* 835c).

⁴ N. F. Jones 1999, 223–7. Dem. 54. 16–17, 39; cf. Andok. 1. 67, *HCT* IV 286; Hornblower 2008, 368–9; Ar. *Lys.* 181–239; Todd 2000 on Lys. F 4. The Triballoi were Thracians, the stock barbarians of comedy (cf. Ar. *Birds* 1572ff.; *CAH* 2nd ed. VI 463, Archibald, 1994). Hekate's suppers: K. F. Smith 1913; Kraus 1960; S. I. Johnston 1991; Versnel 2011, 365–6. On *autolekythoi* (Dem. 54. 14) see Henderson 1972. For comparable rituals in 18th c. clubs see Humphreys 2004, 204.



Notes: Simple lines = kinship, double lines = friendship. This table is based partly on Dover 1968, 52.

In constructing the relationships between Perikles and Alkibiades I have followed W. Thompson 1970c; for *APF*'s view see ch. 14 n. 43.

The links between the three men called Adeimantos are very conjectural, since the name is fairly common (note also *POxy* 664).

TABLE 13.1. Platonic Society

Plato's *Phaidros* represents Phaidros of Myrrhinous (*APF* 5951) as a friend of both Sokrates and of Lysias, Kephalos' youngest son, who had left Athens at fifteen after his father's death and returned in 412/11. Lysias tried out his speeches on Phaidros and lent him his manuscripts (*Phaidros* 228a–b); Phaidros, who had been condemned in 415 for parodying the Eleusinian Mysteries, was probably about ten years older than the young orator and considerably poorer, but represented a link with an earlier, more exciting period of Athenian intellectual life which Lysias had missed. Phaidros' relationship with Lysias may have combined the roles of *erastes* and *client*.⁵ Plato's parody of Lysias' style may suggest that he too had known the orator well in the final years of the war, as one might expect from the friendship between their older brothers. After 404 their paths diverged.

Sokrates' friendship with Alkibiades was well known; after Alkibiades had come to be blamed for Athens' defeat in war, Sokratic writers liked to present the relationship as one in which the initiative came from Alkibiades' side, as Plato does in the *Symposion*, but the fact of frequent association remains. The affair of the profanation of the Mysteries, which will be discussed further below at section 'The scandals of 415', linked Phaidros with Alkibiades and his uncle (FB) Axiochos, with Nikeratos' young uncle Eukrates of Kydantidai,⁶ and with Adeimantos son of Leukolophides of Skambonidai, a friend and fellow-demesman of Alkibiades. This Adeimantos appears in *Protagoras* 315e with a homonym, Adeimantos son of Kepis; there may conceivably have been some connection between their families, and between either or both of them and the family of Plato, whose oldest brother was called Adeimantos, but the name occurs in four other demes in the classical period (e.g. *APF* 5949). Phaidros was also closely associated with the young doctor Eryximachos (*Protagoras* 315c, *Symposion* 176d, *Phaidros* 268a–f); in *Phaidros* 227a Eryximachos' father Akoumenos, also a doctor, who was accused of parodying the Mysteries in 415, is said to be a *betairos* of Phaidros and Sokrates.⁷

⁵ The dramatic date of the *Phaidros* is problematic. Dover's suggestion of 418–416 (1968a, 32–43; followed by Nails 2002) requires us to disregard not only the archon date 412/11 for Lysias' return in D. H. *Lys.* 1, but also the statement that he returned after the Athenian defeat in Sicily, which might have come into an *Atthis* from a Lysian speech. Conceivably Phaidros had risked returning to Athens in 411 (cf. Andok. 2. 10–13) or 410. At some point, perhaps only after 404, Phaidros' kin provided him with a wife who brought a dowry of 4000 dr. (*Lys.* 19. 15); he may also have recovered some of the property recorded on *IG* i³ 426. 102–5 as leased. His wife's family evidently moved in philosophical circles; her sister married Philemos of Paiania (*APF* 14670), whose father Philippides appears as a follower of Protagoras in *Protag.* 315a, and Lysias 19 was written for her brother. Nails' entry on Lysias is inaccurate.

⁶ Eukrates' brother Diognetos may also have been accused; it is unclear whether his exile (*Lys.* 18. 9) was due to this or to association with the oligarchy of 411 (Table 13.2).

⁷ On Plato's use of the term *betairos* see Sartori 1958; on doctors' families, ch. 6.

Table 13.1 also shows that Athenians joined social and philosophical groupings as individuals, and that their decisions to do so might introduce cleavages within families rather than strengthening ascriptive ties. Nikias was a political opponent of Alkibiades, and in Plato's *Laches* is presented as being only distantly acquainted with Sokrates; he did not move in the same circles as his son and his younger brother.⁸

Nikias' detachment was no doubt largely a question of age and political commitments. A paterfamilias, especially one engaged in a serious political career, was not expected to pass his time in the company of adolescents. Instead, he would attend the dinners for 'generals, hipparchs and candidates for office' mentioned in Xenophon's *Symposion* (1. 4). In the *Republic* the elderly Kephalos retires rapidly from the scene after he has seen to the entertainment of his sons' guests. Nevertheless, there were some older men in Sokrates' circle. Kriton appears in the *Phaedo* and *Apology* with his son Kritoboulos; he is an age-mate and fellow-demesman of Sokrates, and seems to have supported him financially;⁹ a rich quietist (L. B. Carter 1986) whose hangers-on included not only Sokrates but also the sycophant and demagogue Archedemos 'the blear-eyed' (Xenophon *Memorabilia* 2. 9). The rose-coloured portrait of Kriton painted by Xenophon and Plato should not delude us; this was an unconventional lifestyle, which in the opinion of the majority would have classed Kriton, like Sokrates, among the middle-aged and elderly playboys of Athenian society.¹⁰

In Plato's *Euthydemos* Kriton consults Sokrates about his son's education (306d–307c); in Xenophon's *Symposion* Kritoboulos appears as a newly married young man, probably in his mid to late twenties, who is still in love with Alkibiades' cousin (FBS) Kleinias son of Axiochos, whom he has adored since their schooldays.¹¹

Xenophon's *Symposion* provides another flattering portrait of a father whose lifestyle provoked hostile comments. Lykon of Thorikos has been invited with his son Autolykos, victor in the boys' or youths' *pankration* at the Panathenaia of 422, to a celebratory dinner given by the rich young Kallias son of Hipponikos of Alopeke, who has recently inherited his father's estate, at the age of about

⁸ Table 13.2. Speeches hostile to Alkibiades were attributed to Lysias, but he did not always share his clients' views (Dover 1968a, 53–6), and in any case like other associates of Alkibiades, Kritias, and Sokrates he was eager to dissociate himself after 404. Dover (78–80) suggests that Lys. 6, an attack on Andokides, if it was delivered in court, may have been spoken by Sokrates' accuser Meletos (cf. Todd 2007).

⁹ APF 8823, D. L. 2. 20, Plat. *Apol.* 33d; D. Phal. FGH 228 F 43 says that Sokrates drew the interest from 7000 dr. supplied by Kriton.

¹⁰ For Sokrates as an elderly playboy see Plat. *Gorg.* 486b–c, 508c–d. On *parasitoi*, literally 'dining-companions', see Fisher 2000; Xen. *Symp.* 1. 11–16 gives the best picture of the role.

¹¹ Xen. *Symp.* 4. 23. In the *Euthydemos* Kleinias has another lover, Ktesippos of Paiania, who also appears in the *Lysis*.

twenty-three,¹² and is in love with Autolykos. Xenophon paints a touching picture of proud father and bashful son, both of whom retire from the party before the dancing girls start to perform; but references in comedy tell a different story. Autolykos was nicknamed Eutresios, Easy-Poke, and Lykon was mocked for his poverty, his effeminacy, and the loose behaviour of his wife; he was also accused of being of foreign birth. Kallias' party was clearly not the only symposion he attended. He is named in Aristophanes *Wasps* 1301–2, with Lysistratos, Antiphon, and Phrynichos, as one of the drinking companions Philokleon takes up with when he starts to lead the life of a man about town; they seem to be a 'smart set' of rather marginal characters—Lysistratos a parasite, Phrynichos (if he is the future oligarch) a politician who had risen from humble beginnings through success in the law courts—men perhaps mostly in their forties, more suitable companions for the elderly Philokleon than his son's friends.¹³

Lykon reappears as an accuser of Sokrates in 399. His son had been killed by the Thirty, which supplied an unexceptionable motive for the attack; but he nevertheless falls into the category of prosecutors in the years after Athens' defeat who sought to distract attention from their own questionable pasts by denouncing others. The attack on Andokides in 400 by Kallias and Meletos (MacDowell 1962, 208–10, c–d) shows the same pattern; Lysias, who seized every chance to attack oligarchs, had personal reasons to take revenge for their treatment of his family, but also had to cover up his own association with the Sokratic circle. Lykon's fellow accusers, Meletos and Anytos, may have had similar motives: Anytos is said to have been a lover of Alkibiades, and Meletos' father if he was Meletos I, the tragic poet, lover of Kallias, had moved in the same circles.¹⁴

¹² *APF* 7826 IX sets the transfer of Perikles' wife to Hipponikos II, and the birth of Kallias III, c.450, but it could have been five years later. Perikles II, Perikles' son by Aspasia, was born by 446, since he was admitted to the phratry during his father's lifetime (*Plut. Per.* 37. 5, cf. ch. 4 n. 52). Kallias is presented by Eupolis in his *Kolakes* (421) as exceptionally young and silly; his son Hipponikos III may not have been old enough to claim an epikleros on his own behalf in 400 (he was married and divorced in 395, but married very young: ch. 4 n. 40). In any case, since Kallias came into his inheritance young, he may also have married young. His sister Hipparete was not married until the late 420s, and therefore should have been born c.440 or later, whereas Kallias himself was still alive in 367/6; I put his birth c.445.

¹³ Lykon: Eupolis F 64, 61 *PCG* 5 (cf. 65); *Ar. Lys.* 270 with schol.; cf. Fisher 1998, 2000. Autolykos seems to be portrayed as 15–16 in the *Kolakes*, and is therefore more likely to have won in the boys' *pankration* (11–15) than the youths', if there was already a boys' competition at this date. Lysistratos might be the man named by Andokides as involved in parodying the Mysteries in 415 (n. 44 below; MacDowell 1962, 100; 1971, 302–3).

¹⁴ On Meletos see n. 30 below. Chroust 1957 thinks the affair between Alkibiades and Anytos (*APF* 1324; see also P. J. Rhodes 1981a, 431–2) was invented by Sokrates' friends to discredit his accusers, but there may have been some association to provide a basis for the story. Xen. *Apol.* 30–31 claims that Anytos was annoyed by Sokrates' criticism of his son's upbringing.

An idealized picture of the traditionally approved relationship between fathers and sons, very different from the antics of characters like Lykon or Philokleon, is sketched at the beginning of Plato's *Laches*. Lysimachos, son of the great Aristides, and Melesias, son of the great Thoukydides, both of Alopeke, regularly eat together, with their sons, and tell them about the famous deeds of their ancestors. They certainly do not hang out with their sons' contemporaries in gymnasia or at symposia, and they are only distantly acquainted with Sokrates, about whom their sons are enthusiastic (180e). Lysimachos warms to Sokrates on learning that he is the son of a fellow-demesman and friend, Sophroniskos; on this basis he is invited to visit Lysimachos' house in the future (201b). In the same dialogue Nikias, whose son Nikeratos appeared, as we have seen, in the *Republic*, and in Xenophon's *Symposion*, praises Sokrates for having introduced a good music teacher to him, and would like him to teach Nikeratos (200c–d),¹⁵ but clearly does not know him well. These three fathers are ill at ease in the new world in which oratory and fighting are taught for a fee by professionals.

Brothers are frequently portrayed as close associates in the world of the gymnasium and symposion, their friendship unclouded by any hint of possible future quarrels over inheritance. Plato's own older brothers Adeimantos and Glaukon appear together in the Agora in *Parmenides* 126a, and meet in the *Republic*; Glaukon has been to see the festival of Bendis in Peiraios with Sokrates, while Adeimantos has accompanied Nikeratos and Kephalos' son Polemarchos. The latter's brothers Euthydemos and Lysias are found at home with their father (328b 4–8). In the introduction to the *Parmenides* (126a–127a) Adeimantos and Glaukon take Kephalos of Klazomenai to the house of their matrilinear half-brother Antiphon son of Pyrilampes. Antiphon, they say, used to share their philosophical interests but has now turned to horse-racing; presumably he was expected to enjoy this teasing from Plato, the closest to him in age of his half-brothers.¹⁶

In the *Protagoras* Perikles' sons Xanthippos and Paralos both appear in the group gathered round Protagoras in the house of their matrilinear half-brother Kallias son of Hipponikos. Plato's seventh letter (333e–334c) refers to two

¹⁵ Nikeratos was killed by the Thirty (APF 10808), and Plato is presenting Sokrates in a good light. We do not have to believe in the conversation with Nikias, but the portrait of these courteous, old-fashioned Athenian gentlemen is persuasive. Theages and his father Demodokos appear together in the *Theages*, but it may well belong to the Roman period. The case of Eryximachos and his father Akoumenos is somewhat different since both, as doctors, belonged to a profession that brought them into the company of philosophers.

¹⁶ In the introduction to *Parm.* Antiphon and his stepbrothers still seem to be leading the life of young men (Antiphon perhaps living with their widowed mother), so Nails' suggested date (2002) for the dialogue's 'frame', c.382, may be too late. Antiphon was born after 425; his father Pyrilampes was dead by 412 at the latest, but Antiphon had an older patrilinear half-brother, Demos, who was still alive in 390 (APF 8792 VIII). Plato and his brothers will have grown up in Pyrilampes' house.

Athenian brothers, Kallippos and Philostratos, sons of Philon of Aixone (*APF* 8065; not named here by Plato), who had become friends with Dion of Syracuse, 'not for the sake of philosophy, but in the ordinary sort of *betairia* of most friends, arising from hospitality and initiation and taking part in mystery rites' (*xenizein*, *muein*, *epopteuein*; non-Athenians needed an Athenian to sponsor them at Eleusis). They accompanied Dion back to Syracuse, but subsequently joined his enemies there. Kallippos, at least, maintained sufficient contact with Attika to be commemorated there with other members of his family (Humphreys 1983a/1993, 118, Table 3; Table 29.17). Other pairs of brothers who appear in the Sokratic dialogues are Chairephon of Sphettos, one of Kallias' hangers-on, and his brother Chairekrates; the two Chian brothers Euthydemos and Dionysodoros, who set up business together in Athens as teachers of the arts of argument and war (*Euthydemos* 271c ff.); the Thasian brothers Aristophon and Polygnotos, who both paint (*Gorgias* 448b); and Nikostratos and Theodoros sons of Theozotides of Athmonon, who appear together at Sokrates' trial (*Apology* 33c, *APF* 6915).¹⁷ Kallias' relations with his illegitimate patrilateral half-brother Hermogenes seem to have been, understandably, less close, but Hermogenes is invited with Sokrates and others to the Xenophontic symposion, at which he gives Kallias a rather tactless lecture on Platonic love (*Symposion* 8. 12 ff.). Sokrates' suggestion that, since he has no funds of his own, Hermogenes will have to ask Kallias to pass on to him what he has learned in his expensive lessons from Protagoras (*Kratylos* 391c), is not well received. Hermogenes did not depend solely on Kallias; he was befriended by a Diodoros (Xenophon *Memorabilia* 2. 10), and perhaps by Kratylos, whom he is accompanying to his country estate in *Kratylos* 440e. According to Xenophon (*Symposion* 4. 23 ff.) Kriton had employed Hermogenes as a teacher for Kritoboulos, in the hope of distracting the young man from his love for Kleinias son of Axiochos. Hermogenes wanted to become rich, but was always unsuccessful (*Kratylos* 384c). He led a precarious life, as one of the parasites of the Sokratic circle.¹⁸

Brothers, however, do not always associate with each other. Hippokrates son of Apollodoros (*PA* 7630) comes to Sokrates for an introduction to Protagoras, without consulting his father or his brother, although it was his brother who told

¹⁷ Chairephon: Xen. *Mem.* 1. 2. 48, 2. 3; Eupolis F 180 *PCG* 5 (165 K). Dover 1968b xcv–vii argues that Aristophanes had once intended to make him a co-director of Sokrates' *phrontistérion* in the *Clouds*. Lysis and Menexenos were taken to the *palaistra* with younger brothers, *Lys.* 223a. On the historicity of Euthydemos and his brother see Canto 1987, 268 n. 3.

¹⁸ Hermogenes is *ouk enkratēs tōn patrōōn*, apparently a euphemistic way of saying that he got little or nothing from his father's estate; his mother presumably was not of citizen birth (on the suggestion that he was legitimized during the later years of the Peloponnesian War see *APF* 7826 XVI). The *Kratylos* has little indication of dramatic date. A half-brother of Sokrates is mentioned in *Euthyd.* 297c—in his argument with Euthydemos and Dionysodoros Sokrates could call on his own brother for help—but he appears nowhere else.

him that Protagoras was in town (*Protagoras* 310c, 313a). Alkibiades is never represented in the company of his younger brother Kleinias; Plato reports that Kleinias' guardians tried to keep them apart because they considered Alkibiades a bad influence, and also says that they could not control Kleinias (*Protagoras* 320a).

Cousins are also found in each other's company. Kritias son of Kallaischros, the future oligarch, appears with his cousin (FBS) and ward Charmides son of Glaukon, who would later serve as one of the ten controllers of Peiraios under Kritias' regime, in both *Protagoras* and *Charmides*. They shared an interest in poetry; Kritias wrote tragedies, and an elegy in honour of Alkibiades, and Charmides was 'very poetic'.¹⁹ In the *Protagoras* they arrive independently at Kallias' house; in the *Charmides* Kritias summons his ward, the beauty of the day, and introduces him to Sokrates. In a similar scene at the beginning of the *Lysis*, set in a *palaistra*, Sokrates' friends praise the beauty of the young Lysis and arrange an introduction; this is easy because Ktesippos, one of Sokrates' companions, is an older cousin of Lysis' friend Menexenos son of Demophon.²⁰ Strict rules of decorum seem to govern relations in the gymnasium between boys, escorted by their slave tutors (*Lysis* 223a–b) and young men, *neaniai* (but the law cited in Aischines 1. 12 is hardly genuine: see Fisher 2001). Boys are expected to be too shy to join a group of *neaniai* unless a kinsman is present (*Lysis* 206c–207b); ties of kinship create cross-linkages between age-sets and provide the introductions which may allow romantic love at a distance to develop into a friendship or an affair.

But cousinhood, like the tie between brothers, does not automatically imply close association. Both Alkibiades and his cousin (FBS) Kleinias son of Axiochos appear in Plato's dialogues, but they are not shown together, although as we shall see there is evidence that by 415 Alkibiades and Axiochos were considered to be on friendly terms. The relationship of the oligarch Kritias to Plato and his brothers—he was their MFBS—is not mentioned in the dialogues, although it is noted in the seventh Letter as an excuse for Plato's involvement with the oligarchic government of the Thirty. Plato's brother Glaukon, to judge from the reference to his political ambitions in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (3. 6, cf. Plato *Republic* 548d–e), is likely also to have been involved with the Thirty.²¹ Kritias'

¹⁹ *Charm.* 154e–155a; Plut. *Alk.* 33. 1; *TGE*, 2nd ed. 770–5. Cf. n. 35 below.

²⁰ A *palaistra* was a small, often privately run gymnasium in or close to the city, with less extensive grounds than the public gymnasium (Delorme 1960, ch. 9; cf. Trombetti 2013; Mango 2003, 18–20). *Lysis*, *Charm.*, *Theait.*, *Laches*, and *Euthyd.* are set in *palaistrai* or gymnasia; *Gorg.*, *Prot.*, *Symp.*, *Parm.*, *Rep.*, *Krit.*, and *Tim.* in private houses; *Krat.* and *Euthyphron* in or near the Agora, *Phaidr.* on a suburban walk.

²¹ The silence in the dialogues about this relationship is hardly surprising; but in any case Kritias was a good deal older than Plato and his brothers. The suggestion that Kritias was the lover who wrote a poem about the exploits of Glaukon and Adeimantos at the battle of Megara (*Rep.* 368a, see *APF* 8792 X B; Schleiermacher 1828, 537) is hardly compelling; there must have been many poets in this circle. In the

cousin Charmides was the uncle (MB) of Plato and his brothers; in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* Sokrates takes an interest in Glaukon because of his friendship with Charmides and Plato (3. 6. 1); after persuading Glaukon not to speak in the Assembly until he is older and wiser, he suggests that the young man should take Charmides' oikos in hand, to which Glaukon replies that Charmides would not listen to him (3. 6. 14–15, *APF* 8792 IX).

Affinal relationships are not mentioned in the dialogues; most of the dramatis personae are unmarried. Alkibiades, who comes with Kritias in the *Protagoras* to the house of Kallias III of Alopeke, was to marry Kallias' sister Hipparete, but there is no reference to her in the dialogue.²²

Kinship continued to be one basis of recruitment to philosophical schools; Plato's successor was his sister's son Speusippos (Watts 2007). But here the interest of Plato's dialogues is that they portray a wider group of young men about town, many of whom were only superficially or temporarily interested in philosophy. The sketches of Athenian life that set the stage for Plato's philosophical text provide us with glimpses of the interaction between kinship and other ties in the process by which a young Athenian built up his network of associates.

Boys made their own friends among their age-mates, and such friendships could last into later life; Lysis and Menexenos, *hetairoi* as boys (*Lysis* 206d), were still together at the time of Sokrates' death in 399, when they were perhaps in their late twenties.²³ Chairephon of Sphettos had been Sokrates' *hetairos* from his youth (*ek neou*, *Apology* 21a). In the *Theaitetos*, *Sophist*, and *Politikos* Plato introduces a second Sokrates, younger and apparently unrelated, who is an age-mate and *syngymnastês* of Theaitetos (*Sophist* 218b). Ties with fellow-demesmen may in some cases have been formed in boyhood, sometimes on the basis of family friendships. Lysimachos son of Aristeides and Melesias son of Thoukydides, both of Alopeke, were apparently drawn together by their common situation as sons of distinguished men; Sokrates' friendship with his fellow-demesman Kriton may also have begun in their youth.

Eryxias, which though spurious seems to be well informed, Eryxias is said to be a kinsman (*syngenês*) of Kritias; the relationship cannot be reconstructed.

²² *Prot.* has no consistent dramatic date (Athenaios 218b–e); some indications point to the 430s, others to the 420s. Nails 2002 seriously underestimates the difficulty of explaining how Kallias could control a city house during his father's lifetime. In Eupolis' *Kolakes* (PCG 5 F 171) there may be a reference to Alkibiades being in the women's quarters of Kallias' house; this might be taken as a very tenuous indication that in spring 421, when the play was produced, he was courting but not yet married. *APF* 600 VII A puts the marriage in the late 420s. By 411 Kallias and Alkibiades were perhaps enemies (Thuc. 8. 53. 2; cf. n. 47).

²³ *Phaedo* 59b. The *Lysis* has no clear dramatic date, but what we know of Lysis' family (*APF* 9574, Table 29.18) suggests a birthdate for him in the 420s. His father may have been a lover of Alkibiades (Plut. *Alk.* 3). Ar. *E.N.* 1165b 23–36 discusses the proper treatment of boyhood friends whose tastes one no longer shares.

Although deme members were grouped in forty-two named age-sets, each representing one year's intake of eighteen-year-olds, friendships struck up in the deme may have begun between boys attending deme festivals as children, and need not have been confined to age-mates. Acquaintance in the deme, like kinship, could provide a basis for contact between age-groups in the gymnasium. As we have seen, such structural ties could be used to smooth the passage for homosexual courtship, the main mechanism by which ties were formed between members of separate age-groupings in the adolescents' social world.

It is by now well established that in ancient Greece, as in many if not most other societies,²⁴ a strong distinction was made between active and passive roles in male homosexual intercourse. A Greek male was expected to take a connoisseur's interest in male as well as female good looks, and to take advantage of opportunities to penetrate a good-looking sexual partner of either gender. Male slaves as well as female were exposed to sexual demands from their masters; the availability of slave partners may have contributed to the acceptance of bisexuality in Greek culture. Non-citizen prostitutes of both sexes were easy to find in Athens (Halperin 1990). However, the strong cultural associations between penetration, domination, and masculinity made the passive role in homosexual intercourse problematic for a free male. The Athenians, in the archaic period, developed elaborate norms to mitigate this contradiction; an acceptable homosexual relationship was one in which an older, bearded, 'active' lover, *erastês*, courted a reluctant, younger, beardless 'beloved', *erômenos*. The *erastes*, normally in his twenties, adopted the submissive pose of the romantic lover entirely at the mercy of the caprices of the *eromenos*, reversing in their publicly visible social interactions the relationship of dominance and subordination which—if his suit was successful—would characterize their sexual relations in private.

And surely many courtships must have developed into sexual partnership. While a few acknowledged beauties could play off a number of suitors against each other, many shy boys would be flattered to be singled out for attention by a sophisticated older companion and thus gain entry to the inner circle of his associates. *Eromenoi* who needed to rationalize their acceptance of the role could remind each other of all they could learn from their more experienced *erastai*; some lovers promised to help the *eromenos* when he started on his political career (Plato *Symposium* 184a–b). Despite the apparently submissive role played by *erastai* as wooers, power remained on their side; collectively, they defined the rules of the game, and though they might censure a boy who took

²⁴ Halperin 1990; Oberhelman 1997.

lovers too freely, the younger partner in a pairing that had the approval of the group would be under strong pressure to accept his role.²⁵

Since an Athenian would not in later life publicize the fact that he had taken the passive role in a homosexual relationship, it is hard to tell how common it was for *erastes* and *eromenos* to remain friends in later life. The tragic poets Pausanias of Kerameis (PA 11717) and his *eromenos* Agathon son of Teisamenos (*TGFI* no. 39) appear together listening to the sophist Prodikos in *Protagoras* 315d–e, where Agathon is still a young boy, and in Plato's *Symposium*, which is set on the occasion of Agathon's first victory in 416, and left Athens together for the court of Archelaos of Macedon in 407/6; by 411 Agathon was being attacked in comedy for continuing to play the passive sexual role.²⁶ Ex-lovers who remained friends would have to be discreet in public. But in the semi-private milieu of upper-class dinners and meetings of right-wing *hetairoi* their ties with each other may have continued to play a significant role.

THE SCANDALS OF 415

Plato's dialogues show us a society made up for the most part of young bachelors, but including a few older men who for one reason or another have rejected the focus on political affairs normal for the upper-class Athenian. The example of Sokrates—and of other philosophers who came to Athens as foreigners and were thus debarred from taking any formal part in political life (as was Plato, after 403, due to his link with Kritias)—contributed to the development of the idea of the 'theoretical life' of the philosopher as a vocation in which the social and intellectual activities of adolescence would become a lifelong career. An alternative means of prolonging adolescent culture into adulthood was offered by the revolutionary oligarchic movements of the late fifth century. Older *hetairoi* transformed friendship into political alliance and met to plan their campaigns for

²⁵ See especially Halperin 1990 (ch. 3 deals well with the question of the relevance of Melanesian initiation rites; cf. Calame 2002), D. Cohen 1991. Norms regulating intercourse between older and younger males, predominantly adolescents, varied from one part of Greece to another and were subcultural patterns developed by elites on the basis of a general acceptance of bisexuality. Cf. also Dover 1978, 1988; von Reden 1995a, ch. 9; Griffith 2001; Humphreys 1983a/1993, 56–7; Bremmer 1989; Winkler 1990a, ch. 2; A. Chankowski 2002; P. Wilson 2007c, n. 65. New homosexual rock-cut inscriptions c.500, *SEG* 54. 82 (insulting rather than erotic: Chaniotis 2012, 316; cf. Täuber 2003). Winkler's discussion, in other respects excellent, seems to me to pay too little attention to the rhetoric of self-abasement affected by *erastai*. The beard would develop only in the early 20s: Eyben 1972; Moller 1987. Terms for age-classes: J. Davidson 2006.

²⁶ Ar. *Thesm.* 29–265, cf. *PCG* III 2 F 178, 592. 35. According to Aelian *V. H.* 13. 4 Agathon was about forty in 407. It is not always clear whether passive homosexuals attacked in comedy are promiscuous boys or older men.

court cases, elections and, eventually, *coups d'état*; those still in their adolescence were recruited to terrorize the opposition and to provide a show of force when needed (Thucydides 8. 65–9).

Since the coups of 411 and 404 were successful only for brief periods, and most of those involved tried hard to conceal the fact once democracy had been restored, we have little prosopographical information about the participants. Andokides' speech *On the Mysteries*, however, provides useful evidence on the membership of several overlapping upper-class adolescent social networks in 415, in an affair which nicely illustrates the permeability of the boundary between adolescent pranks and political conspiracy (cf. Furley 1996; McGlew 2002, 112–38; Todd 2004).

The story is well known. Shortly before the departure of the massive expedition to Sicily in 415, the Athenians woke up one morning to discover that the 'Herms' which were a characteristic feature of the city's public spaces—blocks of stone with an erect penis on the front and a head of Hermes on top—had been mutilated. The Assembly met, and an informer came forward who had nothing to say about the Herms, but instead reported another act of impiety: Alkibiades and his friends had been parodying the Eleusinian Mysteries at their symposia. Other denunciations followed, varying in their plausibility. Most of those named fled into exile and were convicted and deprived of their property *in absentia*; a few were caught, tried, and executed.

Andokides tells the story because in 400 he was accused of impiety by Kallias III son of Hipponikos of Alopeke, Torchbearer of the Eleusinian Mysteries, for taking part in the ritual when, having been condemned for parodying it, he was debarred from doing so. His main defence is that he had never been accused of parodying the Mysteries; moreover, he had saved himself and his kin when they were accused of taking part in the mutilation of the Herms, by informing against the real culprits, most of whom were already in exile or were suspect because of their known associations with those accused (on the legal argument that he was protected by the 'amnesty' of 403 see Carawan 2004).

It is the propensity of informers to rely on guilt by association that makes Andokides' lists interesting to the social historian, whether or not the accusations were valid. The lists group men who were known or could plausibly be assumed to have been associates.²⁷ We shall find similar groupings on curse tablets (ch. 14); informers' minds will have worked like those of cursers, circling outward from a few core names by a variety of patterns of association (Humphreys

²⁷ Aurenche 1974 is too ready to take the informers' lists as documents of historical activity, and builds up implausible political groups on the basis of very slender links; cf. the review by D. M. Lewis (1977a). More critical discussions in *HCT* IV (264–87) and Ostwald 1986; survey of bibliography, Hornblower 2008, 367–72.

2010*b*), of which kinship was one. It is noteworthy, however, that these informers do not name women, although slave or metic *hetairai* may well have been present at parties where the Mysteries were parodied.²⁸

Hermes, with their archaic grins and explicit sexuality, must have appeared antique and absurd to the fashionable young men of late-fifth century Athens and may have been targets for joking on many occasions, as *kómoi* of drunken revellers wove their way home from symposia. The playful treatment of Herms was rooted in affinity; the area of the Herms in the Agora was associated with the cavalry, and Hermes was a god of marginal, transitional spaces, including gymnasia. To give a Herm a shave (faces as well as penises were attacked) was perhaps to emphasize its association with the world of the adolescents—indeed, while Herms of the late sixth and early fifth centuries were bearded, there may have been beardless examples by the late fifth century. The attack on the Herms in 415 may have been something more than a juvenile prank that got out of hand, but if there was a plot involved it was one that imitated recognizable patterns of youthful devilry.²⁹

Since the mutilation was promptly followed by a denunciation of Alkibiades for parodying the Mysteries, historians have been tempted to suppose that the aim had been to create an atmosphere in which this accusation could be made with maximum effect, and to infer that those responsible were young men of the Athenian upper class, fringe members of a right-wing movement growing in strength and cohesion, which viewed Alkibiades and the ambitious expedition he was about to lead to Sicily as a threat to Athenian security and economic stability.

Six informers are named by Andokides, the last being himself. One gave information about both the Mysteries and the Herms, three about the Mysteries only, and two about the Herms only. Several men were accused of being involved in both affairs; the mutilation of the Herms was drawn into the ambit of the more serious offence. Andokides stresses that many of the men he names as having been denounced were present at his trial in 400. Few of them were willing to stand up and testify to the accuracy of his account, but he would quickly have

²⁸ In a not dissimilar incident of religious scandal and panic in Rome in 186 BCE, women figured prominently among those accused (North 1979, 1980; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 91–6).

²⁹ Thuc. 6. 28. 1 notes reports of other statues mutilated for a joke by the drunken (*meta paidias kai oinou*). A pelike by the Perseus painter (Berlin 2172, BArch 206706) shows a caricatured Herm with a bird perched on its elongated penis; the Herm portrayed with the hero Kephalos, in a hunting context, on the skyphos Tübingen 1347, c.425 (BArch 214330), has a jaunty air. Cavalry: *Agora XI* 108–9; Threpsiades and Vanderpool 1963; Bugh 1988, 219–20. Gymnasia: Vernant 1963, Plat. *Lys.* 206d. Beardless Herms, *Agora XI* no. 206; shaving, R. G. Osborne 1985*c*, citing Artemidoros 2. 37. Osborne's article, though valuable, in my view over-stresses the political connotations of Herms in 415, and perhaps underrates the hostility of intellectuals towards cult images and rituals which they considered primitive or irrational (Humphreys 2004; on Herms see also Furley 1996; Humphreys 1999; Graf 2000; Versnel 2011, 335–52).

been in trouble if he had named men who could prove that they had never been accused. He may well have left names out, but it would have been rash to make additions. The names of those who had been condemned were publicly recorded on stone in the Eleusinion, where Andokides was tried (D. M. Lewis 1966). He may have made some mistakes in remembering which names had been given by each informer, but any such mistakes would themselves conform to the patterns of association by which the informers' lists had been produced. The lists give an account that Athenian audiences would find plausible—either from personal observation of the men concerned or on general principles—of the social networks of those known or singled out as the ringleaders.

It is hardly surprising, given the limitations of our knowledge of Athenian society, that in many cases the links between those named are irrecoverable. In the first informer's list of those who had parodied the Mysteries with Alkibiades, the only possibly significant connections are that the owner of the slave informant may be the Archebiades mentioned as having been a lover of Alkibiades' son soon after the father's death, and that the Meletos named may be a kinsman of Alkibiades.³⁰ The slave informant, Andromachos, had been present with his brother and two other slaves, one a flute player; perhaps Andromachos and his brother also had talents as entertainers and were *chôris oikountes*, slaves who lived independently and paid part of their earnings to their owner.³¹

A second informant, the metic Teukros, named Sokrates' friend Phaidros of Myrrhinous as having parodied the Mysteries, together with a Diognetos who might be the brother of the general Nikias and of Eukrates, whom we shall meet presently.³² He also claimed to know who had mutilated the Herms, naming Phaidros' friend Eryximachos son of Akoumenos, the doctor; Meletos, already

³⁰ Andok. 1. 12–14, Lys. 14. 27 with Todd 2000 (cf. perhaps *APF* 2308); the emendation in Andok. 1. 12 is supported by 1. 13. The others named were Alkibiades, Nikides son of Phoinikides of Melite, Meletos, Archippos, Diogenes, Polystratos son of Diodoros of Ankyle, Aristomenes, Oionias son of Oinocharos of Atene, and Panaitios son of Philochoros of Aphidnai, perhaps the 'monkey' of Ar. F 409 *PCG* 3. 2 (394 K), allegedly son of a cook (cf. schol. *Birds* 439–40). If the Meletos named here is the son of Megakles (IV?) of Alopeke, who purchased property confiscated from the Thirty in 402/1 (*Agora* XIX P 2, *APF* 9688 XI; add *SEG* 48. 91) he was Alkibiades' uncle (MB), but the name is common (MacDowell 1962, 208–10. Sokrates' accuser was young, was son of a Meletos, and spoke for the poets, *Apol.* 23e; he may well be the son of the tragic poet M. of Pithos; cf. n. 8 above). Andokides gives only first names, presumably to minimize embarrassment for those who were in Athens in 400, but patronymics and demotics can in some cases be supplied from *IG* i³ 421–30, the records of the sale of property confiscated from those condemned.

³¹ It would be riskier for a domestic slave to inform against his master, and I do not see why Archebiades should take his domestic slaves to dinner in another man's house. The term used for Andromachos is *therapôn*, a euphemistic word which diminished the social distance between owner and slave (Gschnitzer 1963, 1976; it is used for slaves listed as war casualties. Cf. Van Wees 1992, 333–4 n. 61).

³² *APF* 10808. Teukros named nine other men, including the metic Kephisodoros who appears in *IG* i³ 421. 33.

denounced by Andromachos for parodying the Mysteries and presumably already in exile; Euphiletos son of Timotheos of Kydathenaion, a friend and fellow-demesman of Andokides; Pherekles of Themakos; Telenikos, perhaps son of the Teleas (of Pergase) attacked in comedy as a flatterer and glutton;³³ and thirteen others who cannot be identified. Euphiletos and Pherekles were eventually condemned for both offences, Phaidros for parody (*IG* i³ 426. 78–9, 83–4, 101–2).

A further charge of parodying the Mysteries was laid against Alkibiades by a woman, Agariste wife of Alkmeonides; the names suggest that both she and her husband belonged to the family of Alkibiades' mother, the Alkmeonidai.³⁴ She claimed that Alkibiades had 'celebrated the Mysteries' with his uncle (FB) Axiochos and with his friend and fellow-demesman Adeimantos of Skambonidai, in the house of Charmides—probably the son of Glaukon, cousin of Kritias and associate of Sokrates, who appears in the house of Kallias III in the *Protagoras*.³⁵ Adeimantos and Axiochos were both condemned (*IG* i³ 422, 424, 426–7, 430); they may have joined Alkibiades in Ionia in winter 412/1, and probably returned to Athens with him in 407. Adeimantos served as general with Alkibiades in 407/6, and was elected again for the two following years, after Alkibiades had once more left Athenian service. Axiochos is said in [Plato] *Axiochos* 368d–369a to have spoken on behalf of the generals attacked in 406 for failing to retrieve casualties after the battle of Arginoussai; if this report is reliable, he would have

³³ Teleas: *LPGN* Teleas 2; see Phrynichos F 21 *PCG* (20 K), Ar. *Peace* 1008, cf. *Birds* 168, 1025; Plato F 176 *PCG* 3. 2 (161 K); *AO* 150. Probably son of the mantis and *kalos* Telenikos, since that name is only attested in Pergase (see ch. 23 n. 33). Dover (*HCT* IV) thinks that Teukros' Eryximachos should be a younger kinsman of the doctor, the latter being too old by 415 to mutilate Herms; but as his father's assistant the doctor may have gained a reputation early, and aggressive scepticism on religious matters was part of a doctor's persona.

³⁴ If the husband was Alkmeonides III of Aphidnai (*APF* 9688 XIII), his connection with the Alkmeonidai was remote. Agariste had previously been married to a husband called Damon, probably the musician who was friendly with both Perikles and Sokrates (*APF*, *ibid.*; R. W. Wallace 1992; Raaflaub 2003). The pattern of informing was different for the two offences: information about parody of the Mysteries, which took place in a private context, was given by slaves, a metic, and a woman, whereas both Diokleides and Andokides, who gave information about the mutilation of the Herms, were citizens (Andok. 1. 37, 45).

³⁵ *Prot.* 314e–315a, *APF* 8792 IX A. There were two young men called Charmides in Athens at this time, both orphans who would have inherited a family house at 18 and no doubt used it for symposia, the second being Andokides' cousin (FZS, *APF* 828 VI), the son of Aristoteles. Charmides son of Glaukon had closer connections with Alkibiades, and if Andokides' cousin had been named by Agariste he should not have been still in Athens to be arrested as a result of Diokleides' accusations (Andok. 1. 16, 47–8). The son of Glaukon is represented as being already in financial straits in 421, in Xen. *Symp.* 4. 13. Rather than accusing Xenophon of 'double confusion' (*APF* 8792 IX), we could assume that Charmides' loss of overseas property may be due to Brasidas' activities in the north, and his loss of revenue from property in Attika to Spartan invasions, or extravagance and mortgage. He has sold the contents of his house, but apparently still has the house itself. His finances may have recovered somewhat by 415. Cf. R. W. Wallace 1992.

been supporting his affine Euryptolemos son of Peisianax, a friend and cousin of Alkibiades.³⁶ At some later date, perhaps only after the final defeat of the Athenian fleet at Aigospotamoi in 405, he joined his nephew in the Hellespont area; gossip reported that they shared a wife and slept in turns with the daughter whom one of them had fathered (Lysias F V 8 Carey 2007, 4 Thalheim 1913, XXX Gernet/Bizos 1926).

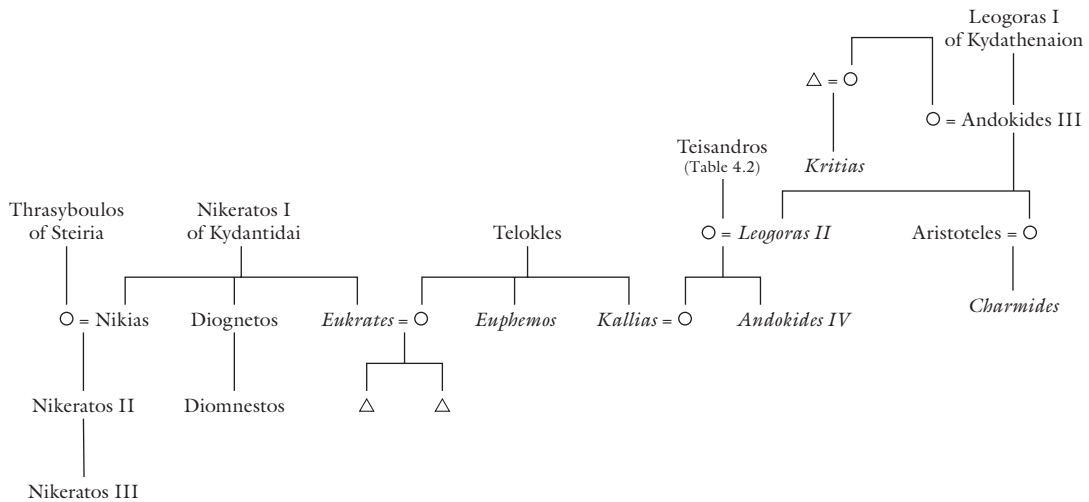
A further denunciation concerning the Mysteries was made by Lydos, slave of a man already denounced by Teukros, Pherekles of Themakos. He named, among others, Akoumenos, who was presumably the doctor, father of Eryximachos and friend of Sokrates (*APF* 11907); Eryximachos had been denounced by Teukros as involved in the mutilation of the Herms, and appears with Alkibiades and Adeimantos in *Protagoras* 315c–316a. Lydos also said, according to Andokides, that the latter's father Leogoras was present but was asleep, with his cloak over his head. Leogoras protested that the proposal to hand over all those named to the courts for trial was illegal, using the *graphḗ paranómōn* procedure,³⁷ and secured acquittal for himself, persuading the jury that he had not been present. By stating that his father was said to be asleep, Andokides not only stresses his innocence of the charge but also implies that even the accuser considered Leogoras—married by the early 430s and therefore probably in his fifties by 415—too old to take any interest in the pranks of the young. There is evidence, however, that Leogoras had not given up his adolescent pursuits on marriage, and was indeed the type of middle-aged playboy who could plausibly be accused of frequenting such parties. In Eupolis' *Autolykos*, performed in 420, he is represented as telling a *hetaira*, Myrrhine, that he has spent all his money on her.³⁸

The next informer, Diokleides, may perhaps have been partly inspired by the Leogoras affair; the fact that a Herm near Leogoras' house had not been mutilated also attracted attention to the family. Diokleides claimed to have seen three

³⁶ According to *APF* 9688 VIII Euryptolemos would be the BWBSS of Axiochos and MBSS of Alkibiades; Thompson 1969*a* has the relationships as BWZS and MZS (cf. ch. 14 n. 43). The reconstructions of Stanley 1986 are implausible.

³⁷ Leogoras' use of the *graphḗ paranómōn* on this occasion must, in my opinion, have been the model for Euryptolemos' attempt to use it in somewhat similar circumstances after Arginoussai (Xen. *Hell* 1. 7. 12). Leogoras' case would thus have been that when presented with such an accusation the Council should allow the individuals named the chance to defend themselves on the spot. The question whether those named would have been tried individually in court in 415 is academic, since those denounced did not stay in Attika to stand trial. The frequent use of *paranómōn* and related terms in Antiphon 5 (cf. Ostwald 1986, 122–7) suggests that in this period the idea of using the *graphḗ paranómōn* to protest against procedural irregularities in court was in the air, but that no clear guidelines for its use had been set (cf. Humphreys 1988, n. 48; Carawan 2007).

³⁸ *PCG* 5 F 50 (K. 44). Leogoras is mentioned in Ar. *Clouds* 109 (423) as a pheasant breeder, and in *Wasps* 1269 (422) and Plato F 114 *PCG* 7 (K. 106) as a hedonist. Furley 1996 stresses the differences in attitude between Andokides and his father.



Notes: Names of those accused in italic type.

1. On *APF*'s Andokides I and II see R. Thomas 1989.

2. *APF* 10808 suggest that Diognetos and Eukrates were Nikias' patrilateral half-brothers, but one would expect Eukrates to be a half-generation older than his WB Kallias and a full generation older than Kallias' WB Andokides; this would bring Eukrates' date of birth to *c.*470, which is within a decade of that of Nikias.

3. *APF* (828 IV, 8792 IV) improbably assumes that the Kritias named here was the tyrant.

4. Three further cousins of Leogoras, Phrynichos, Taureas (with his son Nisaïos), and Kallias son of Alkmaion were also accused.

TABLE 13.2. Kin of Andokides: *APF* 828, 7840, 8792 IV, 10808

hundred men gathered in the moonlight in the Theatre of Dionysos on the night when the Herms were attacked.³⁹ The next day, he said, he approached Andokides' brother-in-law (ZHB) Euphemos son of Telokles, and threatened to inform; Euphemos took him to the house of Leogoras, father-in-law of his brother Kallias, and later to that of Kallias himself. A bribe was agreed on; when it was not paid, Diokleides denounced forty-two men to the Council, eleven of them being members of Andokides' kindred. Phrynichos, a cousin (*anepsios*) of Andokides, cannot

³⁹ Dover (*HCT* IV 274–6; cf. *CAH* 2nd ed. V 450, Furley 1996) does not think Diokleides can be the informer who according to Plut. *Alk.* 20. 6 made a mistake about the moon; but if such a mistake was made it must have concerned the mutilation of the Herms, since witnesses informing on parodies of the Mysteries testified to being present at indoor activities. Dover's view that Diokleides was actually, as he eventually claimed, suborned by Alkibiades of Phegous to attack enemies of Alkibiades III, and that politics entered into the story only with his accusations, does not persuade me. It is not clear how a panic about oligarchic conspiracy in Athens would have helped Alkibiades in 415, while accusation of Nikias' brother's affines was an oblique and not very promising way of attacking the conspicuously pious Nikias. On the other hand, Diokleides' approach has features that suit Andokides' insinuation that he was a common blackmailer: he seems to have admitted demanding money from the kin of Leogoras, who were already in a vulnerable position, and his claim to have seen about 300 men, of who he could name 42 (Andok. 1. 43), left a promising field for future negotiations.

be securely placed.⁴⁰ Kallias (B) and Taureas were first cousins of Leogoras; Nisaios was Taureas' son, and Kritias (the future oligarch?) was the son of another cousin; Charmides was Leogoras' nephew (ZS), brought up in his household; Kallias (A), son of Telokles, was Leogoras' son-in-law, while Euphemos and Eukrates were affinally linked to Leogoras through Kallias.⁴¹ We can reconstruct these relationships because Andokides provides the details in his speech, while explaining that he turned informer in order to save his kin (*syngeneis*, 1. 47); most of them could not have been reconstructed from a list of names alone, even if it had included patronymics and demotics.

Diokleides also named two members of the Council, Apsephion and Mantitheos, and all or most of the men already denounced by Teukros. If his denunciation began as an attempt at blackmail, it is not surprising that some men old enough and ambitious enough for Council service should appear in the list. His Mantitheos may be *PA* 9670, who later escaped from Sardis with Alkibiades, and was left in charge of the fleet by him in 407 (Xenophon *Hellenika* 1. 1. 10, 1. 3. 12–13); we do not know whether the link with Alkibiades existed before the accusation or arose later.⁴² When confronted with inaccuracies in his story, Diokleides changed his tack and claimed that he had been bribed to inform by Alkibiades' cousin and homonym Alkibiades of Phegous, and by a metic, Amiantos of Aigina. Alkibiades of Phegous, who fled, may be the cousin (FZS?) of Alkibiades who joined him in exile and was still fighting on the side of Athens' enemies in 409.⁴³

Andokides' own story was that he had been present at a drinking party when the mutilation of the Herms was planned (as a test of loyalty, *pistin*, 1. 67), but had opposed the idea. The ringleader was his friend and fellow-demesman Euphiletos of Kydathenaion, already denounced by Teukros. Later, when Andokides was in bed with a broken collarbone and other injuries due to a riding fall, Euphiletos had carried out his scheme, telling the other participants that Andokides would deal with the Herm near his own house. The next day, seeing it still intact, the conspirators had become alarmed, and Euphiletos and Meletos had called on Andokides to urge him not to betray them. Diokleides' report, however, changed the situation. The city was in panic, assuming that the three hundred conspirators allegedly seen by Diokleides were planning a coup; Andokides and his kin, with others on Diokleides' list, were arrested, jailed, and put in the stocks to make flight impossible. He decided, therefore—so he tells the court in 400—that since most

⁴⁰ Kallias: *APF* 7840, *IG* i³ 969 *bis*. It is unclear whether Phrynichos is described as the son of Orchesamenos or as 'the ex-Dancer', and if the latter, whether this is a nickname or an inaccurate gloss that has crept into the text: see F. D. Harvey 2000.

⁴¹ One of the two men named Kallias may have acted as a witness for Andokides in 400 (1. 18).

⁴² It seems likely that many of those who fled in 415 sooner or later gravitated to Alkibiades' side.

⁴³ *APF* 600 VI, Xen. *Hell.* 1. 2. 13, Harp. s.v. *Alkibiades* with Dindorf's note. The restoration of this Alkibiades' name in *IG* i³ 428. 3–4 is perhaps scarcely warranted.

of the actual conspirators had by this time fled the country, or had been put to death, he must tell what he knew in order to save the innocent. Euphiletos, Meletos, and others had already been denounced by Teukros. Andokides added four new names: Diakritos (perhaps the doctor, son of Dieuches of Phrearrhioi), Lysistratos, Charidemos son of Elpias, and perhaps a second Panaitios.⁴⁴ All four, he claimed, were already under suspicion as associates of men denounced earlier.

We shall never know whether Euphiletos' escapade—if the plan was indeed his—was deliberately designed to provide an occasion for discrediting Alkibiades, or was merely intended as an initiation ritual to bind together members of a new adolescent drinking club. Whatever the political views of those involved, socially they did not fall neatly into distinct and hostile groups.⁴⁵ Leogoras' cousin Taureas had been assaulted by Alkibiades when they were competing as *chorégoi*;⁴⁶ but Kritias, another cousin, was Alkibiades' friend. Diokleides' denunciation of Leogoras and his kin was allegedly inspired by Alkibiades of Phegous, probably a cousin of Alkibiades of Skambonidai; but Diokleides may have been interested only in blackmail. Alkibiades' brother-in-law (WB) Kallias may have been on friendly terms when young with Leogoras, and was to marry the widow of Leogoras' brother-in-law (WB) Epilykos, probably after the events discussed here.⁴⁷ Euphemos son of Telokles was affinally connected both with Leogoras and with Alkibiades' political rival Nikias; the Charmides in whose house Alkibiades was said to have parodied the Mysteries (Andokides 1. 16) was either Leogoras' nephew (ZS) or, more probably, his affine (MZHBS, above at n. 41). Networks overlapped; they constituted potential lines of alliance, not all of which could be actualized simultaneously.

Adolescence was a liminal period, and in the second half of the fifth century Athenian society was changing rapidly, in the atmosphere of crisis that accompanies a major war. The lengthy adolescence, for males, of fifteen years or more was one of the sources of the vitality of Greek culture, its competitiveness, its openness to new ideas; but it could also be a source of instability. In the late fifth century young upper-class Athenians did not feel that the adult world awaiting them was the same as that into which their fathers and older kinsmen had been socialized. Adolescence

⁴⁴ Andok. 1. 53. Lysistratos may be the son of Makareus of Amphitrope, attacked in comedy as a parasite and homosexual (Ar. *Wasps* 1301–2 and schol. 787). Charidemos appears in *IG* i³ 428. 7–8; his deme was either Acharnai or Acherdous (Table 30.2). His father might be the proposer of *IG* i³ 133, but the name Elpias occurs in Ikarion in the 4th c. (*IG* ii³ 4. 31, ii² 6273). Andok. may possibly have forgotten that a Panaitios (son of Philochares, of Aphidnai) had already been denounced by Teukros.

⁴⁵ Brunt 1965 makes a similar point about Romans in the late Republic.

⁴⁶ *APF* 828 IV; Dem. 21. 147, Plut. *Alk.* 16. 5, [Andok.] 4. 20–1, cf. 42.

⁴⁷ *APF* 7826 XII (c.412). Leogoras' appearance in Eupolis' *Autolykos* (F 50 *PCG* 5, 44 K.) may imply that in 420 he was moving in the same circles as Kallias. By 415 Kallias may already have begun to quarrel with Alkibiades (*APF* 600 VIII). His dispute with Andokides over *epiklēroi* belongs to the years immediately after the war (*APF* 8429 IV; see n. 12 above).

began to seem, at least to some, to contain in itself the basis for new patterns of adult behaviour. Those whose adolescent pleasures had been intellectual could become philosophers or poets;⁴⁸ others clung to homosexual relationships or the convivial world of the symposion, and were attacked in comedy as passive homosexuals or middle-aged playboys; yet others, no longer sure of their ground in a situation where the qualities required for a successful adult political life were changing, carried the ideals and *mores* of the adolescent *hetaireia* into revolutionary activity. Operating outside the framework of public political institutions, they worked through private networks and met in private houses. The oligarchic revolutions of 411 and 404 were extreme expressions of a tension always present in Athens between the public institutions of the city, which provided remarkably little scope for cooperation based on private ties, and the social lives of the citizens, especially the life they led during the formative period of adolescence.

⁴⁸ *Hetairos* acquires a new use to denote acceptance of the same philosophical principles (e.g. Ar. *Met.* 985b 4).

Political Marriages, Lawsuits, Curse Tablets

Even Athenians who were eager to put their adolescence behind them and embark on a career as fully active citizens needed friends, made enemies, and took note of their opponents' friends and associates. However, cooperation and the formation of factions were not formally recognized, either institutionally or in political theory, as integral elements of the political process. References to friendship in historical or philosophical texts tend to be general; we hear only occasionally of specific ties, usually from hostile witnesses. These scraps of evidence can be supplemented by a few cases in which political alliances may have been made or reinforced by marriage; by evidence of the role of kin and allies in court cases that had political overtones; and by lists of names scratched on curse tablets. We are still dealing here with activities that took place on the margins of the public arena, but with behaviour more normal than the bizarre escapades of the late fifth century. This is the backstage side of everyday political action.

The term *hetairoi*, used in the archaic period to add a heroic touch to private associations, acquired negative connotations after the experiences of the late fifth century, which were even more strongly marked in the case of the related term *hetaireia*.¹ In *Theaitetos* 173d Sokrates' list of matters with which the philosopher would not even dream of concerning himself includes 'campaigns (*spoudai*) of *hetairiai* for office, and meetings (*synodoi*), and dinners, and revels with flute-girls'.² A client of Lysias, who has quarrelled with the group of *synousiastai* to which he belonged, describes their activities (8. 5, 10–11, 18–19): they travelled together to Eleusis for a religious festival, lent each other money, supported each other in lawsuits, and praised each other to third parties—presumably in election campaigns, or when involved in lawsuits or attempting to raise money. Thucydides (8. 54. 4) mentions 'oath-groups for lawsuits and elections', and [Andokides] 4. 4 refers to the mobilization of groups of *hetairoi* and oath-fellows by men threatened with ostracism. Aischines (1. 54–64) alleges that Hegesandros, Timarchos,

¹ Isokr. 3. 54, 4. 79, 5. 2, 16. 6 (1. 10, 24–6, where *hetairoi* is used as a synonym of *philos*, is addressed to a Cypriot); Dem. 21. 20, 139; 52. 14; 58. 42; Hyp. 3. 8; Plat. *Rep.* 365d.

² Most 4th c. sources distinguish the abstract *hetairia*, friendship, from *hetaireia*, a group of *hetairoi* (Plato does not). Political functions of *hetaireiai* are discussed in Calhoun 1913; Sartori 1957, 1958; Dover 1968*n*, 49ff.; *HCT* IV 286; Aurenche 1974; P. J. Rhodes 1986, 138–9.

and their gambling companions broke into the house of the public slave (perhaps freedman, Fisher 2001) Pittalakos, surrounded him when he appeared as a suppliant at the altar of the Mother of the Gods in the Agora, and persuaded him to go home, with promises that he would receive compensation; ganged up to argue that he was Hegesandros' slave when, having received nothing, he tried to sue them; and, when he found a citizen to champion him, produced an arbitrator who was Hegesandros' fellow-demesman and ex-lover, who delayed hearing the case, and eventually intimidated Pittalakos into dropping his claims. When Timarchos was a councillor and Hegesandros treasurer of Athena, they arranged 'in true hetairic style' to misappropriate a thousand drachmas (Aischines 1. 110–12).

Hegesandros is said to have collaborated politically with his brother Hegesippos (§ 64) but, as we shall see (ch. 17), precise evidence of collaboration between kin in formal political contexts is hard to find. Kallistratos of Aphidnai presumably derived some advantage (and, at other moments, disadvantage) from the fact that Agyrrhios of Kollytos was his uncle,³ but speculation about the possible connections between their known political activities is pure guesswork. Kallimedon, said to have been sent as ambassador to Sardis in 392, may have been linked with Agyrrhios' family, since the latter's grandson (SS) bore the name Kallimedon; but again this does not take us very far.⁴

We are on more solid ground with the evidence of Apollodoros of Acharnai ([Demosthenes] 50. 48) that his fellow-demesman Timomachos, serving as general in the Thasos area in 361/0, sent a trireme to bring the same Kallistratos, his *kédestés* (probably father-in-law, *APF* 8157), from Methone to Thasos. Kallistratos had been impeached for political misconduct, had fled to avoid trial, and had been condemned *in absentia* (M. H. Hansen 1975, no. 87). Kallippos son of Philon of Aixone was in charge of the expedition to fetch him; it is possible that Philon, also in exile, was with Kallistratos at Methone.⁵ Presumably exiles often communicated with friends and kin serving on Athenian military expeditions (cf. Xenophon *Hellenika* 2. 1. 25–6), though Timomachos' use of his official powers to provide transport for Kallistratos was more than questionable.

³ MB, Dem. 24. 135. Sealey 1956 and Strauss 1986 speculate on political implications. I ignore this type of prosopographical study not only because to use it in the present context would be *petitio principii*, but also because reconstruction of hypothetical factions seems to me a very poor substitute for analysis of the way political choices were perceived at specific points in time.

⁴ Xen. *Hell.* 4. 8. 13, rejected by Jacoby *ad FGH* 328 F 149; Table 8.7. Sealey's suggestion (1956, 183) that one of the ambassadors was Hermogenes the Sokratic, illegitimate half-brother of Kallias III of Alopeke, does not seem to me plausible, though *APF* 7826 XVI seems inclined to accept it.

⁵ Philon: M. H. Hansen 1975 no. 89, *APF* 8065; Table 29.17.

'POLITICAL' MARRIAGES

Timomachos, at Thasos, was honouring the obligations he had contracted in marrying Kallistratos' daughter; but we do not know what the relationship between the two men was at the time when the marriage was contracted. This is a recurrent problem in attempts to uncover political motives for marriage alliances between leading Athenians.⁶

There had certainly been something of a tradition of alliance through marriage in the early Greek aristocracy (cf. Duplouy 2006; Wilgaux 2010). Homeric heroes bring home brides from far-off places, and marry their daughters to immigrants whom they incorporate into their own households. Inter-marriage among city aristocracies continued in the archaic period. Kylon is said to have married the daughter of Theagenes of Megara (Thucydides. 1. 126. 3). Peisistratos married Timonassa, daughter of Gorgilos of Argos, who had previously been married to one of the Corinthian Kypselidai, Archinos, ruler of Ambrakia on the west coast of Greece (*APF* 11793 VI); she gave him two sons, apparently brought up in Argos, who may have arrived with Argive troops to help their father regain power in Attika in 546.⁶ Kypselos, eponymous archon of Athens in 597/6, may well have owed his name to an affinal connection between his family and the tyrants of Corinth (*APF* 8429 II). Two Athenians were prominent among the suitors of Agariste, daughter of Kleisthenes of Sikyon: Hippokleides, probably the nephew of the archon Kypselos (BS, *APF* 8429 II) and Megakles II, who was the successful candidate (Herodotus 5. 126–30; *APF* 9688 III). Megakles' father Alkmeon had already aided Kleisthenes of Sikyon in the First Sacred War, waged c.595 to ensure control of the Delphic oracle by the neighbouring cities represented in the Amphiktyonic League, and had befriended the Lydians who came to consult the oracle (Herodotus 1. 125); the family became conspicuously rich,⁷ and maintained close ties with Delphi.

Tyrants, if they did not wish to treat any of their fellow-countrymen as equals, were compelled either to marry their children to kin (Gernet 1953*b*) or to seek

⁶ Hdt 1. 61. 4, *A.P.* 17. 4; *APF* 11793. V. The name Hegesistratos may have given rise to this tradition (but cf. P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 199). Lavelle 1988 suggests that Peisistratos also married an Eretrian (ch. 15 n. 18). Gods and Homeric heroes made uxori-local 'marriages' and sired sons who were reared by their maternal grandfathers, but it is not clear how readily such an arrangement would have been tolerated, or how it would have been understood, in the 6th c.

⁷ Herodotus' story that 'Kroisos' loaded Alkmeon with gold dust (6. 125) perhaps acquires a new interest in the light of theories that in the early 6th c. the Lydian kings may have awarded privileged persons the right (and the wherewithal?) to strike coins (R. W. Wallace 1987, Descat 1994; but see Wallace 2006).

spouses for them abroad. Peisistratos' son Hippias married a daughter to the son of Hippokles tyrant of Lampsakos, c.514; he proved to be a loyal ally.⁸

The search of the aristocracy for prestigious alliances abroad was not confined to Greek cities. Miltiades IV, who ruled a little principality in the Thracian Chersonese from c.516 to 493, married a Thracian princess, Hegesipyle; Themistokles' mother was said to have come from the same area.⁹ The use of coinage was spreading rapidly in the late sixth century, and the Thracian and Macedonian hills were known to contain gold and silver; the area was also probably a good source of mercenary troops. Foreign marriages were precluded by Perikles' law of 451, restricting citizenship to those born of Athenian parentage on both sides, but Thracian princesses reappear in the fourth century: Iphikrates (*APF* 7737) married the daughter of the Thracian king Kotys c.387/6. Charidemos' marriage to the sister of Kotys' son Kersobleptes may have taken place before Charidemos became an Athenian citizen.¹⁰ Military leaders needed personal allies abroad and knew that they might have to leave Athens and sell their skills elsewhere. Ergokles, the target of Lysias 28, was accused of having advised Thrasyboulos of Steiria in 390/89 to seize Byzantion, keep the fleet, marry the daughter of Seuthes of Thrace, and set up on his own (28. 5). Konon acquired a wife and son, and property, in Cyprus in the 390s (Lysias 19. 36, *APF* 13700). Demosthenes' maternal grandfather Gylon, condemned *in absentia* c.410 for betraying Nymphaion to the rulers of the Bosporan kingdom in the Crimea, probably married while in exile; Demosthenes' enemies claimed that his mother was a Scythian, though the truth was presumably less sensational (*APF* 3597 VII). Miltiades VII, who led an Athenian colony to the northern Adriatic in 325, married his daughter to the Macedonian Ophellas, one of Alexander's Companions, who later became ruler of Kyrene; she subsequently married Demetrios Poliorketes (*APF* 8429 XV).

Perikles' law did not bar Athenian citizens from giving their sisters and daughters to foreign husbands, but by 450 the Athenians may have felt themselves too superior in power to both Greeks and barbarians for this type of alliance to seem

⁸ *APF* 11793 IX C; Thuc. 6. 59. 3–4. On the modern view that Hipparchos son of Charmos, ostracized in 488/7, was the son of another daughter of Hippias see ch. 15 n. 25. The idea that a third daughter of Hippias married Miltiades IV, c.520 (*APF* 11793 IX D, 8429 IX) was revived by Piccirilli (1986), but is highly speculative, as is the suggestion that Hippokrates son of Anaxileos (*APF* 9688 IV) was another DS of Hippias.

⁹ Miltiades: Hdt. 6. 39. 2, *APF* 8429 X. Themistokles: *APF* 6669 II; Bicknell 1982; D. M. Lewis 1983b; Ogden 1996.

¹⁰ Both were serving as mercenary generals in Thrace at the time of the marriages. Kotys was granted Athenian citizenship c.384/3, Chairedemos probably c.357 (see Lambert 2006, no. 2). *APF* 7737 argues, from the statement of Dem. 23. 129 that the two affinal relationships were on the same footing (*τῶι αὐτῶι τροπῶι*), that Iphikrates married Kotys' sister, but it seems unlikely that Kotys' citizenship grant would have included his siblings.

desirable. We hear only incidentally that before 353 Timokrates of Krioia had married his sister to a Kerkyrean *xenos*, an arrangement that Demosthenes treats as disgraceful.¹¹

The first attested political marriage inside Attika turned out badly. Peisistratos married the daughter of Megakles II when they combined forces c.560 against Lykourgos of the Eteoboutadai, but neither the alliance nor the marriage lasted. Gossip said that he slept with her ‘the wrong way’ to avoid begetting children (Herodotus 1. 61. 1). Speculation about other political marriages is concentrated in the period between c.510 and 470, a favourite hunting ground for all forms of prosopographical guesswork. The end of the Peisistratid tyranny left the descendants of Megakles II in a strong position. They claimed to have been responsible for the Spartan intervention that had driven out Hippias; they had friends at Delphi, and affines in Eretria (ch. 15 n. 18); Megakles’ son Kleisthenes, grandson (DS) of the tyrant of Sikyon, had emerged as the political leader of the city in 507. Xanthippos of Cholargos, future father of Perikles, married Kleisthenes’ cousin (FBSD) Agariste II, daughter of Hippokrates and sister of Megakles IV, probably in the early 490s.¹² Alkmeonid names turn up in several demes besides Alopeke, in which the main branch of the family was registered; in some cases this may indicate residential dispersal of the family—which traced its origin from an Alkmeon who lived c.600—before 507, but it is likely enough that names were also transmitted to other families by marriage. There is no point, however, in speculating about possible instances.¹³

A perhaps inserted chapter of Herodotus (6. 122) records that Kallias I of Alopeke—successful chariot racer and member of the *genos* Kerykes, perhaps Torchbearer of the Eleusinian Mysteries—had allowed his three daughters to choose their own husbands. If there is any genuine tradition behind this story, it may refer to a competition between suitors of the type organized by Kleisthenes of Sikyon. It is possible that one of these marriages produced Aristides, also registered in Alopeke; but the chain of evidence is weak, and in any case we know nothing of Aristides’ ancestors.¹⁴

¹¹ Dem. 24. 202–3; *APF* 13772 (erroneously ‘daughter’).

¹² *APF* 9688 X. On the question of a possible earlier intermarriage between the two families see ch. 4 n. 33.

¹³ The 700 families of Alkmeonidai who were briefly expelled from Attika in 508 (Hdt. 5. 72. 1) can scarcely all have been kin. The name Alkmeonides was still current in a family of Aphidnai in the early 4th c. (*APF* 9688 XIII); in 415 an Alkmeonides was married to an Agariste (III), from his own or another branch of the family (Table 15.2).

¹⁴ *APF* 7826 III. The conjecture that another daughter of Kallias married a man called Strouthon (ibid.; see *FGE* 11–15; D. M. Lewis 1984b, 179) rests on even weaker grounds, since Hipponikos (the name of Strouthon’s son) must have been a common name in archaic Greek aristocratic families. Shapiro’s suggestion (1982) that the third daughter became the mother of Kallias son of Kratios, a prominent candidate for ostracism in the 480s and perhaps 470s, has equally little basis; Kallias is an even commoner name.

More can be said about the marriage of this Kallias' grandson (SS), Kallias II. He married Elpinike, daughter of Miltiades IV and sister of Kimon, in the late 480s or early 470s; the marriage was something of a gamble, since Miltiades had died in disgrace, Kimon was still young, an older half-brother was living in Persian territory (Herodotus 6. 41. 4), and there had been gossip about Elpinike and Kimon. However, Kimon had already shown in 480 that he could turn his good looks and inherited charisma to advantage with a well-staged symbolic gesture, leading a procession of young cavalrymen up to the Akropolis to dedicate their bridles to Athena as a pledge of their readiness to defend Athens at sea (Plutarch *Kimon* 5. 2–3); and Kallias' own affairs were not above question. The family had already been rich in the sixth century, but the sudden increase in wealth which earned Kallias II the nickname *Lakkoploutos* (pit-rich) appears to have aroused some hostility.¹⁵ Interpretations of later political relations between Kimon and his brother-in-law depend on the date and political context assigned to the peace treaty or treaties that Kallias negotiated with Persia. If he was first sent to Persia in the 460s, just after Kimon's victory at Eurymedon, he may (but need not) have been carrying out a policy of which Kimon approved; if peace negotiations began only in 449, after Kimon's death, Kallias will have been carrying out the policy of Perikles, whose ex-wife was soon to marry his son Hipponikos II.¹⁶ In either case, Kallias may have been selected as ambassador more because he could carry off the role with an appropriate display of wealth and *dignitas* than because he carried weight as a political ally.

Kimon himself married a girl of Alkmeonid origin, Isodike, but here too it is easier to sketch out a plausible context for the marriage than to identify any long-term political consequences. In the years around 480 both families, though illustrious, were under attack; it was not clear how—or if—they would adapt themselves to a rapidly changing political situation, a challenge which Kimon, in the event, met more successfully than his affines. On the relations of Xanthippos, who attacked Miltiades at the beginning of the 480s, with his wife's family see Table 15.2. The best evidence for friendly relations between Kimon and the Alkmeonidai comes from the tradition that the Stoa Poikile, which contained a painting of the battle of Marathon, was built by a Peisianax, who may have been Kimon's brother-in-law (WB).¹⁷ We have no evidence of other political activity

¹⁵ On Kimon's use of political theatre see Humphreys 1999. The story that Kallias had bought property confiscated from Peisistratos (Hdt. 6. 121. 2) may derive from the early 5th c. and refer to Kallias II and the Peisistratidai rather than originating in the 550s (where *APF* 7826 II places it).

¹⁶ The earlier date, in my view, does not necessarily imply that peace with Persia was Kimon's policy (Humphreys 1999). On the date of Hipponikos' marriage see ch. 4 n. 52.

¹⁷ Much of Peisianax' contribution may have consisted in persuading friends in Attika and Aigina (the source of the stone used) to donate labour and lend ships and draught animals (Burford 1965, 1969 ch. 6; R. G. Osborne 1985*a*, 98–100, 103, 105–7). Polygnotos, who did the paintings, is said not to have

by Alkmeonids during Kimon's heyday in the 470s and 460s. Isodike's cousin Perikles rises c.463 as an opponent of Kimon; another cousin, Megakles V, seems to have been known only for his success in horse racing.¹⁸

Our sources, however, seem to be confident in ascribing the rise of Thoukydides son of Melesias as Perikles' main opponent in the 440s to the fact that he was an affine (*kêdestês*) of Kimon, probably his son-in-law.¹⁹ We hear nothing of a previous political tradition in Thoukydides' family; his father was a successful wrestler, turned trainer, who moved in aristocratic circles (Wade-Gery 1932). Since we do not hear of Thoukydides until after Kimon's death—perhaps as much as twenty years after the marriage that linked them—the extent of active collaboration between the two remains doubtful, and we cannot argue that Kimon was looking for a political aide or successor in selecting his son-in-law. The most we can say is that Kimon would have felt at home in the network of friends in other Greek cities that Melesias had built up through his athletic activities,²⁰ and that Thoukydides proved more successful than Kimon's sons—who would have been some fifteen years younger—in claiming to inherit Kimon's political charisma when he died.

The father of Oloros of Halimous may have married a sister of Kimon (*APF* 7268 V), but the first member of the family for whom a political career is attested, the historian Thucydides, son of Oloros, was an admirer of Perikles.

The transfer of Perikles' ex-wife to Hipponikos, son of Kimon's brother-in-law (ZH) Kallias, has already been mentioned.²¹ Rather than indicating a major change in Kallias' political views, it perhaps shows Perikles making a diplomatic gesture of friendship in a difficult period of his career to an elderly man (Kallias) who had always been a visible figure to be reckoned with on the political scene (and still more prominent in religious contexts), despite his lack of military achievements.²² It should be remembered, in any case, that the woman's own kin are likely to have had some say in the matter.

asked for pay (Plut. *Kim.* 4. 10); he belonged to the Thasian upper class (Salviat 1979, 4. 16, cf. perhaps 4. 20) and seems, like Stesimbrotos, to have accepted Kimon (there was gossip about Polygnotos and Elpinike). But other skilled craftsmen may have required wages.

¹⁸ According to *APF* 9688 VIII–XI, Perikles would have been Isodike's FFBDS, Megakles V her FFBSS (Table 15.2); according to W. Thompson 1969*a* the relationships would be FZS and FBS. Isodike may have been dead by 463 (Plut. *Kim.* 4. 10).

¹⁹ *APF* 7268 III. *A.P.* 28. 2 and Plut. *Per.* 11. 1 have *kêdestes*, Schol. Arist. III 446 Dindorf 1829 *gambros*, which should mean ZH or DH, but might be a guess.

²⁰ Two of Kimon's sons were called Lakedaimonios and Thettalos.

²¹ *APF* 11811 III, 7826 IX. Bicknell 1972 suggests that Perikles' wife was a sister of Deinomache, hence Perikles' MBD and Alkibiades' MZ; but this will not make Perikles Alkibiades' *theios* (D. S. 12. 38. 3) or *avunculus* (Val. Max. 3 ext. 1).

²² Above, n. 17; *APF* 7826 VI, IX. For the possibility that Kallias was general in 449/8 see ch. 16 at section 'Antiochis'.

It might be argued that the scarcity of clear cases of politically motivated marriage is due to our lack of evidence for long-term political association; yet this itself may reflect structural realities. Athenian politics in the classical period were individualistic, competitive, rationalistic, and situational. Each ambitious politician set out at every Assembly meeting to persuade the audience that he had the best advice to give in the current circumstances. Leaders were not strongly identified with long-term policies or ideologies, so there was neither need nor basis for long-term alliances.

For a leading politician to rely regularly on support from a more junior kinsman or affine would look uncomfortably like a patron–client relationship. Such arrangements may indeed have existed, but they will have borne little resemblance to the coalitions of leading figures postulated by some prosopographers. Thoudippos, if he was indeed Kleon’s son-in-law, will have been acting in a client-like role in proposing the tribute reassessment of 425 BCE;²³ in 349 the well-known Kephisophon of Aphidnai sent his kēdestes Amphiās, perhaps of the same deme, to bring to court a will that had been deposited with Kephisophon, and testify on his behalf.²⁴ Konon in 393 arranged a marriage between Aristophanes, son of his lieutenant Nikophemos, and the widow of Phaidros of Myrrhinous (*APF* 5951); Konon is acting as patron here, but was probably using his friendship with the bride’s father to ensure Aristophanes a place in a wealthy and respectable family rather than pursuing any more specific political aim.

A more normal pattern may perhaps be represented by the marriages of the sisters of Epilykos son of Teisandros, who served as councillor and secretary to the Council in 424/3, and probably went to Persia as ambassador in the same year (*APF* 8429 IV). Teisandros, their father, may have been a distant kinsman of Kimon. One daughter married Perikles’ son Xanthippos; another married Glaukon of Kerameis, who was perhaps general several times in the 440s and son of the Leagros who served as general in 465 at Drabeskos;²⁵ a third married Leogoras of Kydathenaion, whose father Andokides II had served as ambassador to Sparta in 446/5. The daughter of Glaukon married Kallias III son of Hipponikos of Alopeke; Epilykos himself married the daughter of the wealthy Ischomachos. This was an extremely well-connected family, about whose marriages we are exceptionally well informed. Teisandros may have had political ambitions; he was a candidate for ostracism c.440.²⁶ Yet if there was any political intention behind these marriages, the choices were unfortunate. Xanthippos died young without showing any political promise;

²³ *APF* 7252, 8674; but see ch. 8 n. 56.

²⁴ *APF* 8410, [Dem.] 45. 10. Amphiās was probably WB or DH (Humphreys 1986a, 80).

²⁵ On the date and location of the campaign see Pritchett 1995; Humphreys 1999. The identification of Glaukon (*APF* 3027) is contested by W. Thompson 1971e (cf. ch. 4 n. 8 and Table 4.2).

²⁶ Perhaps 443 (Brenne 2001, no. 251). There is one ostrakon naming an earlier Teisandros, son of Staseas, from the Kerameikos (Brenne 2001, no. 253, 471?).

Leogoras and Ischomachos made no mark; Kallias did his kin no good; only Glaukon, if he is the general of that name, had a solid military career. It may be safer to assume that Teisandros was looking among his peers for affines who were rich, respectable, and well known, without having any more specific aims in view.

It is important to consider the chronological relationship between marriage and alliance. Teisias (son of Teisimachos, of Kephale? *APF* 13479; ch. 27 n. 54) was *kedestes* of the oligarch Charikles and himself served in the Council under the Thirty (Isokr. 16. 42, 45). Teisias was general in 417/16, Charikles in 414/13. There was normally an age difference of about 15 years between brothers-in-law. Since Teisias in 416 was an associate of Alkibiades and a chariot-racing enthusiast, we might assume that he was still in his thirties at this time, owing rapid promotion to Alkibiades' influence (and his own wealth), and that Charikles had married his sister c.435–430, long before either of them had any serious oligarchic interests.

A marriage which, it has been suggested (*APF* 10808), may have had a more specific political colouring is that of Nikias II of Kydantidai, grandson of the famous general of the Peloponnesian War, shortly before 390, to the daughter of the prominent democratic leader Thrasyboulos of Steiria (*APF* 7310; D. M. Lewis 1955, 30). Nikias' great-uncles (FFB) Diognetos and Eukrates, especially the former, had been involved with the oligarchic regimes of the late fifth century, and it is thought that Nikias might have sought protection in this alliance. However, Nikias' father Nikeratos had been killed by the Thirty (as indeed had Eukrates); Nikias' early marriage, perhaps in his early twenties, is explained by the fact that he was an orphan; and Thrasyboulos may well have stood to gain at least as much by acquiring a rich son-in-law as Nikias would gain from his father-in-law's political protection or patronage.²⁷ In the event, Thrasyboulos died soon after the marriage, and if he had lived would probably have been tried for misappropriation of public money (Lysias 28. 4–8), while Nikias led a quiet and undistinguished life.

The only marriage explicitly characterized in our sources as 'for advantage' (*epi tou sympherontos*, [Demosthenes] 49. 66) is that of Timotheos' daughter, in 362, to Menestheus son of Iphikrates. Timotheos had threatened to prosecute Iphikrates for treating a union with a foreign woman as marriage; he dropped the

²⁷ I do not see why *APF* (10808) thinks that Nikias would have been the gainer financially. The 14 T. he inherited from his father (Lys. 19. 47), though less than everyone expected, was a sizeable sum, and the family land in the mining district would recover its value after the war; Thrasyboulos, according to Isokr. 18. 23, did not recover the property he lost while in exile under the Thirty. Support for the view that a democratic record was an asset in matrimonial negotiations at this period can, however, be found in Andokides' assertion that his great-grandfather (FFF; he may have made a mistake in generations, *APF* 828 II with p. 596) preferred exile to marriage alliance with the Peisistratidai, and eventually married the daughter of a man who helped to expel them, Charias (Andok. 2. 6, 1. 106); see R. Thomas 1989 on the influence of the reign and defeat of the Thirty on oral tradition concerning the earlier tyranny.

suit, and the marriage was a conspicuous gesture of reconciliation.²⁸ Whether the alliance lasted is not clear.

It is tempting to see structural factors at work in the marriage of Lykourgos of Boutadai, c.350, to the daughter of Kallias of Bate (*APF* 9251, 7856). Both families belonged to aristocratic genê, Lykourgos to the branch of the Eteoboutadai that currently held the priesthood of Poseidon Erechtheus, Kallias to the [? Apheida]ntidai. They may have been drawn together by rivalry with a third family, the descendants of Drakontides of Bate (*APF* 4549, Table 20.4), which held the other major Eteoboutad priesthood, that of Athena Polias, and will have competed with Kallias' family in the deme Bate. But this can have been, at most, only one factor in Kallias' choice of a son-in-law. Moreover, Lykourgos did not become a force in Athenian politics until after the battle of Chaironeia. Then indeed we find his brother-in-law (WB) Habron of Bate serving as treasurer of military funds while Lykourgos himself has general charge of the city's finances (ch. 17). But these developments could hardly have been foreseen when Lykourgos married.

Lykourgos' son Lykophron (II) married his daughter Kallisto to Kleombrotos son of Deinokrates of Acharnai, perhaps as part of the 'Lykourgan revival' c.307; Deinokrates had been a prominent general of the 330s (338/7, *IRb* 93; 336/5, see *AO*; cf. also *IRb* 94, *IG* ii² 2793; ch. 28 n. 54).

As we shall see (ch. 17), the Athenian political system did not provide much scope for formal collaboration between kin. Much of the executive business of government was carried on by boards appointed by lot on the basis of equal representation of all ten tribes. Informally, leading politicians had their hangers-on; but these were probably mostly small fry, and one did not need to rely on younger kinsmen or affines. Marriages were arranged by the fathers of the groom and bride, and our sources suggest that their main concerns were *genos* (a respectable family background), wealth, and character.²⁹ They looked among their friends, long-standing associates, and social equals. To make an alliance with an ambitious and successful political leader was a gamble; he would be rich while successful, but might fall victim to accusation, exile, and confiscation of property, which as we shall shortly see was liable to bring kin and affines also into jeopardy. Below this level of prominence was a solid stratum of respectable and wealthy men who led less eventful lives, but regularly attended the Assembly, and served in other posts when called on: gentry, whose support was worth having precisely because it was not obviously given as a *quid pro quo*.

Athenian political life was itself a social world, which created opportunities for intensive association. We hear by chance of the marriage between the children of two men who served together on a military board in the 370s; perhaps their

²⁸ *APF* 7737, 13700. On the date of [Dem.] 49 see now Trevett 1992, 35–6. On the threatened prosecution see ch. 5 n. 47.

²⁹ Plat. *Euthyd.* 306d.

friendship was formed at this time.³⁰ Marriage resulting from political association of this kind would be no different from the marriages arranged by associates in other walks of life. In Menander's *Samia* two fathers who have travelled together to the Black Sea and Byzantion arrange a marriage between their children. The speaker of a Lysianic speech (*POxy* 31. 2538, F A 3b Carey 2007) was the son of an Athenian trader who had married into a family living in Selymbria on the Thracian coast. Pasion's widow married his freedman Phormion, who was to manage the bank in which he had been employed; both status anomaly and business interests favoured this arrangement (*APF* 11672 VI, IX; Whitehead 1986*b*). The sculptor Praxiteles may have married the daughter of his teacher Kephisodotos (*APF* 8334). Others married their sons to the daughters of neighbours, fellow-demesmen, or members of the same *genos*.

Marriage was an inflexible, slow, and risky vehicle for political manoeuvring in a climate as volatile as that of classical Athens. (Foreign princes, whatever the ups and downs of dynastic rivalry, may well have appeared to have a much more stable position.) The thirty-year-old groom who looked set for a promising career might die young or remain a playboy. Alliances shifted; Philodemos of Paiania, who supported Demosthenes' enrolment in the deme in 366, married his daughter about ten years later to Aischines (Aischines 2. 150, 152; *APF* 14625). While a father would presumably be unlikely to accept as son-in-law a young man who made a point of contradicting his political views, the Athenian political system directed citizens' attention to day-to-day policy issues rather than questions of principle and ideology. The relation between politics and personal identity will therefore have differed from that in the modern democratic state. Individual charisma, for those of the elite who possessed it, was (even) more important than it is today; political convictions, except in periods of oligarchic revolution, less so.

LAWSUITS AND OTHER POLITICAL CONFLICTS

Politics impinged on private life most seriously through the use of prosecution to eliminate political rivals; a court case might result in exile or loss of property, and

³⁰ *IG* ii² 6077 (*CAT* 2. 376, c. 320); the fathers had served together as taxiarchs or phylarchs under Thrasyboulos of Kollytos in 373/2 (*AO* 246: Theophilos of Hermos and Thrasymedes of Acharnai). Sealey 1956 suggests that Malthake, daughter of Moschos and wife of Leosthenes (*IG* ii² 1524. 203, 1529. 11–12) may be the daughter of Moschos son of Thestios of Kydathenaion, secretary to the Council in 368/7, who served as treasurer of Athena in 366/5 (*IG* ii² 106, 1428. 6 + add.), and wife of the Leosthenes who was general in 362/1 or 361/0 (M. H. Hansen 1975, no. 88; *APF* 9142; but see now Humphreys 2009). Even if these very conjectural identifications are valid, all we can say is that this was a marriage within the politically active elite. The possible marriage of Demetrios of Phaleron to a daughter of Konon III of Anaphlystos (suggested *APF* 3455, on flimsy grounds) might be another example.

litigants were unscrupulous in repeating or inventing scandal about each other's kin and associates.

The distinction made in this study between lawsuits concerning family matters (ch. 7) and cases of a 'political' nature, to be discussed here, is obviously somewhat problematic in general terms.³¹ When one Athenian pursued another in court anything was grist to the mill, and I can think of no text which would suggest that Athenians thought it proper to keep 'private' and 'political' disputes separate. Nevertheless, the cases about which we have evidence fall fairly neatly into two sets. Apollodoros' attack on Stephanos of Eroiadai in the speech *Against Neaira* ([Demosthenes] 59), on the grounds that he had married a non-citizen, a public offence, concerns Stephanos' private life, but arose from a political encounter and not a clash over family matters; Stephanos had prosecuted Apollodoros by a *graphê paranomôn* for illegally proposing to spend money from the theoric fund for military purposes. Only in the case of Kallias III of Alopeke's prosecution of Andokides for impiety in 400 (Andokides 1) do we hear of a preceding family quarrel over the allocation of epikleroi.³²

Political lawsuits, as defined here, are cases brought against prominent politicians and their associates with the aim of removing them from the political scene, damaging their reputations, or inhibiting specific measures which they were seeking to carry through. A decree could be blocked by filing a *graphê paranomôn* asserting that the proposal was illegal; this apparently became a very common manoeuvre in the fourth century, although it is represented in our corpus of speeches only by Demosthenes 22, Aischines 3 with Demosthenes 18, and Hyperides 2 *Phil.*³³ Political opponents could be removed by having them sentenced to exile or to a fine too heavy for them to pay, usually through the process of *eisangelia* (M. H. Hansen 1975), or by alleging that they had already been deprived of their political rights on account of debts to the state or some earlier condemnation or misconduct. They could be discredited by attacks on their own morals or those of their kin or associates, for which there were many opportunities; for example, when the brother of the litigious Theokrines of Hybadai was serving as *thesmothetês*, enemies of Theokrines protested that he was corrupting the board by giving his brother

³¹ For an analysis of the role of kin in court in all types of case, organized by kin categories, see Humphreys 1986a, and Table 7.14.

³² Homicide cases brought after the fall of the Thirty had some political implications, but essentially homicide was seen as a private matter, and such cases have accordingly been analysed in ch. 7. P. J. Rhodes 2004 defines 'irrelevance' rather narrowly.

³³ Dem. 20 is another possible instance. Before the potential of the *graphê paranomôn* was established, other tactics were used; the speaker of Antiphon 6 alleges that his indictment for homicide was a move first to prevent him from pursuing his *eisangelia* against Aristion and others for embezzling public funds (6. 35), and later to silence him when, as a councillor, he began to make similar charges against a number of officials (6. 49; see M. H. Hansen 1975, nos. 131–4).

advice, presumably on legal questions. The brother was deposed; the aim of this manoeuvre was apparently to discredit Theokrines by attacking him through a less adroit member of his family, without allowing him the opportunity to defend himself directly ([Demosthenes] 58. 27–8).

The victim's kin might formally or informally be forced to share his exile; they might lose rights to property they expected to inherit from him, or might be accused of holding property that was rightfully his and therefore subject to confiscation; scandalous stories about them might be told in court. Prosecutors hoped to persuade kin of the defendant to appear as witnesses against him, this being regarded as especially strong proof of moral turpitude; and the inducements to do so may in some cases have been considerable. Those who were not prepared to wash their hands of kin, quite apart from any sincere feelings of solidarity, loyalty, and affection that may have motivated them, were drawn into lawsuits willy-nilly, and had every interest in rallying round to clear the name of a relative, bring counter-attacks against his enemies, appear after he had been found guilty and plead for a lenient penalty, or save some of his property from confiscation.

Sentence of exile had traditionally, in many cases at least, included the offender's *genos*, but in this context the term only refers to direct descendants; and in classical Athens sons were not necessarily affected unless they inherited an unpaid fine.³⁴ When kin went into exile together they presumably did so either because kin and close associates of an exiled individual would have found life uncomfortable had they stayed, or because they shared membership in a group defeated in political conflict. Evidence for the involvement of a wider range of kin is poor, but the very scanty Athenian material can be supplemented by a few pieces of evidence from elsewhere in the Aegean. The marriage of Themistokles' daughter Nikomache to her cousin Phrasikles suggests that the groom, son of one of Themistokles' siblings, had accompanied the family into exile. Alkibiades was joined in exile at some time after 415 by his uncle (FB) Axiochos, and a cousin, Alkibiades of Phegous, both of whom had been sentenced on their own account. The exodus of democrats from Athens to Thebes under the Thirty no doubt in many cases set groups of kin on the road together, but precise evidence is hard to find. Thrasyboulos of Kollytos may have travelled to Thebes with his sister and her husband, whose sons Lysitheides and Thrason of Erchia later supported Theban interests in Athens (*APF* 7305). In c.385 Athens granted tax immunity to a number of Thasians who had been exiled from their island for

³⁴ The affair of the Alkmeonidai at the end of the 6th c. was exceptional. The legal position of a son who applied for membership of phratry and deme, or a daughter who married, while the father was *atimos* was far from clear, but it is likely enough that many of them were accepted without challenge. The treatment of the subject in Glotz 1904 is vitiated by misinterpretation of the term *genos*. On Dein 1. 62 see ch. 16 n. 54.

pro-Athenian activities; the list of thirty-three names, seventeen of which are fully preserved, includes a father and son, and a group of three brothers.³⁵ In 376/5 seven Delians were exiled for attacking the Athenian officials on the island in a sanctuary; two of them, Pyrrhaithos son of Antigonos and Hodoiteles son of Antigonos, may have been brothers or cousins (*IG* ii² 1635. 138, 140; V. Chankowski 2008, 249–51). Isokrates 19 gives a lively picture of the wanderings of a group of Siphnian exiles (ch. 2 n. 65, Table 2.8).

Exiles in most cases stood to lose their property, or at the very least had to make arrangements for its management during their absence; kin often came to the rescue in such circumstances, not always acting from wholly altruistic motives. A variety of tactics could be adopted. A kinsman could assert that property claimed by the state, or denounced for sale to pay off debts owed to the state, was his own, or was jointly owned; he could claim that it had been leased or mortgaged to him; he could denounce it as the property of the debtor, claim a reward, and contribute the reward towards payment of the debt; he could purchase confiscated property when it was sold at auction, in order to ensure that it raised enough money to pay off the debt, keep it in the family, and perhaps return it eventually to its original owner. Some of these manoeuvres can only be illustrated by evidence from private proceedings for debt, but it is clear that they would be applicable also in the case of debts owed to the state.³⁶

When Pamphilos of Keiriadai was heavily fined for his conduct as general in 389/8, Mantias of Thorikos seems to have salvaged some of his property by claiming that it had been given to him as the dowry of Pamphilos' daughter Plangon (cf. [Demosthenes] 47. 57; Demosthenes 30. 7–9). Mantias had two sons by her, but their status was far from clear (*APF* 9667, Humphreys 1989, forthcoming *a*). Mantias may have feared that if he openly recognized Plangon as his wife he would be accused of having appropriated even more of Pamphilos' estate. This was the predicament of the speaker of Lysias 19, if we can believe him; his sister, after the death of her first husband Phaidros of Myrrhinous,

³⁵ *IG* ii² 33 (*SEG* 36. 143). Stellandrides, the father of the Nymphon who appears in this text, is mentioned in Pouilloux 1954*a* 348, no. 131, dated to the end of the 5th or beginning of the 4th c., but may have died before his son was exiled. Three brothers, sons of Peithagoras, exiled from Delphi, *CID* II 73; see also *IEph* 2, *IAsos* 1 = *Syll.*³ 169. Forsdyke 2005 deals only with Athens (and her empire).

³⁶ *DGE* 424 (Minon 2007, no. 30) is an Elean law of the mid 4th c. guaranteeing security of civic rights and property to the male and female descendants of exiles, but forbidding next-of-kin to sell property or send money abroad to the exiles. In *Syll.*³ 306 (*IG* v 2, xxxvi–vii, *IPArk* 5), a Tegean regulation of c.324 found at Delphi, it seems possible that women have been preserving or recovering exiles' property (VI), and there are also cases in which guarantors, presumably kin or friends, have taken over exiles' property and repaid debts secured on it (V); but the details are hard to reconstruct (Plassart 1914; Balogh and Heichelheim 1943, 71–81). The complex arrangements made by many Greek cities to enable returning exiles to recover pieces of property they had lost (see also *IvO* 22, *Nomima* 17) have to be seen against this background of sub-legal transactions.

had been married to Aristophanes, son of Konon's lieutenant Nikophemos, and when Nikophemos and Aristophanes were executed in 390/89 the defendant and his father were suspected of having kept part of Aristophanes' property for themselves (*APF* 5951).

We have no explicit example of attempts to preserve property from confiscation by claiming that it was jointly owned,³⁷ but the speaker of *Lysias* 17 was involved in a private suit against the sons of Eraton when the state intervened and apparently confiscated Eraton's property; complications arising from the existence of three heirs may have confronted state officials as well as the private creditor. When Apollodoros of Acharnai denounced the property of his neighbour and ex-client Arethousios (of Pelex? *APF* p. 481 n. 1, Whitehead 1986*a* no. 308; ch 26 n. 53), who had been condemned for issuing a false summons (*pseudoklêteia*) and fined 6000 drachmai, Arethousios' brother Nikostratos claimed that some slaves included in the list of property were his own; their mother also made claims ([Demosthenes] 53. 28). Trouble between the families went back to the lifetime of Apollodoros' father Pasion (D. R. Jordan 2003/*SEG* 53. 256; see also Sosin 2008). Similarly, in a private case, Demosthenes had to deal with claims by Onetor, in his attempt to recover his property from Aphobos; [Demosthenes] 29. 3 says that Aphobos' brother Aisios claimed to own a *synoikia* which Demosthenes regarded as part of Aphobos' estate, and the passage was written by someone who had studied Athenian forensic speeches, though probably not by Demosthenes.

Even more complex manoeuvres can perhaps be detected in *Lysias* 18, delivered by a nephew of the general Nikias of Kydantidai. Nikias' son Nikeratos was killed by the Thirty, but Nikeratos' son Nikias II apparently succeeded in recovering his inheritance when democracy was restored. His cousins, sons of Nikias' brothers Eukrates and Diognetos, had a more difficult time. Eukrates, though perhaps not free of all suspicion of oligarchic tendencies, had served as general in 412/11 and 405/4, and had also been killed by the Thirty, leaving two young sons. Diognetos had gone into exile, probably in 415, and seems to have returned under the Thirty. *Lysias* 18 was delivered by one of Eukrates' sons, opposing the confiscation of property currently held by himself and his brothers, but also being used to support Diognetos' son Diomnestos. The basis for confiscation was presumably a judgment passed against Diognetos in 415 or 410. It seems likely that the same property was claimed at that date by Eukrates; then, under the Thirty, at the time of Eukrates' execution, by Diognetos; and again, c.397, by the sons of Eukrates. The controversial status of this estate probably derived at least partly from Eukrates' and Diognetos' manoeuvres,

³⁷ See however *Is.* 2. 28–9, with Wyse's note; there may have been an ongoing dispute over division. The speaker of [Dem.] 47. 34 checks whether his opponent and brother have divided their father's estate.

first in 415 and later under the Thirty, to preserve each other's property from confiscation.³⁸

Lysias 29 comes from a case in which a friend of Ergokles, the condemned man, is accused of having withheld some of his property from confiscation.

The speaker of Lysias 7 was defending himself against a charge of having destroyed the enclosure surrounding a sacred olive tree.³⁹ The land on which it had allegedly stood had belonged to the oligarch Peisandros; confiscated with the rest of his property in 410, it had been given to a metic, Apollodoros of Megara, as reward for his assassination of another oligarch, Phrynichos; shortly before the rule of the Thirty it had been bought by a certain Antikles, and the speaker had bought it from Antikles after the end of the civil war, in 403. He had leased it to a series of tenants for seven years before taking it into his own hands (7. 4–11). He was on bad terms with some of his neighbours (§ 18); the accusation evidently included allegations that he had sympathized with the Thirty (27). He admits that he has enemies (39–40). He is also childless (41). It seems possible that first Antikles and then he had bought the property with the idea of returning it eventually to Peisandros or his heirs, and that there was local resentment of their actions.

When Leokrates of Pallene left Athens after the battle of Chaironeia—a case of voluntary exile—he ‘sold’ his house and a workshop of slave bronze-casters to his brother-in-law (ZH) Amyntas, who later ‘sold’ it again to Timochares of Acharnai, husband of Leokrates’ younger sister. The sale was probably *prasis epi lysei*, a form of mortgage under which Leokrates would retain the right to repurchase the property if he returned to Athens—although it appears that when Leokrates did return, in 330, Timochares took advantage of Lykourgos’ attack on him and appeared as a witness against him, presumably hoping to keep the property for himself.⁴⁰ Records of rent from leased property, in the lists of houses and

³⁸ Carey 2007 (on Lys. 18. 14) suggests that Poliochos (possibly the comic poet *PCG* 7 p. 550f., since the name is rare) had tried to oppose by *graphê paranomôn* a general decree granting rights of recovery to the owners of property seized by the Thirty, and had been defeated (incurring a fine of 1000 dr.). Lys. 18 would then come from one of a series of cases (§ 20) in which Poliochos and others pursued reinstated owners, or their heirs, whose title was open to question; these suits would belong to the not uncommon category of cases brought, despite the amnesty of 403/2 (on which see Carawan 2004, 2013), against persons suspected of complicity with the oligarchs. Eukrates’ sons were young, inexperienced, and compromised by the record of their FB Diognetos. On the *syndikoi* of § 26 see Rubinstein 2000, 45; § 20 casts doubt on the implication of § 26 that Poliochos had no connection with them. Compare *P. Rainer* XIII F 1 (Carey 2004; 2007, XII F 25–29); this case is even harder to reconstruct, but we are explicitly told (F 27 Carey) that an Epistratos had claimed property in order to preserve it (from the Thirty) for Antiphon’s daughter.

³⁹ Foxhall 2007 argues that this is the meaning of *sêkos*.

⁴⁰ Lyk. 1. 22–4, 58; for Leokrates’ deme see § 136 with *IG* ii² 1669 (Humphreys 1985*a*, n. 40). One wonders whether the ancestral *hiera* that Leokrates transported to Megara (§ 25) had been made in the family workshop. The mortgages of Is. 5. 21. 3 may have been similar transactions. Cf. also Dein. 1. 58,

land confiscated from those condemned in 415 for mutilating Herms and parodying the Mysteries, may refer to similarly ambiguous arrangements. However, Diogeiton may have rented the house of Phaidros of Myrrhinous (Lysias 32. 14), and Andokides' house was leased during his exile (which may well have been voluntary) to the demagogue Kleophon (Andokides 1. 146); in these cases it seems unlikely that the lessees were well intentioned.

When Apollodoros of Acharnai had successfully prosecuted Arethousios for *pseudoklēteia*, in the case already mentioned, he made an *apographē* listing Arethousios' property for confiscation and waived his right to a reward. In this case the waiver did not benefit the debtor, but in *IG ii² 1631. 351ff.* the property of Sopolis of Kydathenaion, condemned for failing to return naval equipment issued to his deceased brother, is denounced by Polyektos of Hestiaia, who asks to have his reward credited towards payment of Sopolis' debt. We cannot tell whether something similar was going on when Euthykles son of Euthymenides of Myrrhinous denounced the Peiraios property of his neighbour and fellow-demesman (possibly also kinsman) Meixidemos of Myrrhinous.⁴¹

A similar tactic is reported in the *hypothesis* to [Demosthenes] 25, which derives its information from Lykourgos' speech against Aristogeiton. When Aristogeiton was in debt to the state for 62,000 drachmai he 'denounced' a piece of his own property and his brother 'bought' it, arranging to pay off the debt over ten years in instalments. After two years the brother, Eunomos, defaulted on the payment.

Demosthenes 24. 135 suggests that the politician Kallistratos might have brought in a measure to secure the release of his uncle (MB) Agyrrhios from his imprisonment for debts to the state; this is pure hypothesis, but it is significant that kinship is considered an appropriate motive. (Agyrrhios was free by 374/3, R/O 26.)

Hypereides F XLII/134 Jensen 1917 comes from an *antidosis* case against Pasikles, presumably the son of the banker Pasion of Acharnai; the speaker alleges that Phormion (Pasikles' stepfather and ex-guardian) is 'sneaking him off' the liturgy list of the 300 richest Athenians (*ekkleptei auton*; Sauppe's *hauton* seems unnecessary). Phormion probably claimed as his own or his wife's some of the property attributed by the speaker to Pasikles.

Polyektos accompanies exiles to Megara to help his MH (Worthington 1992 mistranslates), and *DGE* 424, n. 37 above.

⁴¹ Sopolis: Gabrielsen 1994, 163–4 (on the family see ch. 25 n. 11; Table 5.6). Meixidemos: *Agora* XIX P 26; ch. 5 n. 87. The account in R. G. Osborne 1985*a*, 1–6 contains several inaccuracies. R. G. Osborne 1985*e* collects material on *apographē*. Pace Hallof 1990, Langdon 1994, the question is not whether property was sold by auction, but how purchasers' social ties influenced practice. The evidence seems to show that in practice private denouncers usually waived their rights to reward (demarchs were not rewarded for denouncing). However, D. R. Jordan 2004 interprets Wunsch 1897 110 (non-Attic dialect) as cursing a denouncer (?) together with the poletai and purchasers of the confiscated property.

We also, naturally, find kin intervening to help ward off adverse court judgments. Xanthippos' prosecution of Miltiades in 489 (Herodotus 6. 136) may have been designed to divert hostility from his wife's kin, the Alkmeonidai, to another target. A father puts in a *graphê paranomôn* when his son is threatened with immediate execution, without trial, for theft of sacred property; a son defends his elderly father, accused of involvement with the oligarchic government of the Four Hundred (Lysias 20).⁴² When the generals who returned from defeat at Arginoussai in 406 were attacked, Euryptolemos III son of Peisianax, a kinsman (*anankaios kai epitêdeios*) of Perikles II, one of the accused, made an attempt by a *graphê paranomôn* to ward off immediate condemnation.⁴³

Prosecutions that might be stigmatized as sycophantic, undertaken only for the sake of financial reward or in the hope of frightening the defendant into buying the prosecutor off, are sometimes justified with the claim that the speaker is avenging a prior wrong done to him or to one of his kin. Epichares, speaker of [Demosthenes] 58, prosecutes Theokrines of Hybadai, who was responsible for his father's loss of civic rights, alleging that Theokrines too is *atimos* and is exercising his own civic rights illegally.

Demosthenes 22 is an attack on Androtion delivered by Diodoros; he claims that Androtion had earlier accused him of parricide and had prosecuted his uncle (*theios*, presumably FB) for impiety, for associating with him (§ 2). [Demosthenes] 59, as already noted, is a speech written by Apollodoros of Acharnai for the trial of Neaira and (indirectly) of Stephanos of Eroiadai, who had allegedly passed off Neaira, a freedwoman and prostitute, as his legitimate wife. The suit was brought by Apollodoros' brother-in-law (WB) and son-in-law Theomnestos son of Deinias of Athmonon, who explains that he is bringing the case because Stephanos had prosecuted Apollodoros for illegally proposing a decree when in debt to the state and therefore debarred from doing so, and had proposed a crippling fine of 90,000 drachmai; he had also brought a homicide charge against Apollodoros. Theomnestos explains their reasons for hostility to Stephanos (§§ 1–15), and Apollodoros then takes over the case, acting as supporting speaker (*synégoros*).⁴⁴ Andokides in 400

⁴² *Hyp.* [Dem.] 25. 1–2. From the reference to the same affair in Dein. 2. 12 it appears that the boy accused was kin to the priestess of Artemis Brauronia whose orders he claimed to be carrying out. In Lys. 23. 10 Pankleon, accused of being a runaway slave, avoids court proceedings temporarily by producing guarantors who say that his brother will defend his claim to be a free man. In Lys. 20 the son is supported by another speaker: see Rubinstein 2000, 148, 153–4.

⁴³ Xen. *Hell.* 1. 7. 16; Humphreys 1986a, 82–3. FMFBSSS in *APF* 9688 VIII; FMBDS in W. Thompson 1969a. In the previous year Euryptolemos had figured prominently in the welcome given to Alkibiades, also a kinsman (*anepsios* Xen. *Hell.* 1. 4. 19; MFFBSSS *APF*, MZS Thompson; cf. ch. 9 n. 40). Cf. also D. L. 5. 79, an *anepsios* of Demetrios of Phaleron defends Menander against an attack for being Demetrios' friend.

⁴⁴ To bring such a charge was also a way for a young man with political ambitions to become known. When Thettalos son of Kimon denounced Alkibiades for parodying the Mysteries (Plut. *Alk.*

calls as witnesses for his defence two kinsmen of men denounced for parodying the Mysteries in 415, Alexippos nephew of Akoumenos and Philippos uncle of Autokrator, explaining that they are sure to remember the name of the man who denounced their kin.⁴⁵ Timokrates of Krioia and his son Polyeuktos (*APF* 13772) were both expected to appear as witnesses for Meidias in the case initiated by Demosthenes in 348; Timokrates had been prosecuted by an associate of Demosthenes in 353/2 (Demosthenes 21. 139).

A man preparing to appear in court would call upon kin for help; they might collect witnesses for him, aid him in composing his speech, appear as supporting speakers (*synégoroi*) or witnesses, appeal to the jury to let him off lightly if the verdict went against him, or merely show up in court as a passive expression of solidarity.

Two orphaned young-men-about-town, Teisis and Archippos, got into a scuffle in the palaistra. Teisis' guardian, himself, it is claimed, young enough to be the boy's *erastes*, advised him to pretend to make up the quarrel and watch for an opportunity to catch Archippos alone. Teisis enticed his enemy into his house by pretending to invite him to a *kómos*, and flogged him. An older kinsman, who heard of it the next day and felt they had gone too far, had Archippos taken to the nearby house where he lived with his brothers; they carried him to the main trading hall in Peiraios, the Deigma, and showed his injuries to as many people as possible, both Athenians and foreigners, to arouse public indignation and, no doubt, to recruit suitably respectable and well-known citizens to appear as witnesses.⁴⁶ Ariston, the speaker of Demosthenes 54, who was attacked in the evening in the Agora, met a kinsman (*syngenés*), Euxitheos of Cholleidai, as he was making his way home; Euxitheos took him to the baths to clean up, accompanied him to see doctors, and then arranged for him to spend the night in the house of Meidias, with whom Euxitheos had been dining; this enabled them to call Meidias, a well-known man, as a witness (54. 7–10).

When Apollodoros of Acharnai was having difficulty in prevailing upon his co-trierarch Polykles to take over the ship for which they were responsible, his father-in-law Deinias went with one of the ship's officers (*pentékontarchos*) to

19. 3, 22. 4), he was presumably motivated by envy of Alkibiades' political success and hopes of furthering his own career.

⁴⁵ Andok. 1. 18, *APF* 11907. Autokrator's uncle was probably MB (closer in age than FB).

⁴⁶ Lys. F XVII Gernet/Bizos 1926, CXIX/75 Th. 1913, CXXIX/278–9 Carey 2007. The speaker is a friend who was with Archippos when he entered Teisis' house. On the selection of witnesses see Humphreys 1985*b*. Since Archippos was delivered to his brothers, his father was presumably dead. Teisis was recently orphaned and trying to cut a dash as *neos kai plousios* (§ 4). The speaker of Lys. 1 recruited various friends to help in his rather similar plot (intention to rough up, rather than kill?) against his wife's lover (§§ 23–4); he took a slave witness to the house of one of them for questioning (§ 18). Entrapment also in [Dem.] 59. 64–71. See also Scafuro 1997, ch. 8; Todd 2000 on Lysias F 2.

Polykles, who was still in Athens, in an attempt to settle the affair; Deinias later testified for Apollodoros in court.⁴⁷

No doubt there were councils with kin and friends before cases came on in court, discussions and advice on the presentation of the argument. Sometimes kin acted as supporting speakers, as Apollodoros did in the Neaira case. The brother of the speaker of [Demosthenes] 58 made a supporting speech; the homicide prosecution of Lysias 13 was formally made in the name of the victim's brother, Dionysios (§ 86), but the main speech was delivered by his brother-in-law, the victim's WB.⁴⁸ Demosthenes was asked by a cousin (FBSS), Demon, to help him in a bottomry case; the speech we have, Demosthenes 32, is ostensibly Demon's own part of the presentation, and ends with a hint of division of labour between the two, Demosthenes being out of practice in dealing with business disputes (§ 32); since he was by this time a famous rhetor, he had to give the impression that his involvement in the case was limited, a kindness done by a busy man for a kinsman.

The story that Kallias II 'Lakkoploutos' of Alopeke called his cousin⁴⁹ Aristeides (also of Alopeke) to testify for him in court, true or not, represents an ideal situation; Aristeides' reputation for integrity would persuade a jury that Kallias' cause was a just one. No fourth-century rhetor was so unambiguously respected. The advantages of having an eloquent, clever, well-known kinsman as supporter in court had to be weighed against the risk that the jury would feel they were being manipulated. But for a well-known kinsman to refuse support was damning. Demosthenes reports indignantly that the politician Euboulos—witness for Aischines against Demosthenes in 343—had refused to speak for his cousin Hegesileos in the first part of his trial, though called on to do so, and in the second part of the hearing, when the vote had gone against Hegesileos and his penalty was being decided, did not plead for his kinsman but apologized instead to the jury for being related to him.⁵⁰

Euboulos had perhaps hoped that his presence in court would be taken as sufficient evidence of support, and that Hegesileos would not embarrass him by

⁴⁷ [Dem.] 50. 24–8. Polykles was probably *APF* 11988, son of Polykrates of Anagyrous, a man with a respectable liturgic record apart from this affair.

⁴⁸ The speaker represents himself as acting on behalf of his sister, who had been solemnly adjured by her husband to see that his death was avenged, and of her child. The question whether the victim's brother or his son's guardian had the better right to play the role of next-of-kin in a homicide case may not have been raised. For kin as *synegoroi* see Rubinstein 2000, index s.v. *relatives*.

⁴⁹ FZS: Plut. *Arist.* 25. 4–8, *APF* 7826 IV. The story belongs to the 5th or early 4th c., and can probably be taken as valid evidence of kinship between Kallias and Aristeides.

⁵⁰ Dem. 19. 290, FBS? It is not clear whether Euboulos was called in the first part of the trial as *synēgoros* or as witness. A hostile witness who refused to testify could be compelled to take an oath disclaiming knowledge of the matter in question, but a litigant was not compelled to impose such an oath, and would not use it on his own witnesses (Humphreys 1985*b*). See *AO* 313–14.

calling on him to speak. Andokides in 400 was more tactful; the audience at his trial included many of those who had been accused in 415 (1. 25–6), but he was careful not to call anyone formally as witness who had actually been condemned. He calls on his own kin, who had owed their release to him—our text of the speech (1. 69) gives no indication of their identity or number—and the Kallias who testifies in 1. 18 about the indictment of Andokides' father may be the latter's cousin.⁵¹ Plato tells us that kin of many of Sokrates' associates were present at his trial and were ready to affirm that his influence had not harmed their sons or brothers, but it is far from clear that any of them actually spoke.⁵²

The speaker of Lysias 20 (§ 11ff.) was the second of three brothers, defending his elderly father Polystratos of Deiradiotai on a charge of participation in the oligarchic government of 411/10. He stresses the patriotic exploits of his two brothers; the older one may have been abroad on service in the Hellespont, but at least the younger brother should have been present in court, and presumably spoke in support.⁵³ The brothers of Arethousios appeared in court to support him when Apollodoros prosecuted him for *pseudoklêteia*; they begged the jury to fine him instead of sentencing him to death, and promised to help him pay the fine. As we have seen, they later claimed that property which Apollodoros denounced as owned by Arethousios belonged to them and to their mother.⁵⁴

Aischines' brothers appeared in court to support him in his case against Demosthenes in 343; Demosthenes expected them to speak, and can find nothing to reproach them with except their humble origins (19. 237). The eldest, Philochares, was currently serving his third consecutive term as general. Demosthenes is more offensive about Aischines' brothers-in-law (WBs) 'Nikias' (Philon) and 'Kyrebion' (Epikrates): the former, he says, had gone with Chares

⁵¹ FFZS? *APF* 828 IV B. My suggestion (Humphreys 1986*a*) that the Diognetos who testifies in Andok. 1. 14f. might be his ZHZHB, the brother of Nikias of Kydantidai, should be withdrawn; Lys. 18 implies that Diognetos was dead by this time, and had been too much involved with the Thirty to be a desirable supporter.

⁵² *Apol.* 33e. Fathers and sons: Kriton and Kritoboulos of Alopeke, Lysanias and Aischines of Sphettos, Antiphon and Epigenes of Kephisia. Brothers: Nikostratos son of Theozotides, whose brother Theodotos, a follower of Sokrates, was dead (*APF* 6915), Adeimantos and Plato, Aiantodoros and Apollodoros, Paralios and Theages sons of Demodokos of Anagyrous. The brother of Chairephon of Sphettos testifies in *Apol.* 21a.

⁵³ *APF* 12076 (see also Rubinstein 2000). They were an adventurous and much-travelling family; the younger brother probably served with the 10,000, and the eldest, Philopolis, had a homonymous son who was (?) given honorary citizenship and proxeny at Olbia (Dubois 1996 no. 21). Habicht 1979, 151 dated this text late 4th c., but he agreed *per ep.* in 1995 that a date c.380 would be possible. However, *SEG* 42. 722, a partial copy of the proxeny decree on a sherd, is dated by the script c.300.

⁵⁴ [Dem.] 53. 26–8. *Pseudoklêteia* was a form of sycophancy. General remarks in 53. 29 on appeals by and on behalf of orphan children, *epiklêroi*, and widowed mothers. Unspecified *syngeneis* and *philoï* appear unsuccessfully for a condemned man, [Dem.] 59. 117. See Chaniotis 1992, Rubinstein 2000 on non-speaking supporters in court.

to Egypt as a prostitute (i.e. mercenary), and the latter had misbehaved in the procession at the Dionysia.⁵⁵ They had been in court when Aischines prosecuted Timarchos ('water running uphill', the pot calling the kettle black), and were probably present again in 343.

It was a common practice to denigrate an opponent by making damaging assertions about his kin. Alkibiades IV, son of the famous general, presents his father's career in as favourable a light as possible and reminds the jury that Charikles, brother-in-law of his opponent Teisias, was a member of the Thirty.⁵⁶ The accuser of Polystratos of Deiradiotai alleged that he was a kinsman (*syngenês*) as well as a fellow-demesman of the oligarch Phrynichos (Lysias 20. 11–12). Ariston, the speaker of Demosthenes 54, expects his opponent Konon to slander his brothers (§ 14).

The commonest accusation, of course, is that the opponent's kin are utterly unreliable as witnesses. Demosthenes tries to put a damaging construction on the fact that Aischines sent his brother to the Council to testify that he was too ill to travel on the third embassy to Philip in 346.⁵⁷ The speaker of [Demosthenes] 47 is suing the brother and brother-in-law (ZH) of Theophemos, with whom he had come into conflict over trierarchic obligations, for perjury.⁵⁸ The dispute had been going on for some time; the speaker had successfully prosecuted Theophemos by *eisangelia*, there had been a fight, Theophemos had sued him for assault (*aikēia*), and had got him convicted on the testimony of the defendants, Euergos and Mnesiboulos. They had forced their way into the speaker's house to seize property, and had left an elderly freedwoman mortally wounded. The speaker must have announced his intention of suing them for perjury earlier, when they gave their testimony in the assault case, but now they had given him added provocation. As he says (47. 4), most of his speech is devoted to discussion of their character and behaviour; in any case, no one should believe a litigant who can produce only kin to support his word (11–12). The same point is made in *POxy* 1607 fr. 5. 215–24, where the witnesses in an *eisangelia* are affines (*kēdestai*).⁵⁹ The

⁵⁵ Dem. 19. 287, *APF* 14625; cf. Dover 1974, 30–3. The nicknames must have been topical reference; 'Nikias' is hopelessly obscure to us, but Kyrebion is 'bean-husks'. Men who eat bean-husks are shaggy-arsed and hence virile: Kratinos 339 *PCG* (295 K), Plato Com. 3 *PCG* 7, with Dover 1978, 37–8, Henderson 1975, 211–12. Aischines responds (2. 149): 'my brother sired his own children, he didn't have to send his wife to sleep with Kyrebion'.

⁵⁶ Isokr. 16. 42, *APF* 13479. Charikles seems to have been older than Teisias, to judge from their careers, so was perhaps his ZH (above, p. 455).

⁵⁷ Dem. 19. 124; a doctor also testified, and so according to Aischines (2. 94) did A.'s nephew, apparently one of the sons of Aphobetos (*APF* 14625 II misses this reference).

⁵⁸ *APF* 7094; ch. 5 n. 30.

⁵⁹ M. H. Hansen 1975, no. 119; cf. Whitehead 2000, 86–9. One of the witnesses, Theomnestos, also acted as *synēgoros*, perhaps de facto taking the leading role in presenting the case (*PLond* I 115 = Hyp. 1). If the other two witnesses, Anaschetos and Kriton, are the sons of Demoteles of Halai (*APF* 819; ch. 29 n. 147) and of Astyochos of Kydathenaion (*APF* 8828; these identifications are not suggested in *APF*; on

speaker of Isokrates 18 (52–4) tells a story of previous conspiracy between his opponent Kallimachos and a *kēdestēs*. After Kallimachos' affine had come to blows with Kratinos in a dispute over land, he concealed a female slave and claimed that Kratinos had killed her. Kallimachos testified in court that the slave was dead, but Kratinos managed to discover where she was hidden, seized her, and confounded his opponents by producing her in court.⁶⁰

The corollary of the expectation that kin and affines would be prepared to lie for one another in court was belief that a kinsman who appeared as a hostile witness must be telling the truth. Athenians were of course aware that kin quarrelled, but expected them to close ranks in conflicts against outsiders; a man whose kin refused support in these circumstances must have treated them with unpardonable ruthlessness. Aischines recruited the blind uncle (FB) of Timarchos, whom he was prosecuting for illegally exercising civic rights, to testify that Timarchos had defrauded him of his share of the family property and had even failed to support his application for a disability allowance (1. 102–4). The speaker of Hyperides 3 called a *kēdestēs* of his opponent, Athenogenes, apparently to give damaging evidence about his character.⁶¹ The speaker of Lysias 31 (20–3) alleges that his opponent's mother brought accusations against her son during her lifetime (no details are offered), and gave three hundred drachmai to a non-kinsman, Antiphanes, for her funeral, not trusting her son to bury her; he calls Antiphanes as a witness.⁶² The topos of the hostile kinsman's testimony attracted composers of rhetorical exercises: in [Demosthenes] 25. 55 we are told that the brother of the defendant, Aristogeiton, who is in court waiting to speak on his behalf, has a suit pending against him for selling their matrilinear half-sister into slavery, and in [Demosthenes] 29. 15–18 (cf. 23, 55) Demosthenes is made to claim that in his earlier suit against Aphobos he compelled his opponent's brother to give hostile testimony, which he is now repudiating, and that he compelled Aphobos to give testimony against his uncle (MB) Demon.⁶³ Aischines (2. 93) claims that Demosthenes had initiated a

Anaschetos see also now Steinhauer 2009*a*/SEG 59. 142), then the two also appeared together in the list of guarantors of triremes for Chalkis in 341/0 (*IG* ii² 1623. 191–3). The defendant, Lykophron, was accused of destroying the democracy by disregarding its laws, i.e. by committing adultery. The charge included allegations that the woman's child, born after the death of her first husband, was not his, so the witnesses may have had property interests in the case. Use of *eisangelia* for cases of moral turpitude is typical of the Lykourgan age (Humphreys 1985*a*).

⁶⁰ The story has notable similarities to the affair of [Dem.] 47.

⁶¹ Hyp. 3. 34. The witness may be ZH (Humphreys 1986*a*, 80); the passage is unfortunately fragmentary.

⁶² Antiphanes may well have testified only that he received the money and spent it as directed. The woman may have died in the last years of the Peloponnesian War, or under the Thirty, and there is nothing necessarily sinister about this arrangement for trusteeship (cf. Todd 2000, 310). The accusation in [Dem.] 25. 54 that Aristogeiton sued those who buried his father seems to be based on Dein. 2 (8, 11, 18). Cf. Is. 5. 39.

⁶³ For the argument that [Dem.] 25 and 29 are rhetorical exercises see Humphreys 1985*b* nn. 69–70, 1986*b*. M. H. Hansen 1976, 144–52 defends [Dem.] 25; MacDowell 1989, followed by Rubinstein

suit for assault against his cousin (FBS) Demomeles, but subsequently dropped it; he can produce no testimony to support this allegation, and it is interesting that he does not attempt to make capital out of Demosthenes' suit against his guardians. To threaten to sue a kinsman and subsequently settle out of court was not particularly heinous behaviour.

Suits of a political nature against kin do seem to have been rare. Kallias III of Alopeke, a man who can have had few real friends, is said to have protested to the Assembly that his brother-in-law (ZH) Alkibiades III was plotting against him;⁶⁴ in 400, claiming to act in the capacity of Torchbearer of the Eleusinian Mysteries, he prosecuted Andokides, with whom he had affinal connections, for impiety.⁶⁵ This relationship was perhaps too remote to be considered a bar to court action. Perikles' prosecution of Kimon in 463 was also an attack on a remote affine, husband of a cousin (MFBSDH according to *APF* 9688). It is interesting that the gossip about this trial—in which Perikles eventually played only a minor role—did not hint at any mediation by Kimon's wife or any other member of her family, but instead attributed Perikles' change of heart to a private plea by Kimon's sister Elpinike.⁶⁶ The story implies that Perikles' private ties with Kimon should have inhibited him from carrying their political rivalry into court.

Questions of political etiquette and the proper dividing line between public and private relationships seriously preoccupied fifth-century Athenians. Themistokles, a target for many hostile stories, was said to have pledged himself openly to look after his friends' interests even when in office (Plutarch *Aristeides* 2. 5, cf. Wade-Gery 1937; but see also *Mor.* 307b). Perikles and Kleon both made a point of neglecting private ties in order to devote themselves to public affairs (Connor 1971). Sophokles presents Kreon, in the *Antigone*, as determined to subordinate private loyalties to the interests of the state. Political rivalry was, in theory, impersonal, a matter of securing for the city the best leadership and the best advice. To take a political opponent to court meant—if the prosecution succeeded—to inflict real damages on him, to put his property, civic rights, or even life in jeopardy. The feelings of aggression and hostility engendered by political competition could be more openly expressed in court than in the Assembly. Particularly in the fourth century, after

2005, defends [Dem.] 29; Dilts 2008 rejects 25 but accepts 29. On the claim in [Dem.] 29. 20 that Demosthenes made Aphobos testify against Demon see ch. 7 n. 145.

⁶⁴ [Andok.] 4. 15; if there is anything in this story, it should belong in 415, when Kallias had to dissociate himself from Alkibiades' parodies of the Mysteries. The text is usually thought to belong to the early 4th c.; for authorship see Feraboli 1972.

⁶⁵ On the date of the suit see MacDowell 1962, Appendix J. Kallias had been married to the widow of Andokides' MB, and earlier to A's cousin (MZD; *APF* 828, 7826 XI–XII). They were involved in dispute over an *epiklêros* (Andok. 1. 117–23, ch. 4 n. 8, Table 4.2).

⁶⁶ Plut. *Kim.* 14. 5 (Stesimbrotos *FGH* 107 F 5). The brother–sister tie is considered stronger than that between husband and wife (cf. Humphreys 1983a/1993, 71).

ostracism had been discontinued, court cases provided a constant running accompaniment to the (more elevated?) style of confrontations in the Assembly.

CURSE TABLETS

Beneath the surface soil of Attika lay a muttering chorus of yet more antagonistic voices. A man or woman who felt injured or threatened could invoke the aid of underworld deities by writing the names of enemies on (usually) a piece of lead sheet, with a curse or request to the dark powers to seize or paralyse them, and placing it in a tomb, throwing it down a well, or posting it in some other conduit felt to be suitable.⁶⁷ In many cases the curser associates further victims with his principal target, either because they have collaborated in the activity against which he is reacting, or because he wishes to punish his victim by associating those near and dear to him in his sufferings.⁶⁸ The writer of one particularly long list appears to have decided to finish off all his enemies in one fell swoop, associating well-known politicians, deme opponents, and loose women in a single comprehensive imprecation (cf. Gordon 1999; *SEG* 58. 265).

Socially, these documents seem to fall into two main groups: curses provoked by legal or political disputes, directed at men attested elsewhere as members of

⁶⁷ Curse tablets are difficult to read, and to date; the classic discussions are Wunsch 1901, Audollent 1904, and Wilhelm 1904; see also now Lopez Jimeno 1991 with *SEG* 49. 313; Ogden 1999; Eidinow 2007 (curses in Eidinow's appendix of texts and—not always reliable—translations, which follows the numbering of Wunsch 1897; Audollent 1904; and D. R. Jordan 1985, 2000*b*, are marked E below; concordance in *SEG* 57. 2157). Pébarthe 2006, though he discusses lead letters on pp. 82–4, does not deal with curse tablets; see Ceccarelli 2013 s.v. *curses*. Comprehensive list of finds in Jordan 1985, updated 2000; some more recent bibliography cited below. Tablets of classical date that seem to be written by women are scarce, but Jordan 1985 no. 127 (E), from near Cosenza (Cavalcanti 1974), has only female victims—Diodora sister of Klenagora, Thearis daughter of St[...], [...]a mother of Philira—and the identification by reference to other women suggests a female milieu (it should not, in my view, be connected with the magical practice of identifying men matronymically, attested in curses of the Roman period). The date is unclear. Lead was a common material for letters (Wunsch 1897, 102, E, explicitly calls itself a letter, and Ziebarth 1934 no. 20 = Jordan 1985 no. 62, from Eretria, has an address; see Lopez Jimeno 1999, 63–4; Nisoli 2007, Eidinow and Taylor 2010). It is possible that curses were also written on more perishable materials, and posted in sites less often examined by archaeologists than graves, sanctuaries, and wells (on these sites see Lopez Jimeno 1999, 37–44; cf. also Nisoli 2007; D. R. Jordan and Rotroff 1999/*SEG* 49. 322; Ogden 1999; N. D. Robertson 2010, 36; curse in house, *Agora* XIV p. 177). After the classical period cursers tend to devote increasing amounts of space to invocations and formulae, and provide correspondingly less information about their targets, though lists of victims occur in the 3rd c. CE at Kourion in Cyprus (Mitford 1971 nos. 132, 137–8, 140). For changes in practice over time see Bravo 1987, 1995.

⁶⁸ The belief that curses were inherited by descendants, both male and female (Parker 1983, 198–206) does not seem to influence the writers of these tablets, whose references to children, when they occur, are more specific than the formulaic *kai genos* found in e.g. proxeny decrees or sentences of exile.

the wealthier class,⁶⁹ and those inspired by petty fraud, directed at tavern keepers, prostitutes, craftsmen, and other members of the urban under-class, many of them freedmen and -women, or slaves.⁷⁰ In the first type of tablet the principal targets are most often associated with fathers, sons, brothers, affines, or fellow-demesmen; in the second, with spouses or slaves.⁷¹ This is one of the few types of evidence that allows us to see differences in the kinship components of identity, and in the position of women, corresponding to social class. In the under-class identity seems to be more narrowly concentrated in the household, and women are regarded as more active participants in its affairs; slaves, too, are regarded as their owners' active partners.

In either class, the targets may be associated in the curser's mind positively, as cooperating to harm him, or passively, as members of a unit on which he wishes to inflict punishment. A curser involved in a legal dispute names Theagenes, his wife, his accomplice Kineas, three cooks with the wife of one of them, and three other men—Pherekles, Seuthes, and Lamprias—the two latter of whom, at least, are probably slaves (Audollent 1904, no. 49, E). Someone seems to have suffered from food poisoning after a festive dinner. Another tablet (D. R. Jordan 1985, no. 6, E) curses Pytheas and Pythippos, Hegesistratos, Smi(n?)dyrides, and 'all those who are opposed to Euopes, with Pytheas, in the law suit'.⁷² Cursers often designate those named as opponents in lawsuits or as members of a gang,

⁶⁹ D. R. Jordan 1980 no. 2 = 1985 no. 14 (E) names Pleistarchos, Eupolemos, Kassander, and Demetrios of Phaleron (see also Habicht 1993*b*). Rubinstein 2000, 64–5 and Eidinow 2007 do not deal with the prosography of curses. SEG 44. 226, from the NW Agora, cursing a Menekrates with 5 named *synégoroi* (the term perhaps used loosely to cover also witnesses), may have been provoked by a tribal dispute in X Antiochis: the main target could be M. Kratetos of Alopeke (APF 9940). Autolykos Epilykou and Timostratos Hierokleidou could also come from Alopeke (ch. 32 n. 24), Kallistratos from Pallene, and Nikostratos Gniphonos from Pallene or Thorai (cf. n. 85).

⁷⁰ 'Under-class' tablets (cf. Dickie 2001, 85–7) may also refer to lawsuits (3 *mageiroi* in court, Audollent 1904, 49, E). Münsterberg 1907 no. 1, a list of 12 names, both male and female, found at Liossia east of Dekeleia, Jordan 1985 no. 39, is hard to classify. No. 3, with the same provenance (Jordan no. 41, Lopez Jimeno 23), is apparently directed at a family of Egyptian metics. *Mes.-Arg.* 464–5, husband and wife (?), *kapéleion* (SEG 57. 297). Few tablets are attested as coming from rural Attika (had Münsterberg's tablets belonged to G. Finlay?), and we should not be surprised by structural differences between rural and urban texts—though Wunsch 1897, 65, (E), from Daphni, directed at opponents in a lawsuit, does not differ from tablets found in or near the city or Piraeus. There are also probably structural differences between Attic urban curses and those found in other parts of Greece: e.g. perhaps Dubois 1996, no. 106 (D. R. Jordan 2000*b* no. 116, E), a juridical curse where the list of targets begins with a nuclear family.

⁷¹ The distinction is not absolute, and unidentifiable cognatic kin may figure on tablets of the first type. The 'under-class' pattern occurs also on Wunsch 1897, 55 (E, SEG 53. 257), many of whose targets are soldiers (both citizen and non-citizen).

⁷² *Kerameikos III* no. 4 (Jordan 1985 no. 6, E). Peek dated this text to the 4th c., noting Pytheas son of Pythippos of Bate, councillor c.343/2 (IG ii³ 4. 75. 29), but Jeffery 1955 (followed by LGPN) puts the script in the late 5th c., and Smindyrides (l. 4) may be the man named in Andok. I. 15 and on SEG 52. 254 (Jordan 2004). In any case Pytheas and Pythippos are probably kin; we may be dealing with earlier members of the councillor's family, but the names are not rare.

ergastêrion: the term for a workshop could be used of any combined effort the writer wished to stigmatize.⁷³

On the other hand, when Lysanias, the melter (*phusêtês*) of the mint, is cursed with his wife and his works, we need not necessarily conclude that she worked in the mint with him; she was part of his life, and the curser wanted to see that life in ruins (*Kerameikos III*, no. 1 = *SEG* 10. 394, D. R. Jordan 1985 no. 4, E, mid fifth century). Similarly, ‘Titibis, daughter of Choirine, who wronged me’ is cursed (by a rejected lover? by a woman?) with her husband and her three children, ‘two female and one male’.⁷⁴

The writer of the long tablet already mentioned (n. 70) has enemies at all levels. He groups three members of a prominent family from Euonymon with Sostratos and Polyeuktos of Sphettos (A 60–4):

Strombichos Euon.
Strombichides Eu.
Sostratos Sphe.
Polyeuktos Sphe.
Eukrates Euon.

Strombichides and Eukrates (repeated in 71–2) may be brothers, sons of Strombichos (III); Sostratos and Polyeuktos are father and son, and the order of names suggests that they might have been affinally linked with Strombichides.⁷⁵ The curser also lists a group of about sixteen demesmen from Kydantidai, presumably his own deme, and a number of women, some labelled as whores.⁷⁶

⁷³ *SEG* 30. 1175 (Jordan 1985 no. 124, E; Dubois 2002 no. 60; Samama 2003 no. 506), mid 3rd c. BCE, from Metaponto, is a curse on an *ergastêrion* of doctors, with 17 names. No kin ties can be detected.

⁷⁴ Wunsch 1901, no. 102 (E, *SEG* 37. 219). The reference to Titibis’ children is followed by the names Pankrate, Mant(ian), Diophanton, Metagenei [*sic*]. These might be additional victims; further targets are listed on side B, including two boxers.

⁷⁵ This family is hard to reconstruct (cf. Table 16.1). *APF* 4386, dating our curse in the 320s, assumed that Strombichides and Eukrates were otherwise unattested sons of Strombichos III (son of Diopeithes I of Euonymon), who is recorded as member of a trierarchic symmory in mid century. (*APF*’s Strombichides II, named without patronymic on *IG* i³ 1048 = *IEleus* 49, should be identified with Strombichides I, killed in 404.) Jordan and Curbera suggest that the Eukrates of the curse may be Eukrates I, taxiarch in 356/5 (*SEG* 21. 668), uncle (FB) of Strombichos III. He would however have been an elderly taxiarch, and still older at the date of the curse; his brother Diopeithes I must have been born c.425–420. (Their father Strombichos II is not attested for any activity of his own; *LGP*N Strombichos 6 wrongly attributes Thuc. 8. 15 to him rather than to Strombichides 2). The three targets were certainly kin, but precise specification of their relationships is currently impossible. Demophilos and Demosthenes of Phyle (B 93–4) may be father and son; whether Pamphilos (B 95) belongs to the same family is unclear (Humphreys 2010*b*; Table 28.12).

⁷⁶ Kydantidai: ch. 24 n. 97. *Laikas(tria)*, B 119–23: cf. Jocelyn 1980; Bain 1991; Humphreys 2010*b*. In this case the designation should probably be taken literally, although offensive epithets and nicknames do occur on curse tablets. Trumpf 1958 = *SEG* 51. 66, Jordan 1985 no. 9, E, a curse buried with a doll labelled Mnesimachos, evidently used for magical purposes, and a list of names followed by ‘and any *syndikos* or witness they may have with them’, may include insulting nicknames (cf. Brenne 2002 for

His mind seems to flit from one category of enemies to another, but coherent groupings occur. Xenokles son of Xeinis of Sphettos and his father appear below a metic called Xenokles, and a Xenokles of Leukonoion (A 20, 22, 25); it is not clear whether the former is a freedman of the Sphettos family and the latter a kinsman, or whether they are linked in the curser's mind only by their names.⁷⁷ The same question is raised by the juxtaposition in A 26, 30 and B 128–9 of Democharides of Thorikos and Charidemos of Peiraios.

The potential of curse tablets for revealing the role of kinship in social classification can be clarified by contrasting the Attic material with tablets found elsewhere. A large fifth-century curse from Selinous in Sicily lists at least twenty men, fourteen of whom can be arranged in four mini-lineages with possible links to each other and to three of the remaining individuals (Table 14.1).⁷⁸ The curser adds unnamed 'sons' to several names. This list resembles Attic lists of phratry members (Table 19. 1) rather than Attic curse tablets. Either it was provoked by a quarrel within a phratry or similar group, or patrilineal groupings were more significant in the social and political life of Selinous than in that of Athens.⁷⁹

Where small kin groups can be identified on Attic curse tablets (Table 14.2), their structure is that of the by now familiar bilateral kindred with its network of affines:

Nausistratos of Aigilia
Nikonymos son of Nausistratos
Smikythos of Aigilia
Smikythion of Aigilia
Aristaichmos of Anaphlystos
Euktemon
Kleistrate daughter of Nausistratos of Aigilia
Xenokrateia daughter of Smikythos of Oe

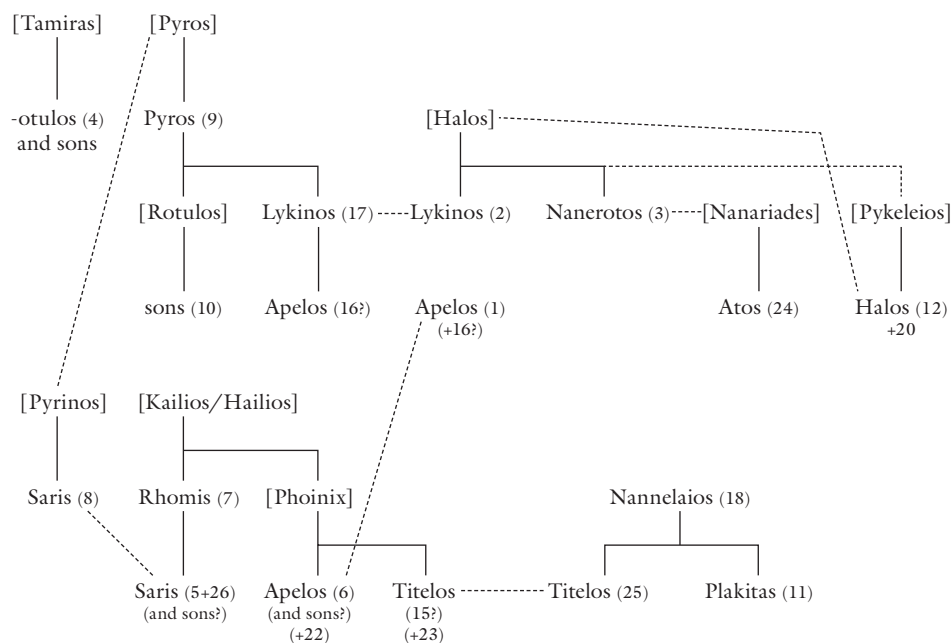
(SEG 24. 262, Couilloud 1967; D. R. Jordan 1985 no. 45; Lopez Jimeno 1999, 27)

offensive comment on ostraka), although Babyrtides is attested elsewhere as a personal name (*IG* i³ 1157. 18), as is Oinokles. Xôphygos and Chamaïos (crawler? or whore, cf. LSJ s.v. *chamaitypê*?) are not, and all 4 names are later additions. Doll and tablet were found in a grave dated c.420–410 (SEG 55. 87). Cf. Eliopoulos 2010, 88–91, curses written on figurines. The epithet *ôméstês* has been eliminated from SEG 49. 314 = 52. 254 (Kerameikos; Jordan 2000*b* no. 10, E).

⁷⁷ The Krates (son of Xeinis?) in SEG 58. 265 A 23 is doubtful; see ch. 27 n. 28. On the family see *APF* 11234 with Habicht 1988*b*, Lambert 2001. On targets chosen by association of names in ostracism cf. ch. 15 at section 'Ostracism'.

⁷⁸ SEG 16. 573; Jordan 1985 no. 107, E (Bettarini 2005 no. 23), dated c.475–450 by Jeffery 1955.

⁷⁹ In SEG 16. 571 = 36. 855, Jordan no. 104 (Bettarini 2005, no. 24), also from Selinous, three of the men listed have the qualification *Herakleidas* after their names, possibly indicating membership of a *genos*. Other tablets from Selinous, however, lack such features. I would not argue strongly, on the basis of present evidence, for a difference in social structure between Athens and Selinous (most Selinous curses have the Attic pattern), but note the methodological point that variations in the structure of groupings on curse tablets can be seen even where we lack prosopographical data. Small kin-group cursed in Mytilene, SEG 48. 1055/61. 685 (by a Cypriot? Dale and Ellis-Evans 2012).



(13) Kadosis son of Matulaios

(14) Ekotis son of Magon

Notes: Names in square brackets appear only as patronymics. Numbers refer to the order in which names first appear in the text.

Names like Lykinos, Halos, and Titelos may have been rather common. Dotted lines indicate possible connections.

TABLE 14.1. Selinous, SEG 16.573

It is not clear whether there is a traceable kinship tie between the families of Nausistratos and Smikythos of Aigilia (son of Deinostratos, who appears in *IG* ii² 1927. 178–9? ch. 32 n. 56; Humphreys 2010*a*), but it seems likely that there was an affinal link between Smikythos of Oe (ch. 28 n. 77) and Smikythos of Aigilia. The two other men, Aristaichmos and Euktemon, may be husbands of the women, or kin of the wives of the men already discussed.

In a group of tablets found together (Wünsch 1901 nos. 47–50, E) Menyllos, member of a family prominent in the deme Halai Aixonides in the mid fourth century, is cursed with his father Astyphilos, his *kêdestês* (WF or WB) Kephisokles, his associate Philonautes, who may also be some kind of kinsman, and an unidentifiable Phanias.⁸⁰ A Theochares (possibly father of the general Chares,

⁸⁰ Philonautes is described as *ton meta Menyllon*. Names with the base Philo- were popular in the family; Astyphilos' father was Philagros. Wunsch 1897, 57 also links an Astyphilos with its target, Philonautes. See Whitehead 1986*a* nos. 184, 195; Table 29.20. Other known members of the family apparently were not involved. Further curses linking fellow-demesmen for whom no closer relationship can be suggested are noted in ch. 22 n. 122.

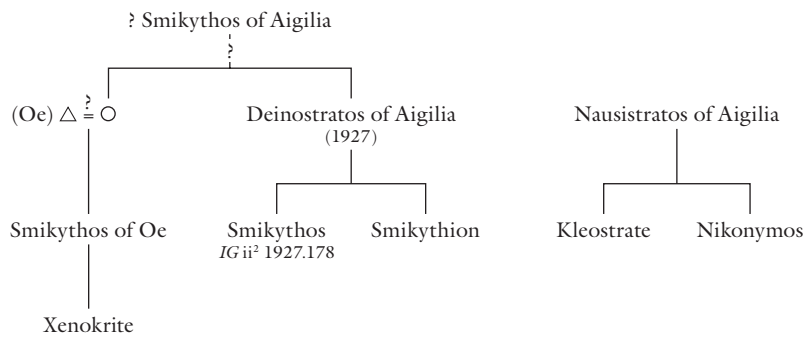


TABLE 14.2. SEG 24.262

cf. ch. 25 n. 61) is cursed with his *kêdestês* Sosistratos and others, including a Diokles (of Phlya? ch. 29 n. 89) on SEG 50. 279 (Jordan 2000*b*, no. 12, E; on Wolicki 2012 see BE 2013, 44).

Another tablet lists a group of siblings (or half-siblings), and provides an interesting example of a woman serving as link in the chain of association along which the curser's mind is running:

Mnesippos
Mnesias of Paionidai
Plangon, sister of Mnesias
Kallippos, brother of Plangon

The same list contains two sisters, daughters of Demokrates (ll. 5–6); Aristoboule the *pallakê* (concubine, l. 8); Charias son of Pheidiades and his *hetaira* Ameinonike (9–10); Ergasion, his servant Py[th]ion, and his wife.⁸¹

⁸¹ *Kerameikos III* nos. 3 and 6 (Jordan 1985 nos. 1–2), found in different graves (no. 6 in *Kerameikos VII* 429) but directed against the same targets in Paionidai, were dated to the 5th c. (despite Peek's impression that the script was mid 4th c.) because the excavator, Kübler, said they must be contemporary with the graves in which they were found. But it is hard to see how a curser could deposit tablets during funerals (the tablet was not—as erroneously reported by D. R. Jordan 1988, followed by Eidinow 2007—in the corpse's right hand, but near its fingertips). Prosopographical indications for a 4th c. date are now reinforced by the appearance of the sons of 2 targets—Hegestratos son of Hegemachos and Blepypros son of Polymnestos—as ephebes from Paionidai in the Lykourgian period (ch. 26 n. 60). It is interesting that a curse probably generated by a deme dispute (among demesmen resident in the city?) includes women among its targets. Wunsch 1897, 103 (E, found in Piraeus) may have been provoked by a dispute in Lamptrai (ch. 23 n. 76); only 3 of its 20 legible names have no attested link with the deme (Kallenikos—also on Wunsch 54; LGPN omits Wunsch 103—Demokrates, and Archinos). Four of the targets, Kallikrates, Kine(i)as, [Lysi-] or [Kydi]machos, and Antiphilos, occur also on IG ii³ 4. 233, a deme dedication to Apollo (Kallikrates' father's rather rare name Anaxikrates is also attested in the deme); Eudidaktos, Philokles, Demophilos, and Nikokrates are known in L. in the 4th c., Theophilos possibly (IG ii³ 6682, cf. 6691a); Dorotheos, father of a target, appears as a Lamptrian on Samos (IG xii 6. 262, 22). Menekles (another father) is attested in the 3rd c. (Olympiodoros only in the 2nd). SEG 44. 203 (CAT 4. 350), a lekythos found at Voula naming Theophilos, Mnesimache, Teisistrate (or Pei-?), and Olympiodoros, might be connected. On Wunsch 67a 2 Archedikos and Naukritos might be son and

Brothers appear together quite frequently: [Ke]phisokles and [Mel]anop[os] sons of Polystratos of Potamos, with a Hermippos of Potamos, on Peek 1957 no. 205 (D. R. Jordan 1985 no. 12; Lopez Jimeno 1999, 12); Sonik[os] and Teiseas sons of Son[ikos?], in rather low company, *ibid.* no. 207 (Jordan 1985 no. 11, E; Lopez Jimeno 11); Eupheros and Aristokles, perhaps the brothers of Kallistratos son of Kallikrates of Aphidnai, on Wünsch 1901 no. 24 a (E). Bakchis and Kittos, who appear among a group of tavern keepers and their associates on Audollent 1904, no. 72 (E), may be the brothers known as potters. Cf. perhaps Sosimenes and Aristandros of Eleusis on Wünsch 1897, 87 (E). The brothers Eunomos and Aristogeiton of Pithos are cursed together on *SEG* 58. 265 A 2–3; Kassandros' younger brother Pleistarchos is cursed with him on *SEG* 30. 325 (see n. 69). Kallias IV of Alopeke and his son Hipponikos IV are named together on Wünsch no. 65 (E), with a reference to their *kêdestai*: Kallias is the main target, and the hostility arises from a lawsuit.⁸² Aristophon of Azenia (*APF* 2108) is cursed with his brother's son Aristophanes II (and others) on Coll. Froehner no. 11, ll. 25, 29 (*SEG* 37. 214, Jordan 1985 no. 42, Lopez Jimeno 1999, 23; ch. 30 n. 120).

Three of the men named on Wünsch no. 42 (E) may be related: Gniphonides (l. 15), Kleandros son of Gniphon(nides?) (17), and <K>leandros son of Phoinix (of Oe), perhaps an affine.⁸³

Demetrios and Dē[m]ađ[es], both (?) tilers (*keramodetai*), may be kin, in view of the similarity of their names (*Kerameikos III* no. 9; Jordan 1985, no. 44, E; Lopez Jimeno 1998 no. 26); so may the boxers Aristomachos and Aristonymos, named together on Wünsch 102 (E), although these may be unrelated slaves who were given similar names by their trainer or owner.

father, in Lamptrai, cf. Bayliss 2011 (ch. 23 n. 86). The targets of *SEG* 44. 226 (*Agora XXVIII*, 55–7, Jordan 2000b no. 15, E) may possibly all belong to X Antiochis. *SEG* 40. 265 (note 42. 217) starts with targets in I. Erechtheis but does not confine itself to this tribe (ch. 29 n. 47).

⁸² Cf. Wilhelm 1904, 119; *APF* 7826 XV (a father and son also Wilhelm 1904, 121 = Jordan 1985 no. 18, E, Lopez Jimeno 18). The Hip<p>o<l>och-<id>es named with them may be Hippolochides II, adopted son of Hippolochides of Lousia, born Thrasyboulos son of Aischines of Lousia (*APF* 1395, Table 2.1). A curse of the 460s from Gela or Kamarina (Dubois 1989 no. 134, E, D. R. Jordan 2007) attacks rival choregoi with their children and fathers.

⁸³ See Table 32.3. This text is variously dated in *LGNP* but should be 4th c. Kleandros Gniphon (l. 17), should be K. son of Gniphonides (cf. l. 15) of Thorai, known from *IG* ii² 1927 (see Humphreys 2010a on date); 'Leandros Phoinikos' (l. 16) should be Kleandros son of Phoenix of Oe, diatetes in 325/4 (ii³ 4. 35. 89); ii² 6831 is probably the tombstone (trapeza) of his SW. Kydimachos son of [G]ni[pho]n[?] of Thorai, commemorated as a grandfather on ii² 6214/*CEG* 601, may be Kleandros' brother or an earlier member of the family (the name Gniphonides is also attested in Thorai in the 2nd c.). 'Euxenos Kêtonos' (l. 18) may be E. of Sounion, father of Kêdôn (ii² 2308A, a dedicatory base) and of Demophon, attested as ephebe on *IOrop* 353 (Humphreys 2009); he may be linked with Euxenos of Thorai as a kinsman, or simply by association of ideas. Thallos (l. 14) is assigned conjecturally to Lamptrai by *LGNP* (cf. ch. 23 n. 75), but the name also appears in Thorai, *IG* xii 8. 68. 1.

Kinship undoubtedly played an important role behind the scenes in Athenian political life. Even if marriages were seldom made with clear political ends in view, affines appear frequently as supporters and allies; in at least some cases women will have acted as intermediaries (Humphreys 1998). Kin acted as associates, and were seen in association; relationships were known and used by political and legal opponents, and cursers. We shall now turn to look at the representation of kinship in the public forum of formal political institutions.

PART FOUR

Politics, Formal

Paredroi, Epidosis Lists, Ostracism, the Thirty

The phenomena to be discussed in this chapter—the choice of *paredroi*, the association of kin in making *epidosis* donations, the assumptions about the political solidarity of kin that can be deduced from votes cast for ostracism, and the choice of associates by the oligarchic groups which seized power in 411 and 404, may seem an odd collection. But the oddness in itself makes a point. When we look for clear assertions of solidarity between kin in official public records they are only to be found in marginal situations—archaic survivals, liturgies in which private resources are ostentatiously donated for a public cause, anti-elections (ostracism), or oligarchic *coups d'état*. The normal democratic processes of appointing officials in tribal boards of ten and selecting them by lot left few chances that kin would find themselves associated in the performance of public functions—least of all agnatic kin whom we are more likely to be able to identify. Democratic practice stressed randomness in the selection of public officials; nothing could be further from this than the association of kin as colleagues.¹

PAREDROI

Despite this commitment to random selection, in each of the three major traditional offices—those of eponymous archon, basileus, and polemarch—the officeholder was allowed to select two assistants or assessors, *paredroi*, and kin seem regularly to have been chosen (P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 621–2; Kapparis 1998). These were the three offices that were institutionalized when annual election began—in the early seventh century according to Attic tradition (Rhodes 98–9)—and the practice of appointing *paredroi* may well go back to an early date. Their function would have been to sit beside the archon and advise him when he gave judgment, to act on his behalf in receiving pleas,² and to help him with the

¹ C. Taylor 2007. Narrow oligarchies might also rule that only one member of a household or sibling group could be eligible for office (Ar. *Pol.* 1305b 6–10). Association of kin in the Athenian Council—a much larger body—is discussed in ch. 17. On democracy and use of the lot see Demont 2001.

² Advice: Is. 6. 32, A. R. W. Harrison 1971, 11–12; but there is no firm evidence for selection of *paredroi* with legal expertise, and the original function may rather have been that of witness, as in the case of the *mnamones* at Gortyn (cf. Carawan 2012). The magistrate's consilium at Rome evolved much more

expenses of his office ([Demosthenes] 59. 72). It is possible that the six thesmothetai, who took over some judicial functions from the three major archons at a relatively early date (before Solon), evolved from the six *paredroi* (Humphreys 1983c, 233–5). During the first half of the fifth century the traditional archonships lost much of their prestige and a significant part of their functions; the ten tribal strategoi (generals), instituted in 501/0, took over the supreme military command from the polemarch (P. J. Rhodes 1981a, 264–5), election was replaced by sortition in 487/6 (ibid. 272–4), and the power to impose fines of more than a fixed limit³ was taken from the archons probably in 461, leaving them with the duties of conducting preliminary hearings (*anakripsis*) and presiding in a merely formal manner over courts. The presiding magistrate had no power to instruct the jury or sum up the issues on which it would vote. The introduction of ostracism in the 480s and the more frequent use of other procedures for sanctioning misconduct by magistrates may have discouraged archons from using their full traditional powers even before Ephialtes removed these in 461 (Humphreys 1988, 470). The theme of the ruler who voluntarily submits decisions to the people instead of exercising his full powers is prominent in Aeschylus (*Suppl.* 365–9, 397–401, 480–8, 517–18; *Eum.* 470–84; cf. the critical treatment of Zeus in the *P.V.*, e.g. 326). Personal choice of *paredroi* therefore survived, I would suggest, because with the development of radical democracy their position lost any real power that had once attached to it and became merely ceremonial and liturgic.

Other officials also had *paredroi*, but it is doubtful whether any of these were personally chosen. The twenty *paredroi* of the ten *euthynai*, who scrutinized the accounts of outgoing magistrates and received written accusations of misconduct in office, were appointed by lot, presumably from the Council (*A.P.* 48. 4; cf. Kahrstedt 1936, 124–6, Piérart 1971). The ten hellenotamiai, responsible for the finances of the Athenian empire, had one *paredros* each; we do not know

clearly into an advisory council of experts (Crook 1967, 88–9; Frier 1985, index s.v. *consilium*). In a Gortynian inscription of the 2nd–1st century BCE the *mnamon* of the *kosmoi* is the brother of the president of the board (*IC* iv 260). Receiving pleas: [Dem.] 58. 32 (on which see M. J. Osborne 1981c, 177–8). The scholion (AO) to Plato *Laws* 945b, of which Pollux 8. 100 and *Lex. Rhet.* Bekker 1814, 257. 15–16 seem to preserve shorter versions, says that each archon had a *euthynos* as well as a *paredros*; if any genuine information lies behind this we cannot recover it from our present sources. Röhrmann 1968, 29–36 is not concerned with the origins of the institution or the criteria for selection. Other texts known to me, which throw no light on the present question, are Archippos F 27 *PCG*, *IG* ii² 7404 (*CEG* 484, Justice as p., in 412/11, early 4th c.), *IG* ii³ 4. 208 (mid 4th c.), *IG* ii³ 950 (3rd c.), *IG* ii³ 4. 125 (1st c. CE), and *IG* ii² 1738 (2nd c. CE). *IG* ii³ 4. 115 (mid 2nd c. BCE) may be a dedication by a polemarch and his *paredroi*, all belonging to different demes. Cf. also *AO* p. 349.

³ Humphreys 1983c, 242–5; A. R. W. Harrison 1971, 4–7. The limit was 50 dr. for some officials; we do not know the figure for the traditional archons. It may be noted here that although *IG* ii² 1629. 238–9 provides an attractive parallel to *IG* i³ 133. 18–19 it is also possible that the official who acts with *paredroi* in the latter text and in i³ 136. 24 is the *basileus*.

how these were appointed. While the allocation of paredroi may have been a way of reinforcing boards whose duties were becoming too heavy (Kahrstedt, loc. cit.), it is possible also that the position of paredros developed from the custom of having a reliable witness present when engaged on judicial or financial business for the state.⁴ The deme euthynos had paredroi in Halai Aixonides (*IG* ii² 1174, 368/7) and in Thorikos (*SEG* 33. 147 = *IG* i³ 256 *bis*: perhaps c.430, Parker 1987*b*). We do not know anything about the method of appointment in demes.

Close kin figure in a substantial proportion of the cases where paredroi can be identified. The eponymous archon of 394/3, Euboulides son of Epikleides of Eleusis, appointed his brother Dictys as paredros;⁵ the archon of 363/2, Charikleides, appointed his father (Demosthenes 21. 178–9: he helps his son keep order in the theatre at the Dionysia). Theogenes, basileus about the middle of the fourth century, was supported at his dokimasia and helped with the expenses of his office by Stephanos of Eroiadai, who then persuaded him to marry the daughter of the prostitute Neaira; this provoked a scandal which led Theogenes to divorce the girl and dismiss Stephanos from his position as paredros ([Demosthenes] 59. 72, 83–4). Theogenes (if we can trust Apollodoros) was a poor man, a member of the priestly genos Koironidai which had claims to appoint officials to roles in the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries (Toepffer 1889, 101–10), innocently ambitious to show that he could carry off the duties of the religious head of the state with a dignity befitting his ancestry. His story casts an interesting light on the type of candidate attracted to these traditional offices and on the financial burdens they still carried.⁶ At the end of the fourth century the basileus Exekestides son of [Nikokr?]ates of Alopeke appointed Nikokrates son of Exeke[s]tides of Alopeke?, probably either his father or his son, as paredros, together with Kleainetos son of Menon, whose demotic is lost (*IG* ii³ 4. 95). The speaker of [Demosthenes] 58 alleges that when his opponent's brother was thesmothetes he used the opponent, Theokrines, as his adviser

⁴ Kahrstedt (1936, 124–6) thinks that the paredroi of the hellenotamiai were elected, were attached to specific members of the board, and had to come from the same tribe as their partners, but the latter point is only supported by *IG* i³ 375. 20–1. The apparent reference to a *paredro[s]* or *paredro[i]* of the generals sent to Sicily, *IG* i³ 370. 50, is puzzling and may be non-technical, perhaps referring to a financial official sent with the generals; the use of the term in *Hell. Oxy.* 15. 1 Bartoletti and Chambers 1993 is also in my view non-technical.

⁵ *Agora XVIII* 35, ii³ 4. 42; only one paredros is named in this inscription, but it would be rash to conclude that the number of paredroi was raised to two only later. It is hard to imagine a motive for such an increase in the 4th c. The polemarch appointed by the kleruchs in Imbros had two paredroi (*IG* xii 8. 47; the relation of paredroi to polemarch cannot be recovered). The decree has been assigned to the late 4th c., when the island was independent; but we have little idea how Imbros was governed before 318.

⁶ We are not told precisely what Stephanos paid for: perhaps extra sacrificial victims, or other accompaniments to festivals in which the basileus had a prominent role, such as spices, wine, or music.

(*symbolos*), with disastrous results (§ 27); thesmothetai did not officially have paredroi but apparently might nevertheless coopt advisers. The only connection that can be established between the archon of 361/0 and his paredroi is that one came from his own tribe (Mitsos 1965, 131–6, *SEG* 23. 78; cf. Dow 1976, 80–4), but it must be remembered that matrilinear and affinal ties cannot be detected in such inscriptions.

The pattern is similar in the Hellenistic period. Miltiades son of Zoilos of Marathon, basileus in the middle of the second century, had his brother as one of his paredroi (*IG* ii³ 4. 113); Euxenos son of Euxenos of Thorai, basileus about 155 BCE, may have had a fellow-demesman, Gniphonides son of Semion.⁷ Nikias of Otryne, archon in 266/5, appointed a fellow-demesman, Antiphanes son of Polykrates, as one of his paredroi (*IG* ii³ 920, *Syll.*³ 388).⁸ However, no links can be reconstructed between Euthios son of Antiphon of Teithras, archon 283/2, and his paredroi who come from Athmonon and Paiania (*Agora* XVI 181). A polemarch of c.30 BCE also has paredroi from two demes other than his own (*Agora* XVIII C 42).

Kinship was not of course the only basis for appointment. Aischines (1. 58) refers to an archon simply as ‘the archon to whom Aristophon of Azenia was paredros’; evidently a well-known politician could sometimes be persuaded to add dignity to the office of an obscurer man. Euthydemos son of Moirokles of Eleusis is praised by the Kerykes for his services at the Mysteries while acting as paredros to the basileus at the end of the fourth century (*IEleus* 100, cf. 177. 243, 245, and Matthaïou 1987*b*); Whitehead (1986*a*, 303–5) suggests that the basileus was also Eleusinian, but the fact that the Kerykes do not name him suggests to me that he was not, and had deliberately chosen a prominent member of the deme (ch. 30 at nn. 87–92) to help him with his duties at Eleusis.

In *IG* ii³ 327 (Schwenk 1985, no. 18) the council and demos honour three men from Oinoe (Aiantis), who held office together in 336/5, Phyleus son of Pausanias who was elected and *hypenthynos* and two others, one of them possibly his father or son [Paus]anias,⁹ who were coopted. These are not paredroi, since paredroi had to pass euthynai. Their function was probably connected with the Council; Koehler’s suggestion that they were three of the *syllogeis tou demou* has been justly criticized by P. J. Rhodes (1972, 129–30), and the very fragmentary

⁷ *IG* ii³ 4. 111; Tracy 1990, 139; *Agora* XVIII C 39. The demotics are restored on the basis of Wunsch 1897 no. 42.

⁸ 282/1 in Whitehead 1986*a*, 304 should be corrected. Nikias’ other paredros, however, was Alkimachos of Myrrhinous, whose son Thoukritos (general in the 250s) may already have been distinguishing himself in the cavalry (G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, 161; Table 8.7).

⁹ Pausanias son of Phyleus O., councillor in 281/0 (*Agora* XV 72. 204), could be the son serving at an advanced age; if the Antimachos son of Pausanias O. who proposed *IRh* 45 c.229 is his son, the generations are long. Cf. ch. 31 n. 62.

remains of the text do not permit us to reconstruct the office in question (*IG* [Tsountas], followed by Schwenk, had suggested hieropoioi; Lambert 2004*b*, no. 3, secretary and *syn*[*grammateis*]).

EPIDOSIS AND OTHER LITURGIES

When a Greek city asked its richer citizens to donate sums of money for a public cause (epidosis), an inscription would often be put up listing the contributors and the sum that each had given. In some cases a man will specify that he gives on behalf of himself and his son (*Agora XVI* 213 = *IG* ii³ 1011, 248/7 BCE, col. II 44, 53, col. III 37) or will associate his wife, mother, daughter, grandson, brother, or nephew (BS) with the donation (all found in *IG* ii² 2332, 183/2 BCE; cf. ch. 20).¹⁰ In other cases kin are recorded on successive lines, which if the text on the stone was taken from a temporary list made as payments were received¹¹ would imply that kin went together (to a treasurer seated in the agora?) to make their individual contributions. In [Demosthenes] 34. 39 the speaker, who invests money in trading voyages, says that he and his brother jointly contributed a talent (6000 dr.) for corn purchases, c.330. *IG* ii³ 1011 = *Agora XVI* no. 213, a list of contributions made for the defence of the Attic countryside in 248/7, prescribes that contributors may register either in the Assembly, in the Council, or with (*pros*) the generals. The list of names is arranged in three columns with

¹⁰ Nevertheless, I cannot think it right to restore a reference to the infant sons of Xanthippos in *IG* i³ 49. 13–14. Mattingly's suggestion (1961, 164 n. 73, revised 1966, 69–71) that the sons of Kleiniades (Alkibiades III and his brother) are here associated with Perikles and his sons seems preferable. I do not know if we need find it odd that Paralos is mentioned before his older brother. The affair of the epikleros daughters of Epilykos (*APF* 8429 IV, Table 4.2) implies that there was no son of Xanthippos alive c.399.

¹¹ The method of recording may have varied (on the history of alphabetization see Daly 1967). Veyne 1976, 212–13 suggests that some lists may record promises of contributions made during a meeting of the Assembly, rather than actual receipts. Such promises are well attested for classical Athens, with some pressure on the reluctant (Is. 5. 37–8, Theophr. *Char.* 22. 3, Plut. *Alk.* 10. 1, *Phok.* 9. 1–2); in Hellenistic Amyzon (J. and L. Robert 1983, no. 28, early 2nd c. BCE) contributors were directed to register with officials, and did so in family groups. General discussion of epidosis, Migeotte 1992 (*IG* xii 6. 203–16 may be epidosis lists). Mothers and daughters together on side A of the large inscription from Tanagra (Reinach 1899, dated to the beginning of the 2nd c. by Knoepfler 1977; *SEG* 34. 1690) in ll. 53, 57–9, 66–7. A Hellenistic list of female donors from Kos (*IG* xii 4. 1. 301, end 3rd c.; Migeotte 1998 = 2010*b* no. 13) seems to show a preference for grouping bearers of the same personal name together (mothers and daughters, at least in some cases?); *nothai* (4) and metics are separated from citizens. Migeotte 1992 does not re-edit lists of names, or include epidoseis to units smaller than the state. Migeotte 1993, publishing a list of women donors from Rhodes, assumes that it reflects the order in which they presented themselves. See also Chaniotis 2013; Ellis-Evans 2013.

blank spaces at the bottom of each and this arrangement may have been intended to correspond to these three sources.¹²

The left-hand column is headed with the following five names:

Antiphon of Erchia
Eurykleides of Kephisia
Mikion of Kephisia
[D]romeas of Erchia
[Dio]kles of Erchia.

Each makes the maximum permitted contribution of 200 drachmas, as do the majority of those listed. We know that Eurykleides and Mikion were brothers, prominent at the time (Habicht 1982*a*, 179–82); Dromeas and Diokles were also brothers.¹³ In col. II 55–8 Xenon son of Asklepiades of Phyle and his son Asklepiades appear together, each contributing 200 drachmas. Nikokles and Nikosthenes of Phlya (col. I 63–4) may be related, as may Philotheos and Demophilos of Phrearrhioi (col. II 75–6). In the case of other pairs of demesmen with unrelated names (col. II 33–4, 45–6, 63–4) it would be more hazardous to postulate a relationship; even more so in the case of men with related names but from different demes (Lysiades of Oion and Lysimachos of Oinoe, I 80–1; Pausimachos of Koile and Pausias of Paiania, II 50–1). In any case the groupings that can be suggested are extremely small, two or at most three persons.

Records from other states show more interesting patterns. In a list of contributions for the purchase of oil in Elateia in Phokis, probably to be dated *c.*160 BCE (Migeotte 1992 no. 31, *SEG* 32. 555), a number of kindreds can be conjecturally reconstructed. The list starts with a gymnasiarch, his son, and a second gymnasiarch. Names 4–22 can be arranged as in Table 15.1.

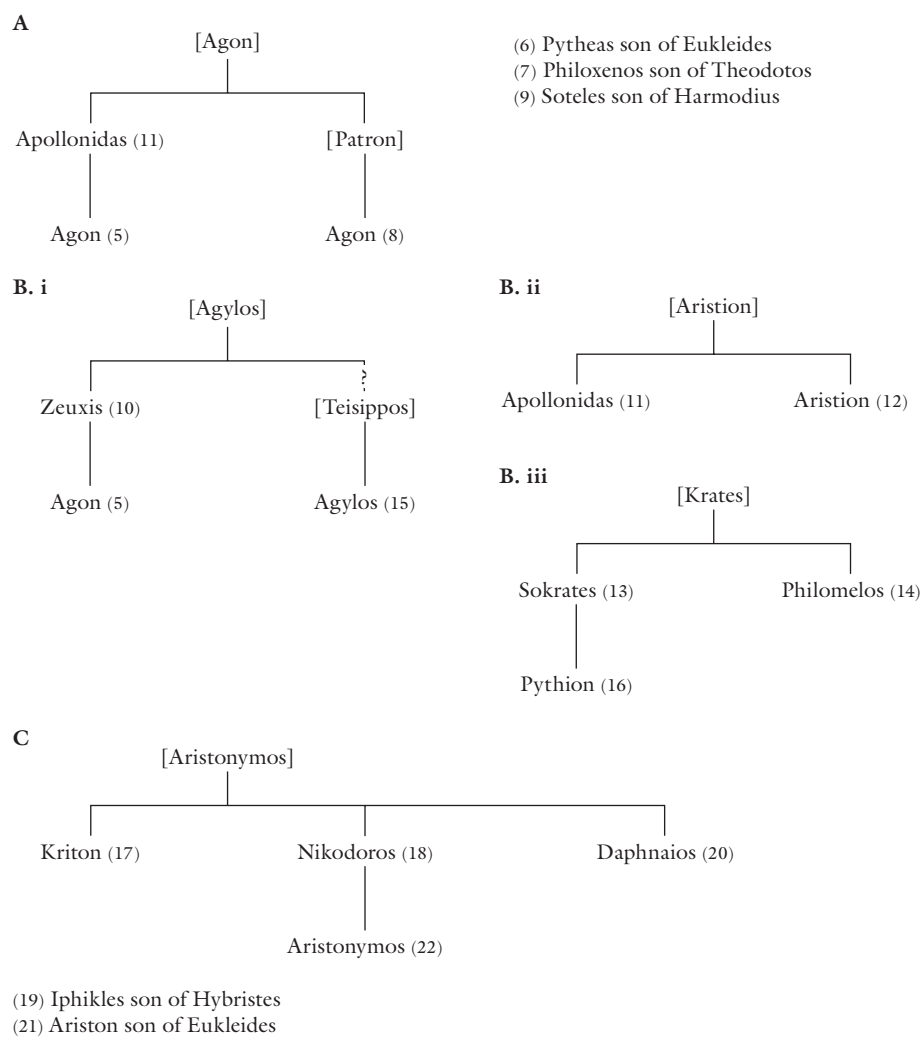
It seems possible that groups B i–iii were linked affinally or matrilaterally and that nos 6–7, 9, 19, and 21 were similarly linked in some way to the principal groups.

More work remains to be done on the evidence provided by catalogues of names for procedures of registration and for principles of classification, and self-classification by informal association, in ancient societies.¹⁴ It is scarcely surprising to find siblings listed together in the Athenian catalogue of orphans from *c.*410 or 403/2 (Stroud 1971, *SEG* 28. 46; Matthaïou 2011*a*, 71–3 = *SEG* 61. 51). Listing principles vary for *diaitetai*, sometimes but not always listed by deme; in

¹² However, as Nigel Pollard pointed out to me, the first two columns are of equal length, which tells against this suggestion. Cf. G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, 200–4, 282–4.

¹³ Habicht 1982*a*, 183–5, *APF* 126; Dromeas III and Diokles II. There is no evidence of any connection with Antiphon.

¹⁴ Even the character of such lists is often in doubt: cf. Dow 1983; Humphreys 2010*a*. Lists of soldiers are dealt with in ch. 16. Two of the *epidosis* lists published by Hallof *a. o.* 1998 (cf. Habicht 2000, 295–301), *IG* xii 4. 1. 75–7, are alphabetical (by first letter of name).



* Bracketed names appear only as patronymics. Numbers refer to sequence of names in list.

TABLE 15.1. Epidosis in Hellenistic Phokis, Michaud 1974

IG ii³ 4. 24 three members of Aixone appear together in col. III but otherwise no organizing principle can be detected. In the list of guarantors for the ships lent to Chalkis in 341/0 (*IG* ii² 1623. 161–96) Derkylos and Kallias sons of Autokles of Hagnous appear consecutively (179–81); so do Kriton son of Astyochos of Kydathenaion (*APF* 8828), l. 191, and Anaschetos son of Demoteles of Halai (*APF* 819), l. 192, who may have been kin or affines if they are the *kêdestai* of Lykophron’s accuser mentioned in *POxy* 1607 (ch. 14 n. 60).

Even where an institutional framework is imposed on a list, signs of individual association may break through. The list of those entitled by descent to share in sacrifices at Kos (*IG* xii 4. 1. 104, c.180 BCE) is alphabetical (by first letter of

name), but among the latecomers added at the bottom two brothers appear together (V 77–80). Lists of applicants for the corn dole in Oxyrhynchos were organized by districts and in some cases alphabetically within districts, but the fact that two applicants in *POxy* 2892 from the same district are identified by the same two witnesses suggests that they went together to file their applications.

OSTRACISM

It would have been, essentially, similar patterns of informal association that caused Athenians to perceive a set of kinsmen as a politically significant grouping. It should be clear by now that friends and associates were recruited through a mixture of ties of different kinds, and that networks overlapped. To speak of ‘clans’ is totally inappropriate for such groupings; even in studies of the Roman republic, where the name of a famous *gens* counted for more, the view that *gens* membership provides all the explanation of political allegiance that we need has been abandoned (C. J. Smith 2006). Admittedly the idea of private military recruitment in the archaic period, also based on Roman material, seems to be becoming fashionable now in Greek history too;¹⁵ but there is no reason to suppose in either case that military bands were purely agnatic groups.

The few cases in which Herodotus, our best guide to Athenian society in the sixth and early fifth centuries, uses family names cannot bear the weight that has sometimes been laid on them. He tells us that the Gephyraioi were believed to have come from Boiotia (5. 57); but he does not suggest that the assassination of Hipparchos by Harmodios and Aristogeiton, who were of this *genos*, was part of a group policy. The term *oikia* is used of leading families, both Greek and barbarian; some of these have hereditary privileges or positions, like the Spartan royal families or the *oikia* of Kleisthenes’ rival Isagoras, which worshipped Zeus Karios or Karaioi (5. 66); others merely have a succession of illustrious names, like the *oikia* of Miltiades (6. 35) or the Alkmeonidai (6. 125).

It is against this background that we must evaluate the significance of the belief that ‘the Alkmeonidai’ were under a hereditary curse, the accusation that they had tried to betray Athens to the Persians after the battle of Marathon, and the high incidence of votes cast against members of the family in ostracisms.

The curse was believed to derive from the responsibility of the archon Megakles for killing suppliants at the time of Kylon’s attempted coup c.630. Supposedly inherited by all his descendants through both men and women, it supplied—though only intermittently (cf. R. Parker 1983, 16–17)—one of the main bases

¹⁵ Rome: e.g. Versnel 1980, Momigliano 1984, 418–29 (the problem is treated too cavalierly in Raafaub 1986b, 45), Cornell 1995 s.v. *sodales*. Greece: Van Wees 2004, 95–7.

of solidarity which led Athenians to think and speak of the Alkmeonidai as a group. The solidarity was negative rather than positive; if an enemy decided to make use of the alleged ‘curse’ on the descendants of Megakles, the logic of the belief that pollution was hereditary meant that no member of the family could count himself safe. Thus the hereditary curse performed in the case of the Alkmeonidai the function of supplying a motive for coherence which cult privileges supplied for other aristocratic descent groups—although transmission through women occurs much earlier in the case of the curse than in priestly *genê* of conventional type. The curse was used in the fifth century in propaganda against Perikles, whose mother was an Alkmeonid (Thucydides 1. 127. 1), whereas *genos* membership does not seem to have been transmitted through women until the Hellenistic period.¹⁶

Although the Alkmeonidai had Eupatrid status—Megakles I held the archonship, and at some period they claimed descent from the royal family of Homeric Pylos, the name Alkmeon being allegedly borne by one of Nestor’s great-grandsons (Pausanias 2. 18. 9)—their prestige was not based on any prominent role in cult (cf. *APF* 9688 I).¹⁷ Their ambitions focused on the panhellenic rather than the local level. Indeed, their connections stretched beyond Greece; gossip said that they owed their rise to the generosity of the Lydian kings (Herodotus 6. 125, cf. R. Thomas 1989). Megakles II, probably grandson of the archon, married the daughter of the tyrant of Sikyon; he was first the rival, then for a brief period the ally and father-in-law of Peisistratos.

After the temple at Delphi had been destroyed by fire in 546, ‘the Alkmeonidai’—which need mean no more than Megakles and his sons—took charge of the rebuilding programme, using their connections in Greece and beyond to solicit contributions of building materials. They claimed to have been indirectly responsible, through their influence at Delphi, for the expulsion of Peisistratos’ sons; however, Megakles’ son Kleisthenes had probably held the eponymous archonship under the tyrants in 525/4. The fall of the tyrants was followed by a struggle for power in which the curse was invoked and Kleisthenes had to leave Attika with 700 households of his supporters (Herodotus 5. 70–2); it is not possible that all of these were descended from the Megakles who was archon c.630 (Ismard 2010, 83, over-interprets this episode). They soon returned.

In the next generation the leading member of the family was Kleisthenes’ nephew (BS) Megakles IV son of Hippokrates. He won the four-horse chariot race at Delphi in 486—not the family’s first Panhellenic victory—and celebrated his success with a Pindaric chorus (*Pyth.* 6), in itself a sign of ambition. His father

¹⁶ See Gagné 2013; Humphreys 2007; Blok and Lambert 2009 do not consider possible effects of the *epiklerate*.

¹⁷ One ostrakon calls Megakles *euneidês*; Brenne 2002 T1/114 suggests *eu<ge>neides*, ‘well-born’.

had married a woman from a leading Eretrian family, Koisyra, and this may at least partly explain the story that after the battle of Marathon ‘the Alkmeonidai’ had tried to betray Athens to the Persians (Herodotus 6. 115); such a betrayal had certainly taken place at Eretria (6. 101).¹⁸ In any case the family’s history could be held to justify the suspicion that they would seek allies anywhere if engaged in a bid for power.

Ostracism was perhaps designed as a safeguard against such ambitions. The votes cast in an *ostrakophoria* might be described as electoral votes in reverse, the aim being to eliminate the candidate with most votes from the political scene for ten years, instead of appointing him to high office as in a normal election. Ostracism carried no financial penalty and brought, in itself, no disgrace, although much mud was slung during the preliminaries, some of which might stick (Brenne 2002). In theory ostracism only affected the individual against whom votes were cast, whereas removing political opponents by exile or crippling them by the imposition of heavy fines affected their children too;¹⁹ exile was normally accompanied by confiscation of property, whereas in ostracism the victim’s property and family were untouched.

In practice however the situation was not so simple. The aim of the institution was to rid the city of factious leaders and potential tyrants without giving them a formal opportunity to defend themselves (Humphreys 1978, 229; Camassa 2011, 47).²⁰ The only way in which a possible victim could defend himself was to start a campaign against someone else. Supporters no doubt canvassed actively, and on occasion mass-produced ostraka carrying the name of their preferred target (Vanderpool 1970*a*, 11–12; *Agora* XXV). The nature of the campaigning process might encourage in some cases a scatter of votes against men associated with a major target, or a campaign might develop an impetus of its own that led to voting against associates in later years, when the main target had been eliminated. If we had a complete record of all votes cast, it would certainly tell us something about patterns of political association. The scatter vote, however, in addition to mistakes (in patronymic or demotic), also seems to have included ostraka cast for reasons of personal enmity, sometimes against homonyms of the principal ‘candidates’ (Ruggeri 2002 perhaps underestimates such factors).

Of course the record is anything but complete; moreover, many of the men named on ostraka are not otherwise attested and cannot be securely placed in

¹⁸ No link in nomenclature can be traced between later Alkmeonidai and the Eretrian traitors named by Herodotus, Euphorbos son of Alkimachos and Philagros son of Kyneas, but this proves nothing. One ostrakon of the 480s marked ‘the Eretrian’ may be directed against Megakles; but Eretrieus does occur as a proper name in Attika (*IG* i³ 1190. 14; *ID* 75. 18). On the problem of the wife or wives called Koisyra see *APF* 9688 X, Brenne 2002. Another ostrakon tells Megakles to leave but not to go to Eretria.

¹⁹ On exile see ch. 14 nn. 36–7; Forsdyke 2005, B. Gray 2015.

²⁰ De Ste. Croix 2004 (180–215, 229–30) suggests the main danger was a coup aided by foreign powers.

relation to known families. Spoiled votes introduce further complications. It seems clear, however, that hostility directed against Megakles IV in the 480s and again in the 470s prompted votes against men associated with him. A few other cases of votes cast against related victims can also be identified, although the Alkmeonid group remains by far the most striking.²¹

The first man to be ostracized is said to have been a kinsman of the Peisistratids; this may in itself be an indication of the way in which voters' thoughts worked. Megakles was the second victim. Ostraka mention his racing stable, his wealth, and his 'greed', as well as referring to the Alkmeonid curse and accusing him of adultery. Table 15.2 shows the probable relation to him of other men against whom votes were cast (names in *italics*), with dates for those known to have been ostracized.²²

The chief targets, apart from Megakles IV, were his father Hippokrates, his brother-in-law (ZH) Xanthippos, and his cousin (FFBSS) Kallixenos, on one sherd called 'the traitor'.²³ Identification of further victims is conjectural. It must be remembered that the standardized form of the Athenian citizen's name—*nomen*, patronymic, demotic—had not yet become established (see ch. 22 n. 39). Demes were new, and voters who identified their victims by demotics may sometimes have made mistakes; a rich man known to own property in a deme might have been thought to belong to it when in fact he did not. Some voters could not

²¹ General discussion in Raafaub 2003. The standard of publication set by Mabel Lang for the Agora ostraka (*Agora XXV*) has not yet been matched for the Kerameikos finds; the latest information in Brenne 2001, 2002. A single sherd naming (a) Peisistratos, if from an ostrakophoria, may be a spoiled vote (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2000b, 91).

²² Dates mostly from Brenne 2001; see also *APF* 9688 + pp. 598–9. Much ink has been spilt in attempts to identify Kallias son of Kratios of Alopeke, against whom many votes were cast in the 480s, either as an Alkmeonid or (Shapiro 1982) as the son of a daughter of Kallias I *lakkoploutos* of Alopeke (*APF* 7826 III). In the present state of our knowledge such speculations are a waste of time. Sixteen sherds call Kallias Kratiou 'the Mede', one depicting him in Persian dress, but even if this is an accusation of treachery at Marathon (contra, D. M. Lewis 1974) we do not know that only Alkmeonids were suspected.

²³ Five men called Megakles are named on ostraka (cf. Berti 2001; Brenne 2002): Megakles IV; the son of Kallisthenes (or of Kleisthenes?), 2 votes; 'Megakles Sosigenides Aigilieus' (1 vote, Brenne 2001, 169); Megakles of Acharnai, 3 votes (Brenne 168); and Megakles of Anaphlystos, 1 vote (the latter two may be voters' mistakes). The Menon son of Megakles in the large Kerameikos deposit (Brenne 2001, one sherd) may be a reflection of gossip about Megakles' adulterous affairs. Stamires and Vanderpool 1950 give a clear idea of the wide range of variations in spelling (cf. Lang 1982; *Agora XXV*); they argue that Kalisenos, Kalisthenos, Kallisthenes, and Klisenes, all named on ostraka as sons of Aristonymos, are merely variant spellings of Kallixenos, while Klalisenos Klestenos (*Agora XXV* 464) would be yet another attack on the same man. Megakles son of Kallisthenes (2 sherds) would then have to be regarded either as a son of Kallixenos or possibly as a reminder of the connections of Megakles IV with Kleisthenes or with the tyrant of Sikyon. See *APF* 9688 and p. 599. Xanthippos son of Hippokrates (1 sherd, Brenne no. 267) may be a spoiled vote against Perikles' father, or the archon of 479/8, or another man; such names will have been common among the archaic aristocracy.

spell; see for example *Agora XXV* 347, 360, 464, 568 for versions of the name of Kallixenos son of Aristonymos.²⁴

This evidence does not support the view that ‘the Alkmeonidai’ were an extensive clan with an identifiable political programme. Twenty-four years after expelling the tyrants the Athenians had ostracized one of their *syngeneis*, perhaps an affine;²⁵ Megakles IV was felt to be the kind of man who might aim at tyranny, and the hostility he aroused spilled over onto a few of his kin.

Other cases in which the prominence of a victim of ostracism campaigns led to votes being cast also against his kin are harder to find. The list of those whose names are found on ostraka (Brenne 2001) includes the brothers Diokles and Erasistratos sons of Asteios of Acharnai, and (later) Erasistratos’ son Phaiax; the brothers Aristaichmos and Kydrokles, sons of Timokrates of Krioia;²⁶ the brothers Olympiades and Philokydes sons of Pheideleos of Lamprai; the brothers Dicitrephes and Hermolykos sons of Euthoinos (of Skambonidai: W. Thompson 1974, 145); the demagogue Kleophon and his brother Philinos of Acharnai, both probably targets in 417 (and earlier their father Kleippides, cf. *SEG* 54. 90); Phalanthus son of Spintharos, Melanthios son of Phalanthos, and Spintharos son of Eu[—], may be somehow related, but the relationships cannot be reconstructed.²⁷ In the family of Andokides (IV) votes were cast against his FF Andokides III, perhaps his FFB Leogoras II B,²⁸ his FFF Leogoras I, and his MF Teisandros II, who was also connected by marriage to Perikles (*APF* 600 II–V; Table 13.2). Aristekides son of Xenophilos, who belonged to the tribe Antiochis and appears on one ostrakon in the large Kerameikos deposit, may have been related to Aristekides son of Lysimachos of Alopeke (*APF* 1695 V).

²⁴ [*Kall*]ischsenos[*bo pr*]odotés, Brenne 2002, T1/65 (*Agora XXV* 589). 110 sherds name Hippokrates Alkmeonidou; one in the large Kerameikos deposit names Megakles (IV) Hippokratous Alkmeonidou. *Agora XXV* no. 524 calls Kallixenos [*Alk*]meon[*idón*?] | [*Kal*]lichsen[*os*] | [*Ar*]isto[*nymo*]. Three votes against Ariphron, the elder son of Xanthippos of Cholargos, in 471 (Brenne 2001, no. 28). On Attic spelling see Immerwahr 2007.

²⁵ Hipparchos son of Charmos (*A.P.* 22. 3–4), archon in 496/5; perhaps Hippias’ DS, *APF* 11793 IX, but I doubt if a DS could have stayed in Attika; it may be better to accept Jacoby’s emendation of Kleidemos *FGH* 323 F 15, which makes him Hippias’ brother-in-law (WB).

²⁶ Kerameikos 471 deposit: two votes for Diokles, one for Erasistratos. Phaiax son of Erasistratos of Acharnai (*APF* 13921), a candidate in (?) 417, may be a younger member of the family, but the gap is long (cf. Table 28.4). The same problem arises if Kleophon (8 votes) and Philinos (1 vote), candidates in 417, are considered (Vanderpool 1968, 120) to be the sons of Kleippides son of Deinias of Acharnai, general in 429/8, against whom more than 100 votes were cast in the 440s.

²⁷ M/L p. 41 suggest that this Melanthios is the one mentioned in Hdt. 5. 97 and that Spintharos is the son of Euboulos of Probalinthos; but the names are all common and attested in several demes (cf. Immerwahr 1982, 62).

²⁸ Leogoras Leogora; one sherd (Brenne 2001 no. 154, from 471). Ostraka name Leogoras Erchieus and L. Kollyteus as well as L. Andokidou and L. Kydathenaieus (Brenne 153–7).

The patterns found in the scatter vote in ostracism should be compared to those found on curse tablets. Although in an *ostrakophoria* only one target could be named, a campaign against a prominent man might trigger personal memories of quarrels with his kin or associates; more significantly, a potential victim who had successfully escaped ostracism one year by campaigning against a political rival had to find further targets in order to save himself in subsequent years. Kinship as a basis of association is relatively easy for us to identify. It was not the only possible basis; ties of *hetaireia* must have played a role which we can no longer detect. In any case (*pace* Eder 1997) we are dealing with campaigns against individuals and those linked to them by association of ideas, not against anything like a political party.

THE THIRTY

Ostracism was institutionalized in a period of reaction against tyranny, and some of the characteristics stigmatized by voters were linked to the construction of the stereotype of the tyrant. Athens had no tyrants after the Peisistratidai, until Demetrios of Phaleron came to power in 317, but oligarchs seized and held power briefly in 411 and in 404/3. Kinship does not figure particularly prominently in theoretical accounts of oligarchy, perhaps because Plato and Aristotle tended to be sympathetic to this form of government; but personal ties certainly played a significant role in the Athenian oligarchies.

This was partly due to their character as revolutionary movements; preparations had to be made in secret and new adherents recruited through personal contacts. Groups of young *hetairoi* were used to create a reign of terror in the city in 411; the four hundred councillors who took power were selected, according to Thucydides (8. 67. 3), by ‘electing’ five chairmen (*proedroi*) who then chose a hundred councillors, each of whom recruited three more.²⁹ Unfortunately their names are not preserved. In 404 ten of the thirty oligarchic rulers were selected by Theramenes, ten were chosen by the committee of five ‘ephors’ who had laid the preparations for the oligarchic coup, and ten more were picked from those who attended the assembly at which the junta was set up (Lysias 12. 76). Our knowledge of connections is limited, but some can be traced. Kritias son of Kallaischros was one of the Thirty; his cousin (FBS) and ex-ward Charmides son of Glaukon was appointed one of the ten officials in charge of Piraeus. Plato, who

²⁹ Latte 1936, 68–9 points out that this method of recruitment seems to be military in origin. Cf. Versnel 1980, 115.

was Charmides' nephew (ZS) and Kritias' cousin (FBDS), joined the oligarchs with enthusiasm, although according to the biographical or autobiographical seventh letter (324d) he was soon disillusioned. The Kallaischros who was a member of the Four Hundred in 411 (Lysias 12. 66) may have been Kritias' father or a kinsman.³⁰ Eratosthenes (APF 5035), a member of the Thirty, was said by Lysias to be a close friend of Theramenes (12. 50, 62) and was presumably selected by him. Leodamas, also a supporter of oligarchy though not one of the Thirty, was possibly the cousin of Erasistratos, another member of the junta (MBS: APF 13921 D–E). Charikles son of Apollodoros (see APF 13479), another of the Thirty, was according to Lysias (12. 55) a close associate of Kritias. He was the *kêdestês* (presumably brother-in-law, ?ZH) of Teisias son of Teisimachos of Kephale, who had been a close friend of Alkibiades until cheated by him over the purchase of a team for the Olympic races of 416. Charikles appeared in the following year, 415, as one of the investigators appointed to enquire into the profanation of the Mysteries and mutilation of the Herms—a post which gave him a chance to avenge his brother-in-law—and Teisias reappears as a councillor under the oligarchy in 404/3 (Isokrates 16. 43). Hagnodoros of Amphitrope, also associated with the Thirty, was *kêdestês* to Kritias, perhaps his ZH (Lysias 13. 55, APF 8792 VI B). According to Lysias (ibid.) he saved a fellow-demesman, Menestratos, who had been accused and imprisoned by the Thirty, by proposing that he should be granted immunity if he denounced others; this probably means that Menestratos' kin had appealed to Hagnodoros to negotiate with Kritias on their behalf.³¹

Using the evidence of court speeches written after the restoration of democracy to reconstruct relations between the oligarchs and their subjects is risky; kinship or affinity may have formed the basis for accusations. However, that fact in itself meant that the close kin of prominent oligarchs would find it hard to disassociate themselves. They had much to gain from exonerating their kin, and little chance of effective disengagement.

The Athenians in 403 swore an oath *mê mnêsikakein*, 'not to bear grudges', but the extent to which this was translated into formal legislation is controversial (Carawan 2002, 2013; Joyce 2014; Whitehead 2002; see however Scharff 2016 on other amnesty laws). In any case, a good deal of forensic activity contravened

³⁰ See however APF 8792 VI. The name Kallaischros is not uncommon (8 demes in the classical period). On Loeper's hypothesis that the Thirty were recruited by tribe and trittys see now Nemeth 2006; lists were arranged in the usual tribal order, but it is not certain that there were 3 men from each tribe, and the idea of trittys representation cannot be sustained.

³¹ Xenophon's list of the Thirty includes a Phaidrias (in tribe IV on Loeper's view); if this is Phaidimos of Phrearrhioi, (ch. 26 n. 83), he may have married a sister of Kritias.

the spirit of the oath. Lysias, having conspicuously attacked Erasistratos, a member of the Thirty, and Agoratos, one of their henchmen (12, 13), was also hired as a speechwriter by defendants accused of oligarchic sympathies (see Loening 1987; Todd 2000; Wolpert 2002). There was also plenty of exculpatory biographical writing, some of it forensic in form; whether the ‘Theramenes papyrus’ belongs to this genre or comes from a historical text is controversial.³²

³² Cf. Gribble 1999; J. L. Shear 2011, 217–24; Momigliano 1971 on the relation between speech writing and biography; Engels 1993 on the Theramenes papyrus, *PMich* 5982.

Ambassadors, Generals, Military Commands

The theory of the democracy was that candidates were elected on their merits—or so one might assume. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that in an ideally democratic system there would be no elections, and all government appointments would be made by lot. For some offices in Athens, however, election was tolerated. The reasons for this, as well as the results, need to be discussed; and this involves asking just how election differed from selection by lot.

In both cases candidates put themselves forward for election, or possibly were nominated by friends, which would not be very different. The size of the panel would have varied; in the fourth century the nine annual archons and their secretary were appointed from a panel of 100 *prokritoi* (*A.P.* 8. 1, 55. 1; on the figure 500 in *A.P.* 22. 5 see P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 273–4). Most Athenian officials were probably appointed from much smaller panels (on councillors see ch. 17). The panel was scrutinized to eliminate candidates who lacked the necessary qualifications for the office in question; it seems that objections could be made on the basis of a candidate's general reputation as well as on formal grounds (A. R. W. Harrison 1971, 201–3; Feyel 2009). The process of drawing lots was supervised by the Council; many of the offices filled by lot were filled from the Council's ranks. Elections were held at meetings of the Assembly; the term for election, *cheirotomia*, shows that voting was originally by a show of hands, and as far as we know this system was never changed (Staveley 1972, 88; M. H. Hansen 1987*a*, 127).

It is generally implied, by both ancient and modern sources,¹ that the offices for which election was retained were those in which special skills and experience were so important that the lot would not have produced satisfactory results. This is perhaps only part of the story. After 487, military offices filled by election could be held repeatedly, a feature also obviously related to questions of special qualifications and ability; other offices in the classical system could not, except that a man could be a councillor twice. The rule that the annual archonships—or

¹ Ancient: e.g. *Ar. Pol.* 1317b 18–27; [*Xen.*] *Ath. Pol.* 1. 3. Modern: e.g. P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 696. C. Taylor 2007 suggests that the lot gave more opportunity to those whose ancestors had registered in rural demes.

at least the three major posts—could not be held more than once (*A.P.* 62. 3) probably went back to the archaic period when archons were elected.²

The skills required by the holders of elected office were in fact quite widely distributed. Ambassadors had to be competent public speakers, but there were many of these. Generals had to be able to command and to plan strategy, but Athens seldom had more than one or two really gifted commanders at a time. The principle that all of the ten tribes should be represented on the board of generals seems to have been modified slightly to allow two representatives from the same tribe in periods when an outstanding man was enjoying a long run in office, but it was not felt necessary to abandon it completely.³ The financial supervisors who were elected in the fourth century, first to manage the fund from which distributions for festivals were made (*theôrikon*) and later to a post of general management (*epi tēi dioikêsei*), were policy-makers rather than accountants.

All these posts carried a high degree of responsibility, and the significance of elections was probably partly connected with this. A man who had stood for election could not claim that his mistakes were due to the chance that had appointed him. Carrying responsibility, they also carried power; and those who competed for the highest powers may well have been reluctant to have any of the kudos of victory taken from them. Power, success, and charisma formed a feedback system in which election played a crucial role; generals and financial supervisors were elected for their personal charisma, but this in turn was enhanced by success in elections. Elections were proof of the trust the demos placed in its leaders, and the leaders the demos trusted most were those who had succeeded most often in previous elections—provided, of course, that they had had no disastrous failures while in office.

AMBASSADORS

Personal ties with foreign leaders influenced the selection of both generals and ambassadors, but especially the latter. They had less direct relations with the

² See Kahrstedt 1936, 134–41. Forrest and Stockton 1987 argue that (before 487?) the ban on iteration applied only to the three named offices, individually, and that the post of thesmothetes may have been a stepping-stone on the way to the higher positions (contra, P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 696). This makes good sense in general terms; it has implications for the size of the early Areiopagos, which should be put at between 100 and 150 members rather than the 300 sometimes assumed. Prohibitions on repeating office are typical of the archaic period (M/L 2, cf. Humphreys 1988, 470), though the pattern tended to continue later.

³ The procedure of election is still not fully understood; see Piérart 1974; P. J. Rhodes 1981*a* 146–7, 265–6; *AO* 3–4; Mitchell 2000. Fornara's view (1971) that the rule of tribal representation was frequently infringed in the 5th c. does not seem to have gained adherents; M. H. Hansen 1988 suggests that it was abandoned at some date (soon?) after 360/59.

demos, and personal charisma was a less important factor; personal and family history, however, were especially important.

In the Homeric world and in archaic Greece personal ties of friendship or affinity between leading men in different states had played a major role in diplomatic relations. We are told in the *Odyssey* (24. 102–19) that Agamemnon and Menelaos travelled in person to Ithaka to persuade Odysseus to join their expedition against Troy, staying in the house of Agamemnon's guest-friend (*xenos*) Amphimedon. The passage presumably corresponds to the practice of the poet's own time. The hereditary role of *xenos* evolved during the archaic period into a convention that one or more citizen families in a polis would act as hosts or *proxenoi* to any visitor from another city with which they had personal ties. At first such arrangements seem to have grown up on an informal basis, but in the fifth century it became customary to confirm or confer the title of *proxenos* by decree.⁴ The use of the title by Athens to single out loyal supporters in the subject cities of the empire and reward them with special privileges was probably the beginning of this incorporation of the relationship into the public sphere, which like many other Athenian institutions (cf. D. M. Lewis 1984*a*) was widely copied in the empire and beyond. In the same period Perikles' law restricting citizenship to those with Athenian mothers as well as fathers put a stop to marriages of members of the Athenian elite to the daughters of non-Athenian aristocrats and rulers, and thus eliminated one of the mechanisms by which personal ties with other states had been created or reinforced.⁵ In the cities of the Athenian empire the position of *proxenos* carried real responsibilities and, at times, risks; later there was an increasing tendency to bestow the title on powerful men in the hope of future services, which might not always materialize. The position lay somewhere between an office and an honour (two categories themselves not always very sharply distinguished); the recipient's interpretation of its implications depended on his status and on political circumstances.⁶

⁴ On the history of the institution see W. Wallace 1936, 1970; Gauthier 1972, 1985*a* ch. III; Kienast 1973, 532, 581–7; Gschnitzer 1973; Baslez 1984, 39–45, 111–22, 220–4; Mack 2015. Marek 1984 emphasizes the *proxenos*' function as representative (*pro-*) of his *xenoi* rather than host, but distinctions should not be too sharply drawn.

⁵ My suggestion (1974; 1983*a*/1993, 24) that Perikles disapproved in principle of private diplomacy and that one of the main aims of the law on citizenship was to stop such marriages has met with a mixed reception: see C. B. Patterson 1981, 99–100; Walters 1983; Baslez 1984, 94–7; Ogden 1996, 66–8. *Pace* Walters (329–30) the normal way to regulate marriage in Athenian law was by legislation concerning the status and rights of children. Penalties for cohabiting (*synoikeia*) with a foreign woman came later (cf. A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 26–9; ch. 19 n. 76).

⁶ See Gauthier 1985; he does not deal with the story of Alkibiades II 'renouncing' the proxeny of Sparta, which is unique (Daux 1937). There does not seem ever to have been an institutionalized procedure for terminating the relationship. However, hereditary proxeny might lapse after a time if relations were not energetically kept up.

Private ties with other states, whether formalized in the relation of proxenos or not, affected the choice of ambassadors and, at times, generals. The Akarnanians who had been fighting as allies of Phormion asked that a son or kinsman should be sent to replace him, in 428/7, after his death (Thucydides 3. 7; n. 32 below); and Iphikrates, Chares, and Charidemus all owed part of their success to their Thracian connections. The election of the historian Thucydides as general in 424/3, when the Athenians were fighting in Thrace, is also likely to have been due at least in part to his connections in the area (Thucydides 4. 105. 1; *APF* 7268 IV–VI). Konon's good relations with Persia in the early fourth century were even more decisive.

Ambassadors, in the ancient Greek world, did not hold a permanent office; a special commission of delegates, variable in size, was appointed whenever an embassy had to be sent to negotiate with another state. The election procedure at Athens was less formal than that for regular annual offices.⁷ Names were put forward, either in the Assembly or at the meeting of the Council of 500 in which the decree proposing the embassy was drafted; apparently anyone could put forward a nomination, and according to Demosthenes (19. 121–2) it was not even necessary to consult the nominee in advance. A vote in the Assembly followed, but may sometimes have been a mere formality, the number of names proposed being just sufficient for the size of embassy recommended by the Council. We do not hear of contested elections, although proposed names might be rejected.⁸

Personal ties were not the only consideration that motivated nominations. Support for the policy the embassy was to pursue was clearly taken into account, and it was normal for the men who proposed the embassy to serve on it (Mosley 1962; Briant 1968, 19). If views had diverged, the differences of opinion might be reflected in the choice of ambassadors.⁹ The men chosen had to be rich; the travel allowance paid by the city was small, usually about the same as a soldier's daily pay, but ambassadors were expected to make an impressive showing—especially at

⁷ Briant 1968 (perhaps too formalistic); Mosley 1972, 1973 ch. 8; Kienast 1973, 526; cf. the general survey of recent work on ancient diplomacy by Mosley in Olshausen and Biller 1979; Mitchell 1997, 192–8. Aischines' friend Nausikles of Oe (*APF* 10552) proposed Aischines as ambassador to Philip of Macedon in 346 and served also himself (Aisch. 2. 18, 184). Demosthenes was nominated for the same embassy by Philokrates, one of its leading members (ibid. 15, 18). Another ambassador was Philokrates' fellow-demesman Derkylos of Hagnous.

⁸ In 344/3 the Areiopagos intervened to substitute Hypereides for Aischines as spokesman for Athens before the Amphiktyonic Council (Dem. 18. 134); it is unclear whether it was on this same occasion that Demosthenes brought Aischines the news in Piraeus that his appointment as ambassador had been rescinded (Dem. 19. 209).

⁹ Xen. *Hell.* 6. 3. 2–17, discussed below and by Mosley 1962; Briant 1968, 22 doubts the intention to represent conflicting views.

foreign courts—and to use their own resources for this purpose.¹⁰ Eloquence became an increasingly important qualification from the fourth century onwards.

The importance of personal ties, however, was fully recognized. The men chosen as ambassadors to Dionysios of Syracuse in 393 were Dionysios' personal friend Eunomos, Aristodemos the son of Konon's lieutenant Nikodemos (*APF* 5951), and probably the rich Eurippides of Myrrhinous (*APF* 5 949).¹¹ The main speakers on the Athenian embassy to Sparta in 371, according to Xenophon (*Hell.* 6. 3. 2–17), were Kallias III son of Hipponikos of Alopeke, an elderly man whose family had been proxenoi of Sparta for at least two generations, an Autokles (perhaps the son of Strombichides, *APF* 4386) who was opposed to peace,¹² and Kallistratos of Aphidnai (*APF* 8157 IV), a leading politician who on this occasion favoured peace, and who had been in close contact with Athens' best general, Iphikrates (Xenophon *Hell.* 6. 2. 39, 3. 3). Kallias' speech gives a good example of the conventional rhetoric a proxenos would use on such occasions.¹³ Another member of the embassy was Melanopos son of Laches, whose father had been prominent in the peace negotiations between Athens and Sparta in 421, and whose *kêdestês*¹⁴ Diophantos proposed an honorary decree for Koroibos of Sparta in 368/7 (Tod 1948 no. 135).

Several leading Athenian families had special relations with Sparta. Habronichos son of Lysikles of Lamptrai (*APF* 20), ambassador to Sparta in (?) 479/8,¹⁵ had in 480 commanded the triakontor that carried messages between the Spartan king Leonidas, commanding the land force at Thermopylai, and the Athenian

¹⁰ Westermann 1910; L. Robert 1934, 282–3; Kienast 1973, 578–81; cf. Theophr. *Char.* 30. 7. The rich Apollodoros son of Pasion of Acharnai was selected to serve as trierarch for an embassy to Sicily in c.368 ([Dem.] 53. 5; Gernet 1959, 90). He gave Deinon 300 dr. to cover the expenses of a trip to Aigina to ransom his brother ([Dem.] 53. 7); this payment, separate from the ransom money, was much more generous than an ambassador's allowance, though admittedly ambassadors did not have to pay fares or lodgings.

¹¹ Lys. 19. 19f.; Ar. *Rhet.* 1384b 15–17 and Schol. Rabe 1896, 106–7. Konon's influence with the King of Persia was Athens' main resource at this point; the embassy had to include someone who could speak for him.

¹² Tuplin 1977 returns to the MS reading which makes Autokles and Strombichides separate members of the embassy. On Strombichides' family see Table 16.1; ch. 23 n. 8.

¹³ Kallias mentions previous occasions on which he had visited Sparta as ambassador; the dates are unknown and did not include the embassy of 392/1 on which his enemy Andokides had served (*FGH* 328 F 149). His grandfather (FF) was probably ambassador to Sparta in 446/5 (D. S. 12. 7; with Andokides' FF, Andok. 3. 6). *APF* 8429 XII suggests that the proxeny may have been acquired through the marriage of Kallias II to Kimon's sister, but this is not a necessary assumption. Spartan ambassadors staying in the house of Kallias III were arrested in 378 (Xen. *Hell.* 5. 4. 20).

¹⁴ WF? Cf. Table 29.16. Melanopos was also ambassador to Caria in 355 (Dem. 24. 12–13, 125–7).

¹⁵ A target for ostracism, presumably in the 470s; one sherd in the 471 Kerameikos deposit, surprisingly, attacks him as pro-Persian (Brenne 2001 no. 88). The authenticity of this embassy has been doubted (Burn 1962, 500 n. 34, 505 n. 49; Hignett 1963, 281–5); *HCTI* 309 suggests that it should be dated later, Habicht 1961*a* that the names were invented.

fleet at Artemision. Earlier ties with Sparta may well have qualified him for this post. Plutarch (*Aristeides* 10. 10) has Kimon also as one of the ambassadors of 479/8, when he would have been barely thirty; this has been doubted, but Kimon's eldest son Lakedaimonios was born by 470, and the name may well indicate that Kimon was already a proxenos of Sparta by that time.¹⁶ He led the Athenian force to help Sparta at Ithome in 461 and was sent to Sparta again to negotiate peace in the late 450s (*HCTI* 325, 409–413). Another son was called Thettalos;¹⁷ Kimon maintained the archaic aristocratic tradition of far-flung personal ties already to be seen in his grandfather (FF) Kimon Koalemos, who won the four-horse chariot race three times at Olympia and was connected by marriage with the tyrants of Corinth, and his father Miltiades, who had married a Thracian princess (*APF* 8429). This 'internationalism' periodically provoked gossip and criticism at Athens (Plutarch *Kimon* 4, 14–16),¹⁸ and Kimon's sons do not seem to have kept up the relation with Sparta. Other families were eager to take their place: those of Kallias, already mentioned, Alkibiades, and Andokides. Andokides III had gone to Sparta in 446/5 to conclude the Thirty Years' Peace; his grandson (SS) went as ambassador in 392/1 (*APF* 828, *FGH* 328 F 149). The family of Alkibiades, according to Thucydides (8. 6. 3), acquired this name from their Spartan *xenoi*; Alkibiades I must have been named c.550 (cf. perhaps *LGPV* III A Alkibiades 4). His grandson (SS), Alkibiades II, renounced the proxy of Sparta, probably c.460 (Thucydides 5. 43. 2, 6. 89. 2; *APF* p. 15), but *his* grandson Alkibiades III tried to revive the connection by attentions to the Spartans taken prisoner at Sphakteria in 425), and was offended at being passed over in the ensuing peace negotiations, although he was barely thirty at the time. When summoned back to Athens from Sicily to stand trial for parodying the Eleusinian Mysteries, in 415, he took refuge in Sparta with his family's guest-friend (*patrikos xenos*, Thucydides 8. 6. 3) the ephor Endios son of Alkibiades, who had himself served as ambassador to Athens several times (*FGH* 324 F 44; Usener 1871, 314–15).

Spartans attached considerable importance to such personal ties (Xenophon *Hell.* 5. 4. 24–33; Adcock and Mosley 1975, 156; D. M. Lewis 1977a, 29, 34–5, 64). Perikles feared that his *xenia* with King Archidamos of Sparta would lead the king to spare his land when the Spartans invaded Attika at the beginning of

¹⁶ Mosley 1971. Cf. Lakon, proxenos of Sparta in Plataia (Thuc. 3. 52. 5), and other examples quoted by S. Perlman 1958; Herman 1990. (Note that *LGPV* Lakon 7 has been eliminated by D. R. Jordan and Curbera 2008, *SEG* 58. 265.)

¹⁷ Raubitschek 1955, 288 n. 13 associates the name with the help given to Kimon in 477 by the Thessalian baron Menon of Pharsalos (cf. *APF* 8429 XII–XIII). Connor 1967 dates Kimon's Thessalian proxy late in his life.

¹⁸ Cf. Plat. *Laws* 642b–c, where the Spartan Megillos says that he was brought up to consider himself proxenos of Athens and was teased by other boys as being Athenian.

the Peloponnesian War, either out of respect for the obligations of *xenia* or to discredit him (Thucydides 2. 13. 1). Earlier, gossip said that Perikles had bribed Kleandridas, the adviser of Archidamos' colleague Pleistoanax, in 446 (Plutarch *Pericles* 22). When King Pausanias of Sparta was encamped outside Athens in 403 Diognetos, brother of the well-known general Nikias, took Nikias' orphan grandson (SS) and nephews, son of a third brother, who had lost their fathers under the rule of the Thirty, and asked Pausanias as their *xenos* to avenge them. Pausanias accepted Diognetos' gifts and refused those of the Thirty (Lysias 18. 10–12).

Personal relationships and gifts are even more prominent in Athenian relations with the kings of Persia and, later, Macedon. Kallias II of Alopeke, famed for his wealth, went as ambassador to the Persian court as well as to Sparta.¹⁹ Plato's great-uncle (MMB) and stepfather Pylampes (*APF* 8792 VIII) had made numerous journeys to Persia as ambassador (*Charmides* 158a), bringing back peacocks and other gifts; his son Demos had a gold cup given him by the Persian king, a token entitling him to treatment as the king's friend wherever he travelled.²⁰ In Plato's *Meno* (78d) the eponymous character, a young Thessalian of noble family from Larissa, is teased as *patrikos xenos* of the Great King.

Andokides' father Leogoras had visited Macedon in 426/5 as ambassador (*IG* i³ 61. 51), and his son turned to King Archelaos of Macedon, as well as to King Evagoras of Salamis in Cyprus, for hospitality when in exile in the late fifth century.²¹ Aischines is said by Demosthenes to be a *xenos* of Philip of Macedon and this allegation, though somewhat suspect, may be supported by the fact that when Aischines excused himself from going on the third embassy to Philip in 346 one of his brothers (Aphobetos?) offered himself for election instead.²² The ambassadors in 346 also included Phrynon of Rhamnous, who had been taken to Macedon when captured by pirates and at some later date had sent his son to Philip's court (Demosthenes 19. 230); Iatrokles son of Pasiphon, an Athenian who had been captured when Philip took Olynthos; and the actor Aristodemos, who had been responsible for securing Iatrokles' release. Though Demosthenes fulminates against his fellow-ambassadors' backstage negotiations with Philip

¹⁹ See Badian 1993; Humphreys 1999.

²⁰ *Symbolon*, Lys. 19. 25; cf. Gauthier 1972, 71; Sherwin-White 1978*b*; Briant 1987, 23–4; id. 1985, 62–3. On archaeological evidence for the kind of gifts that might have been carried on diplomatic missions see Shefton 1982, 350–2; 2001.

²¹ MacDowell 1962, 4–5. On Jacoby's view that Andokides III was sent to Kerkyra in 433/2 as 'a kind of civil commissioner' because he belonged to a descent line which claimed mythical kinship with the Kerkyraians through the marriage of Telemachos to Nausikaa (*FGH* 4 F 170, 323a F 24) see *HCT* I 188–9; *APF* 828 V, 4551; ch. 20 n. 81.

²² Dem. 19. 124; Aisch. 2. 94. The date of Aphobetos' embassy to Persia (Aisch. 2. 149) is unknown.

(19. 175–6), it appears that a combination of public and private approaches was intended from the start.²³

We can see families building up connections with Macedon as the power of her kings increases. Nausikles of Oe was one of the ambassadors to Philip in 346; his son Klearchos went on an embassy to Nikanor, a personal friend, in 318 (Diodorus Siculus 18. 64. 5, *APF* 10552). Demades took his son Demeas with him on an embassy to Antipater in Macedon in 319.²⁴

Actors travelled widely and made friends in many cities; their names were known, and like athletes they were sometimes chosen as ambassadors for this reason. At the end of the fourth century we also see the beginning of the selection of ambassadors simply because they come from historically famous families. The embassy sent by the Athenians to Darius of Persia in 333 included Iphikrates II, son of the famous general (*APF* 7736); a Dropides, presumably claiming descent from the friend of Solon; and an Aristogeiton, probably a descendant of the tyrannicide.²⁵

Backstage advice and support were as necessary in dealing with city councils and assemblies as in negotiating with kings. Thucydides describes the help given by Alkibiades to Argive ambassadors when they came to negotiate alliance with Athens in 420 (5. 43. 3, 46. 5), and the way in which Alkibiades double-crossed Spartan ambassadors in the same year, promising support but instead attacking them when they came before the Assembly (5. 45. 2–4). There is a sequel to the Argive episode: Isokrates represents Argive friends as coming to support Alkibiades' son in court in 397, 16. 1.

Exiles, of course, regularly made use of such personal ties, which were cultivated by quietists as well as by public figures. Krito tells Sokrates that he will be looked after by Krito's friends in Thessaly if he escapes from prison (Plato *Krito* 45c). The speaker of Lysias F XXIV Gernet/Bizos 1926 (XX 78–9 Thalheim 1913, CXXXV/286–7 Carey 2007) is acting as *synēgoros* in an Athenian court for the son of a Theban xenos who sheltered him while he was in exile in Thebes;

²³ Cf. Starr 1974 ch. 3 for a discussion of the role of unofficial contacts in Greek interstate relations. De Ste. Croix 1963 emphasizes the limits; ambassadors could hold secret conversations but these did not bind their cities.

²⁴ See Kienast 1973, 528, 611–12; *APF* 3263. Matthaïou 1986 publishes a decree of 304/3 honouring an ambassador sent to Athens by Demetrios Poliorketes; the honorand's father was a proxenos of Athens. The arrangement of material in Olshausen 1974 makes it cumbersome to trace the influence of kinship on the selection of ambassadors in the Hellenistic period, but note e.g. nos. 30–1; *SEG* 29. 107. 55–64 (T. L. Shear 1978); *SEG* 34. 72–3; Vial 1984, 272. For Athenian families with Delphian connections see ch. 12 n. 72.

²⁵ On the problems of this embassy (or embassies) see Bosworth 1980, 233; W. Will 1983, 71. Sealey 1960 speculates on the identification of the ambassadors. A Dropides of Aphidnai is known from a mine lease of? 339/8 (*APF* 8792 VII A; *Agora* XIX P 28. 22). Thebes at about the same time sent Thessaliskos, son of the well-known Ismenias, and an Olympic victor called Dionysodoros (Arr. *Anab.* 2. 5. 2–4).

he had given a home to the family of his xenos when they came to Athens as exiles (cf. Plutarch *Pelopidas* 5–6).

Two points, however, should be stressed. The first is that all these private ties created opportunities of which states could choose to take advantage, rather than binding obligations. Foreign visitors to Athens would have a choice of several proxenoi, as we have seen in the case of Sparta; indeed, the growing number of grants of proxenia in the classical and Hellenistic periods indicates that new ties were constantly being established. A proxenos who was too young to be influential, too poor to provide hospitality, or not active in political affairs, would be ignored. The Spartans who came to Athens to negotiate peace in 421 ignored Alkibiades III and Kallias III, both of whom were young at the time, and carried on negotiations through the generals Nikias and Laches (Thucydides 5. 43. 2). Sons did not have to inherit their fathers' sympathies.²⁶ The second point to note is that at least in the fifth century proxeny tended to be regarded as a kind of hereditary office which passed from a father to one of his sons, rather than a hereditary status from which all sons could benefit. The institution did not create dynasties or clans of proxenoi, at least in Athens.

GENERALS AND OTHER MILITARY OFFICERS

Xenophon (*Memorabilia* 3. 4. 1) portrays an unsuccessful candidate for election as general complaining that although he has a solid record of experience in minor military commands he has been defeated by a richer man whose reputation is based only on his showy performance of non-military liturgies.²⁷ We should perhaps not let ourselves be too easily impressed by this example of socratic rationalism. In the fourth century Athenian generals needed independent financial resources; funds from the state often arrived late or were inadequate.²⁸ The Athenian army and fleet do not seem to have been strongly hierarchized, and assessments of the strategic and tactical alternatives available probably circulated widely; the speeches on battle plans which Thucydides puts in the mouths of generals no doubt contain more solid information and less rhetoric than those actually delivered, but allow us to

²⁶ Humphreys 2009 argues against Leonardos' identification of the pro-Macedonian general of 361/0, Leosthenes (*APF* 9142), with the father of the anti-Macedonian Leosthenes of Kephale. The general was exiled, his property presumably confiscated, and he apparently did not return to Attika. The name Leosthenes is attested in 6 demes in the 5th–3rd c.; and if Chares of Angele in 361/0 replaced Leosthenes after his condemnation one might think that L.'s deme was Kydathenaion (*APF* p. 344), Kytheros (*IG* ii² 2496), or Paiania (*IG* ii³ 4. 21. 11).

²⁷ Cf. [Xen.] *Atth. Pol.* 1–3, *Ar. Pol.* 1282a 31–2. The successful candidate had served in the cavalry, the loser was a hoplite; cavalry service too gave opportunities to demonstrate panache.

²⁸ Pritchett 1971, 24–9; 1974, 101–2, 113.

assume that generals actually did communicate their plans to the assembled troops, and not only to a few subordinates. Administrative tasks were minimal; there was no commissariat. It was important for a general to inspire confidence, and panache in the performance of liturgies might be one way to achieve that.

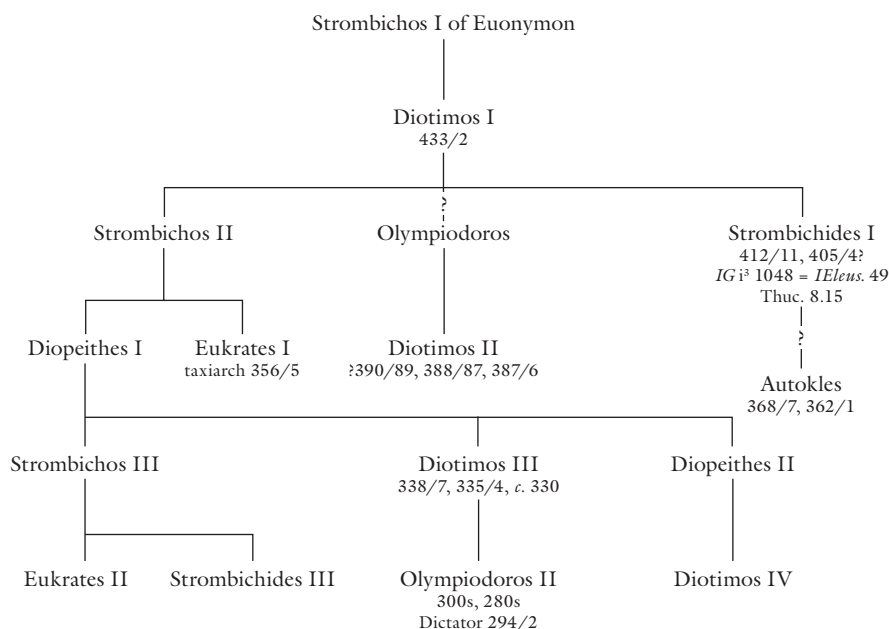
We need to distinguish between the factors that gave a man his first appointment and those which kept him repeatedly in office thereafter. In the long run, I see no reason to suppose that the system did not eliminate the incompetent effectively, though a mediocre performer who had no serious competitor in his tribe might acquire a better reputation than he deserved, merely because people were used to seeing him in command.²⁹ But the factors that gave a man his first electoral success were not necessarily linked to military ability. Sophokles was probably elected because he was well known as a poet. The relevant point in the present context is that the charisma of a successful general often spread to his close kin—a son or brother.³⁰ Both this contagiousness of charisma (cf. Max Weber 1978 I, 248–9) and the relevance of wealth, which was inherited—and which could be acquired as well as exhausted in military office (Pritchett 1974, 126–32)—thus favoured the formation of military dynasties, *oikoi estratêgotes* (J. K. Davies 1981, ch. 5). It is also likely that a successful general would have followers who canvassed for him and benefited from his patronage, who would be structurally predisposed to transfer their allegiance to another member of the same family if he seemed likely to have an equally successful career. The son of a rich and well-known general would have many *hetairoi* to support him. Nevertheless, the opportunities for patronage in the Athenian military system were restricted, as we shall see, and the spread and continuity of military dynasties was limited. Many of the most successful generals came from families with no military tradition.

Since generals were chosen by tribe (above, n. 3), the evidence for dynasties will be arranged on a tribal basis, although some matrilineal links between men in different tribes have to be considered. It should be emphasized that the evidence is far from complete (Table 16.1).

In **Erechtheis (I)** the family of Diotimos I son of Strombichos I, of Euonymon, can be traced in office for over a century (*APF* 4386). Diotimos I was general in 433/2, his son Strombichides in ?413/12, 412/11, and probably again in 405/4. Graham 1998 suggested that *IG* i³ 1032 was a dedication by Strombichides to Poseidon Erechtheus. The Diotimos who was general in 390/89, 388/7, and 387/6 may have been a grandson of Diotimos I, although the name is a common one; Autokles son of Strombichides I, general

²⁹ On prosecution of generals see Hamel 1998.

³⁰ For a Corinthian example see D. M. Lewis 1955, 4. On military command in Hellenistic Athens see Kralli 2006; G. J. Oliver 2007*a*.



Note: Dates are those of attested offices; we do not have full records. At *APF* p. 164 line 4 read Diotimos III (not II). On Autokles (ambassador to Sparta in 371/0) see Tuplin 1977; he may not belong to this family.

TABLE 16.1. Euonymon: Strombichos

in 368/7 and 362/1, was also a grandson. Another grandson, Eukrates son of Strombichos II, served as taxiarch in 356/5 (*IG* ii² 4. 246, *Agora XVIII* 150); his nephew (BS) Diotimos III son of Diopeithes was general in 338/7, 337/6, 335/4, 334/3, and again c.330 or soon after. Olympiodoros, general in the 300s and 280s and eponymous archon in both 294/3 and 293/2, may have been the son of Diotimos III (ch. 23 n. 8). These attested offices represent a minimum for the family; probably members of the group were actively engaged in holding or seeking office throughout the period from the 430s to the 280s. They appear frequently as trierarchs, especially in the well-documented second half of the fourth century; this service as captains of warships will in itself have added to their military experience and given them opportunities to demonstrate their generosity, courage, and ability to command. Influential trierarchs, especially those who were on friendly terms with the generals (cf. [Demosthenes] 50. 33) took part in councils of war; one would be acting as commander of the general's flagship (see below). Naval warfare, in which a man qualified for a subordinate position of command purely by wealth, was in this respect less democratic than hoplite fighting. On land only service in the cavalry gave the individual rich man a chance to shine. Alkimachos of Anagyrous (364/3, 357/6, 354/3?) is the only other attested general in the tribe.

In **Aegeis (II)** Nikias son of Nikeratos of Kydantidai served as general more or less continuously from 427 until his death in Sicily in 413.³¹ His younger brother Eukrates succeeded him in 412/11, and served again in 405/4; both he and Nikias' son Nikeratos II were prominent enough to be killed by the Thirty. Nikeratos III, grandson of the latter, was evidently a well-known figure in fourth-century Athens (Demosthenes 21. 165; cf. 54. 9 with D. M. Lewis 1955, 30; Humphreys 1985*a*, 331) but does not seem to have competed for military commands; his health was bad.

In **Pandionis (III)** Andokides III was general in 446/5 and 441/0. His son Leogoras and grandson Andokides IV served as ambassadors, as has already been mentioned, but were implicated in the scandals over the statues of Hermes and parodying of the Mysteries in 415; Leogoras had a reputation for frivolity (ch. 13 n. 38), and Andokides made more enemies than friends in Athens (*APF* 828 V–VI). Phormion, who possibly belonged to the deme Paiania, was general at least five times between 440/39 and 429/8; he was one of the able commanders who rose, so far as we know, from an undistinguished background. He was succeeded in office in 428/7 by his son Asopios; when Phormion died his Akarnanian allies sent a messenger to Athens asking that a son or kinsman should be sent to command them (Thucydides 3. 7. 1).³² Asopios too died in office, and the family is not attested thereafter. Hagnon of Steiria (*APF* 7234) was general in 440/39, 431/0, and 429/8; he was sent to found a colony at Amphipolis in 437/6, signed the peace treaty with Sparta in 421, and was appointed *proboulos*, member of a commission of elder statesmen set up to direct policy, in 413. His son Theramenes, born c.440, was general in 411, and remained prominent in Athenian political life until killed by the Thirty. In the later 420s Hagnon had to compete for election as general against his fellow-tribesman Kleon of Kydathenaion,³³ and this may have shifted the family's sympathies towards the right.

³¹ *APF* 10808; ch. 24 n. 95. Nikias is attested as general in 12 years during this period and no other general from Aigeis is recorded. His career may have begun earlier (Plut. *Nik.* 2. 2; but see *AO* 103). W. Thompson 1974 suggests that the Eukrates who was general during the Potidaia campaign might be Nikias' brother; this is not particularly likely, and Sokrates son of Antigenes of Halai (Thuc. 2. 23. 2, general 432/1, 431/0) may have represented Aigeis in those years (so Fornara 1971, 52–3; *AO* 102, 117).

³² An Akarnanian Phormion was given Athenian citizenship (*IG* ii³ 316); since Phormion's father was called Asopios (Thuc. 1. 64, etc.) and Asopos was a local river-god in Central Greece, the connection may go back for some generations (though the name Asopios is also attested in Agryle and Hermos). The tribal affiliation to Pandionis assumes that Pausanias' statement that Phormion lived in Paiania (1. 23. 10) is a deduction from his demotic; it is problematic for the general view that at least 9 tribes had to be represented on the board of *stratēgoi* (see Mattingly 1997; ch. 25 n. 38). If Eurymedon son of Thoukles, general from 427/6 to 425/4 and again in 414/13 and 413/12, was an ancestor of Eurymedon of Myrrhinous (*APF* 8792 XI), we would have yet another general from Pandionis to fit into these years; but prosopographical arguments should not be based on names given to commemorate public events (cf. Mattingly 1970, 137–8; Mitchell 2000).

³³ Kleon was general in 424/3, 423/2, and 422/1 (the command in 425/4 was extraordinary).

In the fourth century we have some well-known generals but no cases of dynastic succession. Demainetos of (?) Paiania (chs. 20 n. 88, 25 n. 22) was elected c.396 and again in 388/7 and 387/6; Chares of Angele held office more or less continuously from 367/6 until 339/8. The election of Dikaiogenes IV of Kydathenaion (ch. 7 Case 2) for (?) 330/29 (Humphreys 2009) and 323/2 may possibly have owed something to the service of his older cousin (FFBS) Proxenos of Aphidnai in (?) the later 350s (*IG* ii³ 295).

In **Leontis (IV)** Nikostratos son of Dieitrephes of Skambonidai is attested as general in 427/6, 425/4 through 422/1, and 418/17, in which year he died (Hermolykos II, *IG* i³ 883, may be a brother). Their uncle (FB) Hermolykos had fought conspicuously at Mykale in 479 (Herodotus 9. 105). Another Dieitrephes, probably Nikostratos' son or nephew (BS), had been elected phylarch and then hipparch in the cavalry when very young and was already general in 414/13; he served again in 412/11.³⁴ This family had to compete against Alkibiades, who may have become general in 420/19 probably soon after the minimum age of thirty (*APF* 600 VII), and perhaps held the office continuously until his exile in 415, was re-appointed on his return to Athenian service by the fleet in Samos in 411, and remained in command, de facto if not always de jure, until he fell out of favour again in 406 and retired to his land in the Thracian Chersonese.

Alkibiades may have owed his early election partly to the fact that he was the ward of Perikles; his father had died while serving as general at the battle of Koroneia in 447/6, and one of his forebears had fought at Artemision in 480 with a privately owned trireme.³⁵ Alkibiades got control of the family's wealth at the age of 20 and used it to make himself conspicuous with a talent as impressive as that which he displayed in military affairs. His friend and fellow-demesman Adeimantos son of Leukolophides of Skambonidai was general in 407/6, 406/5, and 405/4. His success presumably owed something to his association with Alkibiades.³⁶ The oligarch Phrynichos, also a member of Leontis, held the office in 412/11; again we have an oligarch who had been in competition for office against a charismatic favourite of the demos.

In the fourth century the tribe's main representative, if he is correctly ascribed to Potamos (ch. 26 n. 116) would have been Phokion; the Salaminios Diopeithes (ch. 26 n. 95) is attested as general from 343/2 through 341/0.

In **Akamantis (V)** Perikles' father Xanthippos was general in 479/8. Perikles himself is first recorded as general in 454/3, when he was at least 38 and quite

³⁴ Ar. *Birds* 799, cf. 1440; Thuc. 7. 29. Fornara (1971) suggested that Dieitrephes was also general in 413/12, but *AO* does not accept this.

³⁵ Hdt. 8. 17; Alkibiades' FFF.

³⁶ In 410/9 Alkibiades was elected by the fleet in Samos; another man from Leontis, Pasiphon of Phrearrhioi, was elected in the city. Archestratos of Phrearrhioi was elected for 406/5 (Xen. *Hell.* 1. 5. 16, Lys. 21. 8).

possibly over 40, and thereafter held office almost continuously³⁷ until his death in 429. His nephew (BS) Hippokrates son of Aripbron was general in 426/5 and 424/3, dying at the battle of Delion in the latter year; he may have held office in other years in the early 420s. Perikles' ward Alkibiades was, as we have just seen, elected in 420/19 and frequently thereafter. Perikles' son by Aspasia, Perikles II, was appointed general in 406/5 and may have served earlier. He was probably born by 444,³⁸ and would therefore have become eligible for the generalship at about the time of the scandal over the Hermai and the Mysteries; he may have been associated in voters' minds with Alkibiades, as well as with his father, and may have been affected by the fluctuations in Alkibiades' reputation. In the same tribe Glaukon of Kerameis (*APF* 3027) had been general at least twice in the period 441/0 to 433/2; his father Leagros had been general in 465/4.³⁹ In the fourth century it is often assumed that Leosthenes I of Kephale and his homonymous son were both generals, Leosthenes II achieving the position in spite of rather than because of the reputation of his father, disgraced and exiled *c.*361, but we have no evidence for the demotic of the earlier general (see n. 26). Phaidros I of Sphettos (*APF* 13964) is attested as general in 347/6, *c.*334, and in 323/2; his son Thymochares may have succeeded him *c.*321 and served again in (?) 315/14 and (?) 313/12; the family continued prominent into the third century. On Derkylos of Hagnum see chs. 27 n. 40, 30 n. 79.

In **Oineis (VI)** Miltiades had been general in 490/89, the hero of the city after the victory at Marathon, but had abruptly fallen from favour when his expedition against Paros failed. Nevertheless his son Kimon was elected in 479/8, probably at the earliest possible date, and thereafter seems to have served continuously until ostracized in 461. He was elected again on his return ten years later, and died in office in Cyprus in 451/0 or 450/49.⁴⁰ His son Lakedaimonios, born by 470, was commander of the cavalry (hipparch) in the 450s or 440s, and general in 433/2; contemporary gossip said that Perikles had deliberately kept the strength of the expedition (against Kerkyra) down, because of his hostility to

³⁷ *APF* 11811 III. Perikles was not elected in 444/3, and may have missed election in some earlier years also.

³⁸ Date of birth: Humphreys 1974, 94 n. 13 (ch. 14 n. 22). Perikles' two older sons predeceased him. Note the dismissal of the sons of Hippokrates son of Aripbron in Eupolis *Demes* (*PCG* 5 F 99) 112. Perikles II was perhaps general in 407/6, see *AO*. An Arcestratos, perhaps the general elected in 406 (*Xen. Hell.* 1. 5. 16) after the disaster at Notion, is said by Antisthenes the Socratic in his *Aspasia* (Athen. V 220d; F 34 Caizzi 1966) to have been a friend of Perikles' elder sons. But the context—which seems to concern Aspasia's hostility to Perikles' legitimate sons—makes it doubtful whether we can attribute his election to association with the family (cf. Wilamowitz 1893 I, 68–9).

³⁹ See W. Thompson 1971*e*. Glaukon was perhaps born *c.*480 (but see Francis and Vickers 1981, 101–11); and is attested as general 441/0, 433/2, perhaps also 439/8 and 435/4.

⁴⁰ Possible return before 451: *HCT* I on Thuc. 1. 112. 1.

the family.⁴¹ Another son, Oulios, perhaps held the post of *sitophylax*, in charge of corn supplies, c.425 (Schol. Aristophanes *Knights* 407); but on the whole Kimon's sons were considered disappointing (Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1390 b 30). Kimon's position as Perikles' main rival was inherited by Thoukydides son of Melesias of Alopeke (Antiochis X), an affine.⁴² Badian 1993 defends the tradition that Kallias II son of Hipponikos, also of Alopeke, Kimon's brother-in-law (ZH) was elected general after Kimon's death, for 449/8.

Lamachos, also of Oineis, was general in 425/4 and from 416/15 until his death in summer 414; his son Tydeus was general in 405/4, and is spoken of as having already been a leading figure among the remnants of the Athenian army that escaped capture in Sicily in 413 (Lysias 20. 26). Lamachos may have had a command already in the 430s; he was well known by 426/5 and the joking description of him as *neanias* in Aristophanes *Acharnians* 601 is not to be taken literally.⁴³ In the fourth century, Charidemos son of Philoxenos of Acharnai (APF 15380) may have owed his Athenian citizenship and his elections as general to the fact that he was the brother-in-law (ZH) of Kersobleptes, one of the heirs of King Kotys of Thrace.⁴⁴ Timomachos of Acharnai, general in 367/6 and 361/0 (APF 8157 IV) was the *kedestes*, probably son-in-law, of the politician Kallistratos I of Aphidnai (ch. 31 n. 30, Table 8.7).

Aischines' brother-in-law Philochares of Kothokidai was elected general for 345/4 and the two following years; Aischines' prominence as *rhetor* may have helped. Deinokrates of Acharnai, general in (?) 338/7, 336/5, and perhaps other years (chs. 28 n. 54, 31 n. 78) may have been affinally linked with the family of Lykourgos before his son Kleombrotos married Kallisto daughter of Lykophron II c.305 (APF 9251; ch. 4 n. 13, Table 4.6).

Sophilos son of Aristoteles of Phyle (Table 28.13) is now also attested as general in the Lykourgan period in an ephebic dedication at Panakton (1992–400, Humphreys 2009).

Kekropis (VII) has no markedly dominant family, but Archestratos son of Lykomedes I, general in 433/2, Chaireas his son (?), general in 410, and Kleomedes son of Lykomedes II, general in 417/6, may all have descended from Lykomedes I son of Aischraios of Phlya, who was famed for his bravery as trierarch at the battle of Artemision in 480 (APF 9238; see however Mitchell 2000). It is not certain that the Laches who was general in 364/3 (Diodorus Siculus 15. 79. 1), and perhaps taxiarch in 394/3, was a descendant of Laches of Aixone, general in 427/6 and 418/7; a Laches son of Laches of Steiria (III) owed money

⁴¹ Plut. *Per.* 29. 2–4, cf. *Kim.* 16. 1 (Stesimbrotos *FGH* 107 F 6); Thuc. 1. 45. 2 with *HCT* ad loc.

⁴² APF 7268 III; ch. 14 n. 20.

⁴³ 430s: Plut. *Per.* 20 with *HCT* I 368–9 n. 3. On the date of Lamachos' death see *HCT* IV 7–8.

⁴⁴ On the date of *IG* ii³ 295 see Lambert 2006, no. 2.

at Delos in the 370s (*IG* ii² 1635. 130–1), and the name occurs in several other demes. The restoration of [Melano]pos II in *IG* ii² 150 is unwarranted. The Laches son of Melanopos whose condemnation was rescinded at the request of Alexander (Whitehead 1986*a*, 419 no. 89) belongs to the Aixone family, but we do not know the background to this incident; ch. 29 nn. 99–101; Table 29.16.

For **Hippothontis (VIII)** we have very little information and no significant sequences for the fifth century. Archandros son of Kallippos (son of Moirokles) of Eleusis followed his father in the third century.⁴⁵ In **Aiantis (IX)** Demosthenes son of Alkisthenes of Aphidnai held the generalship repeatedly during the Peloponnesian War, but no distinguished ancestors or descendants are attested. In the fourth century Iphikrates was repeatedly elected;⁴⁶ in 356/5 his son Menestheus held office with his father and with his father-in-law Timotheos. Menestheus held office again c.333, and perhaps in other years (Plutarch *Phokion* 7). For the military career after the Chremonidean War of Demetrios, grandson of Demetrios of Phaleron (*IEleus* 194–5) see Oetjen 2000; ch. 31 n. 11.

In **Antiochis (X)** Autokles son of Tolmaios of Anaphlystos, general in 425/4 and 424/3, may have been related to Tolmides son of Tolmaios (deme unknown), who held the office several times with distinction in the late 450s and early 440s (*APF* 2717). The possibility that Kallias II son of Hipponikos of Alopeke was general in 449/8, elected immediately after the death of his brother-in-law (WB) Kimon, has already been mentioned; his son Hipponikos was general in 426/5, perhaps dying in office (*APF* 7826 IX). Another affine, Thoukydides son of Melesias, became Perikles' main rival after Kimon's death; he was general in 444/3 but was ostracized in the following year. His father Melesias had been well-known as a trainer of wrestlers for the Panhellenic games (Wade-Gery 1932). Thoukydides' son Melesias II is represented in Plato's *Laches* (179b) as a close friend of Lysimachos son of Aristides, also of Alopeke; they both feel inadequate because they have never held high office, despite their illustrious parentage. Melesias II joined the oligarchic Council of 400 in 411, and is not recorded as politically active earlier. His brother Stephanos was secretary to the Council of 500, probably in the late 420s.⁴⁷ Continuity between the fifth and the

⁴⁵ *IRh* 27–8, 131; *Ergon* 1993, 7–8 = *SEG* 52. 127; cf *IRh* 118 (*IRh* 27 perhaps 248/7).

⁴⁶ Iphikrates (Table 31.6) married the daughter of Kotys of Thrace, perhaps before Kotys acquired Athenian citizenship (*APF* 7737; ch. 14 n. 11), but unlike Kotys' other son-in-law Charidemos did not depend wholly on his Thracian connections for his influence at Athens; he had already established a solid reputation as a commander before his marriage. (For the possibility that he had earlier Thracian connections see *APF* loc. cit.) He fought for Kotys in Thrace c.386–75 (*CAH* 2nd ed. VI, 458, Archibald). Several of Kotys' sons-in-law, including Charidemos, served as generals for their wives' brothers (Dem. 23. 10).

⁴⁷ Polemon *ap.* Athen. VI 234c; Humphreys 1974, 88–9; Mattingly 1974, 92; Henry 1977, 8–9, 107. The election of Thucydides the historian, son of Oloros of Halimous (Leontis IV) as general for 424/3 was probably due to his Thracian connections, as already suggested, and not to kinship with Thoukydides

fourth centuries—rather rare in this field—is provided by Konon II son of Timotheos of Anaphlystos, probably grandson of the eponymous archon of 462/1, and his descendants. Konon II held office repeatedly between 414/13 and 405/4, continuing his career thereafter unofficially, and his son Timotheos II succeeded him as one of Athens' leading generals in the 370s to 350s. His son Konon III in turn was general in 334/3 and 333/2 (*APF* 13700). By this time he was at least in his early forties. Timotheos II married his daughter to Menestheus son of Iphikrates (ch. 14 n. 29).

Konon's family spans a long period of Athenian history. It probably begins (for us) with Konon I, eponymous archon in the year of Ephialtes' reforms. Konon II, one of the new generation of generals to take command after the Sicilian disaster, owed much of his influence in Athens in the early fourth century to his connections at the Persian court; he was a forerunner of the fourth-century generals who acted partly for Athens and partly on their own account as leaders of mercenaries. Timotheos' career showed the weakness on the Athenian side—failure to supply generals with adequate funds—that encouraged this double allegiance. Konon III takes us into the Lykourgan age, when names connected with Athens' earlier greatness began to acquire a charisma of their own. (On fourth-century generals see ch. 32 n. 18.)

On the whole, though, a name in itself did not mean much in our period. Perhaps some special cachet attached to the descendants of men who had played a particularly prominent and heroic role in the Persian wars; at least, if their descendants were ambitious, they made sure that the ancestor's exploits were remembered.⁴⁸ But usually inherited charisma was short-lived, though influential while it lasted. There seems no doubt that when a popular general died voters felt an impulse to fill the gap by electing his son, if old enough, or a brother. Even after an interval, the son of a well-known commander could probably count on election at an early age. But the successor would have to win his own laurels and acquire his own charisma if his hold on office was to last. Inherited wealth was an important factor here, and generals had unusual opportunities to acquire wealth,⁴⁹ though they might also incur heavy debts. Long-term success demanded a combination of wealth, ability, and charismatic personality, all of which tended in their turn to be increased by long-term success.

son of Melesias, perhaps his MF (*APF* 7268 IV–VI). The historian was an admirer of Perikles, and his older kinsman had been convicted in a lawsuit, which evidently had political implications, in 426/5 (*APF* 7268 II).

⁴⁸ R. Thomas 1989.

⁴⁹ Pritchett 1974, 126–32.

MINOR MILITARY OFFICE

Further consideration of the factors that brought a man to the top in the military sphere requires analysis of the way in which holders of minor commands were appointed.

The civil administration of Athens in the classical period shows a remarkable absence of hierarchy. Each function was carried out by an independent board, reporting to the Council and Assembly. Minor officials did not serve under holders of more important posts; there was no *cursus honorum*. Those familiar with the Roman system will immediately appreciate the elimination of opportunities for patronage which this implies. In the civil sphere only the elected financial posts of the fourth century, and the Council, offer scope for the present analysis (ch. 17). Hierarchy, however, could not be eliminated in the same way from military command, and generals had some influence over subordinate appointments.

The taxiarchoi and phylarchoi who respectively commanded the ten tribal infantry and cavalry regiments, like the two hipparchoi responsible for the cavalry as a whole, were elected. Phylarchoi, like the rest of the cavalry, seem sometimes to have been young; we have already met Kimon's son Lakedaimonios as a young hipparch.⁵⁰ The post gave a rich and well-mounted youngster the chance to begin to make a name for himself. Subordinate infantry officers, lochagoi, were selected by the taxiarchs (*A.P.* 61. 3); patronage could operate here in helping a young man to get his foot on the bottom rung of the military ladder.

As it happens, the only names which have survived occur in inscriptions of the corps of *ephēboi*, records from the two-year system of military training for boys of 18–20 formalized c.335.⁵¹ Epheboi had their own tribal units, taxiarchs, and lochagoi; we are not told how they were appointed. In the record of the ephebes of Leontis (IV) for 333/2/1 the taxiarch ('cadet colonel', Mitchel 1961) is the son of the *sôphronistês*, the elected tribal official in charge of the training programme (Reinmuth 1971 no. 9).⁵² In the same tribe the class of (?)

⁵⁰ *A.P.* 61. 4; cf. P. J. Rhodes 1981a, 510; ch. 21 n. 48. In Menander's *Samia* (15) the young Moschion has been phylarch, chosen apparently because of his adoptive father's generosity. There may however have been a tendency to show phylarchs as bearded on reliefs (cf. Tillios 2010). Data on age in such offices are rare, but we have Menon son of Menon of Kydathenaion, born 390/89 (*IG* ii³ 4. 33) as taxiarch in 349/8 (Aisch. 2. 169f.). Victories in the *anthippasia* won by Demainetos son of Demeas of Paiania and his sons Demeas II and Demosthenes (*APF* 3276), all serving as phylarchs, were commemorated by a tripod on a relief base, *IG* ii³ 4. 252 (ch. 12 n. 91). On *SEG* 21. 525 (hipparchs and phylarchs of 282/1) see Tracy 2003, 50; Table 8.7. Dedication by taxiarchs or phylarchs, ch. 21 n. 121. On *IG* ii² 1155 = ii³ 4. 260 see now Lambert 2015b.

⁵¹ On Autolykos of Thorikos, grandson of a famous boy athlete, whose grandfather's victory in the pankration in 422 provided the setting for Xenophon's *Symposium* and Eupolis' *Autolykos* (Mitchel 1976; *PCG* 5 F 63, 65), kosmetes in (?) 331/0 or 330/29, see ch. 27 n. 87.

⁵² R 9 = *SEG* 21. 513; Alipherè 2015; Appendix 1. A second stone set up by the same Leontis cohort, from Rhamnous (*SEG* 54. 227) names a kosmetes different from that of the Agora stone; this discrepancy

330/29/8 contained two pairs of brothers among the lochagoi and two other boys from their deme (Sounion, admittedly one of the largest in the tribe) in the same office.⁵³

A commander who wanted to appoint a temporary substitute or a leader for troops detached on some special duty seems to have been able to choose freely among the junior officers present, and could apparently even select a man with no commission.⁵⁴ (It must be remembered, however, that a general often had colleagues of his own standing with him in the field.) In 406 Alkibiades left the Athenian fleet under the command of Antiochos, the helmsman (*kybernêtês*) of his flagship.⁵⁵ Because Antiochos disobeyed orders, attacked the enemy fleet at Notion during Alkibiades' absence, and was defeated, Alkibiades was severely criticized for this decision; but if all had gone well there might have been no objection. We hear of taxiarchs, plus two trierarchs who had served in the past as generals, being given a subordinate command in the fleet (Xen. *Hell.* 1. 6. 35, 1. 7. 5, Arginoussai), and presumably a taxiarch would have been the conventional choice in this case.⁵⁶ A kybernetes was a skilled seaman whose expertise could make a great difference to a trierarch's command; rich men who served frequently as trierarchs probably tried to form stable relationships with reliable kybernetai and other officers.⁵⁷ Trierarchs offered extra wages to experienced seamen ([Demosthenes] 50) and thus, although rowers conscripted from the demes seem to have mustered in Piraeus by tribe and trittys (Traill 1986, ch. V),

is hard to explain (Humphreys 2009). Sekunda's view (1992) that ephebic lochagoi were drawn from young men who had already completed their service does not seem to fit the evidence.

⁵³ On the 'twins' in this list and on SEG 36. 155 see B. G. Robertson 2000; Humphreys 2009, 2010a. On its date see Humphreys 2009. Brothers from Kydathenaion in IG ii³ 4. 342 (Reinmuth 10), Antichares and Antikleides; related boys from Thria, Reinmuth 12 I 31–3.

⁵⁴ S. Johnstone 2011, 133–7, discusses the delegation of authority to subordinates at Arginoussai, but the book does not deal with the structure of military command in general. The status of the two *p[aredroi]* of Konon in *Hell. Oxy.* xi 12 (x 1) is unclear. Cf. Lys. 19. 40 (Konon's BS as tamias and aide); APF 13700 A on Timotheos accompanying his father; IRb 17 (235/4, arch. Ekphantos) on Dikaiarchos of Thria with his father, in Macedonian service. The appointment of an (Athenian) father and son to guard Harpalos (Dein. 1. 62) is unexplained. In Sparta, the regent Pausanias chose his cousin (FBS) Eurynax as colleague in command at Plataia (Hdt. 9. 10). See Hodgkinson 2000, 358 on opportunities for patronage in minor military command. Note the suggestion of Sekunda 1994 that Iphikrates had a special relationship with a family of Milesian mercenaries.

⁵⁵ Xen. *Hell.* 1. 4. 11–17. This may imply that Alkibiades was acting as trierarch on his own ship, and that the other two generals who had set out from Athens with him (Xen. *Hell.* 1. 4. 21) had remained at Samos.

⁵⁶ See B. Jordan 1975, 132–3, 226–30. A taxiarch accompanies troops back to Athens and reports to the Assembly after Tamynai, Aisch. 2. 169. Aischines is interested only in his own tribe and it is not clear whether other officers and troops returned to Athens at the same time.

⁵⁷ Cf. [Dem.] 50. 18–19, 24–6. Plut. *Alk.* 10. 1 takes Alkibiades' patronage of Antiochos back to his youth; the story may be based on contemporary gossip even if untrue.

tribal organization was less salient in the fleet than in the army.⁵⁸ In the fifth century many of the rowers were metics or (probably) seasonal migrants from elsewhere in the Aegean, and this may well be true also of the fourth century (B. Jordan 1975, 101–3, 220). Individual ships were commanded by trierarchs whose service was determined by wealth and not by election; they had their own ties with each other and, as noted above, with generals. A general might either act as trierarch for his own flagship or select the ship of a friend.⁵⁹ Demosthenes' ship was chosen in 360/59 by his father's friend Kephisodotos (Aischines 3. 51–2, *APF* 3597 XXII; cf. Lysias 19. 12); the speaker of Lysias 21 (§ 6) claims that Alkibiades had chosen his vessel as flagship, though he was not a friend, kinsman, or fellow-tribesman (*philos, syngenês, phyletês*, evidently common motives) because of his lavish expenditure. The ship of Apollodoros son of Pasion was selected as flagship in 361/0 by the general Timomachos, likewise, because of Apollodoros' expensive equipment and well-paid crew. According to Apollodoros ([Demosthenes] 50. 44, 48; cf. *APF* 8157 IV), Timomachos abetted Polykles, who was supposed to take over the trireme at mid-year and failed to do so, because he owed Polykles money and was angry with Apollodoros for

⁵⁸ *IG* i³ 1032, 412 BCE? (see Graham 1998; Papazarkadas 2009*b*, *SEG* 58. 60) lists sailors by ship. In ll. 80–94 we have 10 marines (*epibatai*) from 9 different demes, the officers coming from yet other demes; 189–97 have a similar distribution. In 306–15, however, 7 sailors out of 9 come from Kephisia, followed by 2 from Kollytos. If some trierarchs took trouble over finding experienced men ([Dem.] 50. 7, 15–16, 35), others may have used their own deme contacts or left key members of the crew to recruit through their own networks (cf. Bakewell 2008). On the evidence of this list metic seamen seem more apt to group themselves by origin than Athenians. However, Athenian crews may contain a high proportion of men whose families had moved away from their deme of registration to Piraeus or other coastal settlements. B. Jordan's view (1975, 167–76) that the state trireme *Salaminia* was always crewed by members of the *genos* Salaminioi is not plausible. *SEG* 54. 226 (Bardane 2004) probably lists naval casualties by ship, *Erechtheis* being a ship name and not a tribal heading (triremes called *Leontis* and *Kekropis* are also attested, but it is not clear that there was a ship for every tribe). At least 9 of the 10 citizen *epibatai* on the *Erechtheis* came from the homonymous tribe; the deme of its trierarch [. . .] *isthe[n]es Kleisthen[os]* was either [*Aggr*]ylê[*then*] (I) or [*Ank*]ylê[*then*] (II); a Kleisthenes of Erechtheis, deme unknown, appears in *IG* i³ 9, *APF* 8524; an Antisthenes of Agryle in the 3rd c., *Agora* XVII 28. Cf. ch. 23 nn. 25–6. The *Kekropis* had a Kekropid trierarch c.330, *IG* ii² 1626. 32, but its panel of co-trierarchs in 1622. 611, and the panel of the *Leontis* 1622. 656 (both between 356 and 346), did not contain any men from those tribes.

⁵⁹ Cf. Lys. 29. 3–4. *APF* 10552 suggests that in some year before 334/3 Nausikles son of Klearchos of Oe was general and principal trierarch on his flagship, with his son acting as syntrierarch; a different interpretation in Gabrielsen 1994, 63. The speaker of Is. 6 (1–2), making a supporting speech for Chairestratos, had sailed with him to Sicily when he was trierarch, at the request of the young man and his father; Chairestratos was apparently young and inexperienced, perhaps serving as trierarch in his father's place (ch. 5 n. 47). He and the speaker had been made prisoners together. On kin and friends as syntrierarchs see Gabrielsen 1994, 175. The history of the trierarchy system is complex and controversial (op. cit.), but it is fairly clear that the reforms of 358/7 and 340 decreased trierarchs' freedom of choice (ibid., especially 193). Apart from one case of privateering by brothers (Isokr. 18. 59–60, *APFD* 18–19), most examples of trierarchy shared by kin seem to be due to a lack of clarity over the division of property between father and son(s) or between brothers. See Gabrielsen 60–7.

refusing to fetch the general's exiled *kédestês* (WF) from the mainland to Thasos. It has also been suggested (*APF* 4386) that the —odoros who was put in charge of conveying the city's corn supply *c.* 330 by the general Diotimos son of Strombichos of Euonymon (*IG* ii³ 339) was Diotimos' son Olympiodoros. Olympiodoros would presumably have been serving as a trierarch at the time.

Alkibiades and his entourage provide the best evidence for the working of patronage in the Athenian forces, although it is still meagre. The biographical tradition about Sokrates (Plutarch *Alkibiades* 7, cf. Chroust 1957) claimed that in the Potidaia campaign of 432 the prize for valour, which should have been given to Sokrates, was instead given by the generals to the young Alkibiades because of the distinction of his name; the story is not likely to be true, but it indicates one of the types of patronage generals could exercise and the sort of motive that gossip could attribute to them. In spring 408 Alkibiades sent his cousin Euryptolemos⁶⁰ to take an oath of truce from the Persian satrap Pharnabazos; later in the same year Euryptolemos was sent on an embassy to the Persian king, together with Mantitheos, in whose company Alkibiades had escaped from confinement in Sardis (Xenophon *Hellenica* 1. 1. 10, 1. 3. 12–13; Amit 1973).⁶¹ This Mantitheos is probably the one who had fled from Athens in 415 when accused of mutilating the Herms (*PA* 9670); it was presumably he who, with an unidentifiable Diodoros, was left in charge of the fleet in the Hellespont by Alkibiades when he sailed for Athens in 407.⁶² I am still inclined to wonder, too, whether the democratic taxiarch and later general Thrasylos, who was prominent in the fleet from 411 to 406/5, is not the impoverished *hetairos* of Alkibiades, of that name, recorded in *Athenaios* 534 e–f.⁶³ Given the ambiguity of Alkibiades' position and relations with the demos after his return from exile, it is scarcely surprising that he should have preferred to have friends associated with him in command. The election of Adeimantos son of Leukolophides of Skambonidai as general for 407/6 has already been noted.

⁶⁰ MFFBSSS? *APF* 9688 VIII. W. Thompson 1969*a* separates Alkibiades' cousin (*anepsios*, Xen. *Hell.* 1. 4. 19) Euryptolemos III from Perikles I's *anepsios* (Plut. *Per.* 7. 5) Euryptolemos II, and makes Euryptolemos III Alkibiades' MZS, but the naming patterns postulated are very irregular. If the ambassador is the *anepsios* of Alkibiades who had returned to Athens ahead of him in 407 (Xen. *Hell.* 1. 4. 19) the statement that the embassy took three years (*ibid.* 7) must be rejected or emended. Cf. Andrewes 1953; Cawkwell 1979, 69–70; ch. 14 n. 43.

⁶¹ Another companion in exile was Alkibiades' homonym and perhaps cousin Alkibiades of Phegous (Harp. s.v. *Alkibiades*. MS *xenos* emended to *anepsios* by Naber and Sauppe, comparing Xen. *Hell.* 1. 2. 13).

⁶² D. S. 13. 68. 2 (*epimelétai*); Kahrstedt 1936, 128. Andrewes (*HCT* 5. 268) suggested that Diodoros and Mantitheos had been elected as generals by the fleet in Samos in 411/10 (Thuc. 8. 76. 2), and were still serving in this capacity, but see *AO* p. 171. The Mantitheos of Lys. 16 may well be this man's son.

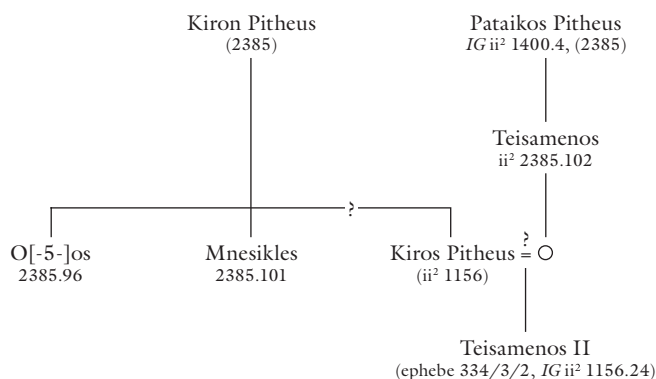
⁶³ Andrewes (1953; *HCTV* 275) thinks that the taxiarch was an enemy of Alkibiades; but his opposition to oligarchy (Thuc. 8. 73. 4, 75. 2) does not necessarily imply that. Thrasyboulos, also opposed to oligarchy (Thuc. 8. 81. 1), was according to Diodoros (13. 69. 3) elected general for 407/6, with Adeimantos son of Leukolophides of Skambonidai, Alkibiades' fellow-demesman, at Alkibiades' wish.

Even in hoplite forces tribal organization, presumably adhered to when the army was drawn up in line of battle, does not seem to have been strictly enforced at other times. If we can believe Plato, Sokrates (Antiochis X) marched with Laches (Kekropis VII) in the retreat after Delion in 424 (Plato *Symposium* 221a, cf. *Laches* 181b), and ate with Alkibiades (Leontis IV) on the Potidaia campaign (*Symposium* 219c). As far as we know there were no formal rules governing the organization of Athenian military camps, in marked contrast to Roman practice. Arrangements for messing were informal, troops being expected to buy their own food from the nearest market or from the traders who attached themselves to large expeditions.⁶⁴ The sons of Konon shared a tent when on guard duty at Panakton in northwest Attika (Demosthenes 54. 3); no doubt fellow demesmen would often camp together, and this will have produced some conformity in camp to the tribal organization of the battleline.⁶⁵ Solidarities may even have flourished in camp between kin, fellow-demesmen, or neighbours who were structurally predisposed to quarrel in civil life. But friendships and relationships that crossed the boundaries of deme and tribe were also clearly influential.

War was dangerous; men who set off on military expeditions made wills, and their kin and affines came to see them off, to associate themselves with the enterprise and in fear that this might be the last meeting. It is no accident that Euktemon of Kephisia, though not serving himself, makes a will when his son-in-law Phanostratos is leaving on a campaign. Phanostratos' brother-in-law (WZH) was seeing him off (Isaios 6. 27); Piraeus was probably full of such groups making

⁶⁴ See Van Wees 2004, 107; J. W. I. Lee 2007. Crowley 2012 thinks that hoplites when fighting were grouped by deme, but does not discuss evidence. Low 2012, 21, notes the suggestion of G. Smith 1919, 358, that 'clusters of alphabetically ordered names' (small, and few) on casualty lists might represent military subunits. Alphabetic ordering (by first letter only) is not so far attested in Greece before the Hellenistic period (ch. 15 n. 14), and the process of reporting deaths could well have been influenced by association of ideas linking related names (cf. Humphreys 2010*b*).

⁶⁵ On call-up procedures see ch. 21 n. 44. It seems to have been the practice for a force sent out from Athens to contain members of all tribes; casualty lists are organized both by tribe and by field of battle (*IG* i³ 1162, M/L 48 (*SEG* 34. 45); cf. also i³ 1164, i³ 1190). *IG* i³ 1353, M/L 51, honours Pythion, a Megarian, for bringing the contingents of three tribes safely back to Athens from the Megarid through Boiotian territory; on this occasion it was obviously important to keep the troops in formation during the retreat. The *hippeis* who dedicated *IG* ii² 1955 came from different tribes, although the 20 names listed contain 2 probable pairs of cousins (5, 20 Xypete, Table 29.4; 9, 22 Euonymon). Other lists that have been thought to record soldiers lack headings, and we do not know their purpose (Dow 1983; Humphreys 2010*a*). *IG* ii² 2385 + 2431 is a list (possibly of kleruchs or colonists) organized by demes, with very high numbers coming from some demes, which has been classed as a list of soldiers; it contains many pairs of brothers listed consecutively or at brief intervals, and in ll. 101–2 Mnesikles son of Kiron of Pithos may be affinally linked with Teisamenos son of Pataikos of the same deme, whose name follows his, since a Teisamenos son of Kiros of Pithos was ephebe in 334/3/2 (*IG* ii² 1156. 24). See ch. 29 and *APF* 8443 (the date given there, 336–326, is too late: Teisamenos' father Pataikos was *tamias hierôn chrématôn* in 390/89, *IG* ii² 1400. 4 (Table 16.2). Elsewhere *APF* dates the text to the middle of the 4th c. Cf. Humphreys 2010*a*, 77).



Note: Depending on date, the Kiron P. of *Agora* XIX H 87 may be Kiron or a younger descendant.

TABLE 16.2. Pithos: Kiron

similar arrangements. On campaign too, in anxious moments on the eve of battle or in retreat, those who had left responsibilities behind them in Attika might want to stay close to kin or friends whom they could trust to help them if wounded or carry last messages.⁶⁶ Although the official structure of the army was modelled on that of the citizen body and its agnatic subdivisions,⁶⁷ in practice there seems to have been plenty of opportunity for voluntary grouping based on private ties.⁶⁸

This is not the place to pursue the subject of the use of kin ties in military command and military groupings in other Greek or barbarian societies in

⁶⁶ In Theophr. *Char.* 25. 5 the coward offers to look after the wounded, implying that arrangements are voluntary; but 25. 8 implies that members of one's own deme and tribe would be nearby. Cf. Sternberg 1999.

⁶⁷ On possible influence of military considerations on Kleisthenes' reorganization of the citizen body see Van Effenterre 1976; Siewert 1982; Frost 1984. Cf. however D. M. Lewis 1983*a*; Stanton 1984*b*; ch. 21 n. 29. Recruitment of kleruchs seems to have been voluntary, and economic interests might favour separation of brothers, but *IG* ii² 1952*a* has a pair of brothers from Upper Lamptrai, and *SEG* 51. 147, also perhaps kleruchic, a pair from Hamaxanteia (*LGP*N II omits a number of kleruchs). Humphreys 2010*a* suggested that *Agora* XV 492 and *IG* ii² 1927 might also be kleruchic (and ii² 2385 + 2431, discussed above n. 65, part of a list of the colonists sent to the Adriatic in 325/4); ii² 1927 (*SEG* 32. 170) has brothers from Phlya in ll. 31–4, with perhaps the son of one of them 35–6, probably a father and son from Dekeleia in 93–4 and 97–8, brothers from Phaleron in 108–9 and 116–17, and perhaps cousins (FBS) from Oinoe (IX) in 134–7. *Agora* XV 492. 137, 140 has a father and son from Anakaia. ii² 1954, a dedication made by soldiers in 306/5, may have brothers from Eroiadai (VIII) in ll. 9–10 (Bayliss 2003; Humphreys, *ibid.*; one of them may be cursed in Wunsch 1897, 55/*SEG* 53. 257. 8–10). *Agora* XV 494 may be part of a list of *epilektoi* (Humphreys *ibid.*); it too contains brothers.

⁶⁸ The camping grounds of women at the Thesmophoria (*syskênétriai*, *Ar. Thesm.* 624) may not have been strictly organized by deme in the case of the festival held in the city. R. G. Osborne 1985*a*, 170–1, 178, seems convinced that all women went to the city; but we know of celebrations in Peiraios (*IG* ii² 1177), and it seems very unlikely that women travelled from all over Attika without their husbands (Lys. 1. 20). See Whitehead 1986*a*, 79–81; ch. 12 n. 31.

antiquity,⁶⁹ or in Athens in later periods. We should remember, however, that the rationalistic ideology of the Athenian democracy—in which citizens were interchangeable, or distinguished only by individual ability, and private feelings had to be subordinated to the interests of the public sphere—coexisted with older attitudes that put the role of kinship in war in a different perspective. It was assumed that men fought best in the company of those close to them; the principle had been expressed by Nestor in the *Iliad* (2. 362–8), in lines which if they did not correspond to the organization of early polis armies certainly had an influence on them. Implementing the principle, however, raised the problem that while ego-centred, bilateral kin networks could form the basis of the loosely structured army described by Homer (Van Wees 2004 Appendix 3), it could not provide a formal framework for the more rigid, symmetrically organized hoplite phalanx. Sparta jettisoned tribal structure and based the organization of the phalanx on self-recruiting men's houses and an intensive socialization of boys in age-sets. A Spartan hoplite had members of his *syssition* in front of and behind him in the phalanx, and members of his age-set on either side of him along the battle front, each with their own *syssition* mates; ties of kinship and affinity were subordinated, at least in theory, to these two major principles of identification.⁷⁰ Athens imposed an agnatic framework on the phalanx but relaxed the organization to allow informal groupings recruited on other principles to form in its interstices. The ephebic corps reinforced age-group solidarity, hitherto generated only in private contexts.

A strong belief that character and ability were hereditarily transmitted also has to be taken into account. Athens had been controlled by an aristocracy until the Peloponnesian War; the boundaries of the ruling elite were permeable, the fortunes of individual families rose and fell, but leaders lived in a different style from those they led, and everyone expected that sons of leaders would become leaders in their turn. Intellectuals defended the belief rationalistically by comparing men with racehorses. It was noticed, of course, that sons did not always inherit the talents of their sires, a problem occurring in horse-breeding also; but it was still worthwhile to give a well-bred youngster the chance to show his paces in office at an early age.

⁶⁹ Some examples: Spithrobatas the satrap of Ionia, Darius' *gambros* (DH?), fights at the Granicus with 40 kinsmen (*syngeneis*), all cavalry, including his brother; *IPriene* 19. 8–11, rounds made in a garrison fort by the commander or his son (J. and L. Robert 1976); *IRh* 17, Antigonos appoints Dikaiarchos (of Thria) and his father to guard Rhamnous in 236/5. Sparta: Lazenby 1985, 23. Brothers serving as mercenaries quite often move together to Miletos: *Milet* I 3, nos. 34, 39–93. Brothers as mercenaries in Egypt, early 6th c., M/L 7.

⁷⁰ Assuming a relationship between *syssition* and *enómotia*; but see Singor 1999, 2002; Van Wees 2004 App. 2; J. W. I. Lee 2007. Recruitment of *syssition* members by cooptation and not kinship was logically required in order to distribute age sets equally among *syssitia*, but Spartan social structure also seems deliberately to de-emphasize kinship as an organizing principle. If we had prosopographical data on recruitment to *syssitia* the picture might look rather different.

Council and Assembly

From the archaic period only the personal names of eponymous archons are preserved, so we do not know whether sets of kin tried to get elected to hold office together. The lack of correspondence between number of tribes and number of major office-holders in Sparta (three tribes, two kings) and Athens (three, then nine offices; four tribes) suggests that this was a danger of which early poleis were conscious. In Crete bands of kosmoi were all chosen from a single clan (*startos*), and it was often difficult to compel a board to give up office and hand over power to another group.¹ The surviving fragment of (?) the list of eponymous archons from the 520s in Athens, during the period of Peisistratid rule, shows leading families holding the post in turn.²

By the time of Kleisthenes' reforms, the danger that tribes would become the basis for power struggles between rival leading families had receded; it was still felt necessary, however, to ensure that a single family did not monopolise a whole office-holding board, and this was done by distributing positions equally among the tribes.³ The archons lost their influence during the first half of the fifth century, and no civil position carried significant power until special posts in the management of the city's finances were created in the fourth century. The process by which the position of controller of the fund used for distributions at festivals (*epi to theōrikon*) became a power base in the hands of Euboulos are still obscure, but we know that after the battle of Chaironeia a new post of general manager (*epi tēi dioikēsei*) was created, to be held by a single man for a four-year term. The same man could hold it more than once, but not in successive quinquennia. Lykourgos held it from 336/5–333/2 and 328/7–325/4 (dying in office in the latter year), and had de facto controlled Athens' finances also in the

¹ *Ar. Pol.* 1272 a 27–b 13. In saying that kosmoi were chosen only from certain families, *ek tinōn genōn* (a 34) Aristotle may have slightly misunderstood the system, but should not be taken to be using *genos* in any specialized sense. The view taken here is based on the law code of Gortyn, col. V 5–6; cf. Willetts 1955, 28–9, 112–3. A *startos* would be the equivalent of one of the subdivisions of an Athenian tribe (cf. N. F. Jones 1987, 225–6).

² M/L 6 = *IG* i³ 1031. The holders are young, but this may be a feature introduced under the tyrants. [On]eto[rides], 527/6, may be the man who was *kalos* in the 530s (*APF* 11473). [M]iltiades, 524/3, was *kalos* after 520 (*BArch* 201526) and still active in 489 (*APF* 8429 VIII B).

³ Note *Lys.* 4. 3–4 on nominating friends as candidates for the position of judge at the Dionysia and expecting a favourable vote if they are appointed. On the procedure see Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 95–9.

intervening period, when the office was held by his friend Xenokles of Sphettos. Lykourgos' brother-in-law (WB) Kallias son of Habron of Bate had been treasurer of military funds in 338/7; Lykourgos' second son Habron was elected *epi tēi dioikēsei* in 307/6 and became treasurer of military funds in the following year. In the period of despondence, anxiety and famine (330/29) after Chaironeia, Athenians had been reassured by Lykourgos' ability to keep the city safe and solvent.⁴ 307/6 was the year in which Demetrios Poliorketes freed Athens from Macedonian military control and from the puppet tyranny of Demetrios of Phaleron; the election of Habron symbolized the return of better days, like the decree in honour of his father proposed by Stratokles, honouring Lykourgos as a constant champion of Athenian autonomy.⁵

Lykourgos' position anticipates Hellenistic developments which cannot be pursued here. In other cities, where the line dividing office-holding from the performance of liturgies was less clearly drawn, dynastic succession will have been more noticeable.⁶ Even in Athens we are told that when Theokrines' brother was serving on a board responsible for sacrifices, as *hieropoios*, and was murdered while in office, Theokrines took his place without being designated by lot; this may reflect a feeling that the financial burdens of the office should continue to be borne by the estate of the original appointee.⁷

We happen to know that two men who served together on a military board in 373/2 had children who married each other (Raubitschek 1942); a year's service on the same board could well form a basis for friendship, and kin, affines, neighbours, or friends who belonged to different tribes might have their names put forward as candidates for the same office in the hope of serving together. Only

⁴ Financial offices: P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 515–16; D. M. Lewis 1997, ch. 25. Some scholars date the beginning of Lykourgos' 12 years in charge of Athenian finances to 338/7 rather than 336/5: see *APF* 9251. Habron: *IG* ii² 463, 1492. 123–4; Merker 1986. Xenokles: *APF* 11234; Habicht 1988*b*. Deinokrates, general in 336/5 (ch. 16 n. 45) may have been Lykourgos' son-in-law. On connections among the Lykourgan group see Faraguna 2011, 69–70. It is interesting that Lykourgos' (?) brother Lykeias and his family (Matthaiou 1987*a*; Table 4.6) seem to have played no part in this political activity.

⁵ *IG* ii² 457; Gauthier 1985, 89–90; Lambert 2015*a* (cf. M. J. Osborne, 1981*c*, 172–4 on ii² 513; but see Humphreys 1985*a*, n. 72, 2004, 121 n. 36: would *sitēsis* and *proedria* be decreed for a dead man at this date?).

⁶ Humphreys 1983*a*/1993, 23; Van Bremen 1983; Vial 1984, 262–73.

⁷ [Dem.] 58. 29, *oute lachôn out' epilachôn*, evidently a standard formula (cf. Aisch. 3. 62). *Hieropoioi* will have had to account for the funds entrusted to them and it may well have been normal to make additional contributions from their own pockets. In Hellenistic Delos, when a treasurer died in office his responsibilities passed to his heirs (Vial 1984, 60); the appearance of heirs and kin as substitutes is a sensitive index to the degree of separation of public and private spheres. Kahrstedt's discussion of alternates and substitutes (1936, 124–34) is essential. It is necessary, however, to distinguish between the heir's obligation to give *euthynai* and the obligation to take on the office (Vial, 199–200). Chairias son of Euortios of Anaphlystos, amphiktyon on Delos in 342/1 (*ID* 42. 6; V. Chankowski 2008 no. 43), seems to have been replaced by his son Chair[eph]on (*IG* xii 5. 113).

chance enables us to detect such combinations in the record (cf. Vial 1984, 269–72 for a Delian case). Agnatic connections can, however, be traced in the case of councillors.

COUNCILLORS

Sterling Dow, the first scholar systematically to examine the opportunities afforded in Athenian public life to pass the time with ‘companionable associates’ of one’s own choice (1976), stressed particularly the division of the Council of 500 into thirty presiding trittyes (*trittyes tôn prytaneôn*)⁸ of sixteen or seventeen men, who for a total of ten days chaired meetings of the Council and Assembly and stayed in the Agora on permanent duty, eating and sleeping in the Tholos. It is thought that members of the same deme were usually grouped in the same presiding trittys, except where the deme contingent was too large (Acharnai had 22 councillors). Each deme had to produce a list of candidates, from which councillors and alternates were selected by lot;⁹ lists of councillors show that kin not infrequently served together or in successive years. This presumably reflects, as Dow suggested, a preference for congenial company while holding an office which for some men would represent the first and perhaps last experience of responsibility in the public sphere.¹⁰ In periods or demes where competition for Council membership was lively, candidates will have had to take active steps to become popular in the deme,¹¹ and this might result in a series of successful candidacies by members of the same family; it may have been normal for dominant men in

⁸ Cf. W. Thompson 1966, 1969*b*; P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 533; Traill 1986. Details of the relation between these trittyes and those defined by Kleisthenes still remain obscure and may have varied from tribe to tribe. Dow (1976 p. 77) thinks that the chairman (*epistatês*) for the day could choose his companions, Eliot (1967, cf. P. J. Rhodes 1972, 23) that he could choose a trittys (city, inland, or coast); we are never specifically told that each trittys served for ten consecutive days, and arrangements may have varied from tribe to tribe (ch. 21).

⁹ Traill 1975*a*, 2 suggested one alternate for every position; in 1981 he conjecturally identified *Agora* XV 492 as a list of councillors and alternates with approximately one alternate to two councillors (but it is hard to see why the latter should be recorded on stone; see Humphreys 2010*a*).

¹⁰ After 410/9 (*FGH* 328 F 140; P. J. Rhodes 1972, 33) seats in Council meetings were allocated by lot.

¹¹ Plato *Comicus* F 182 *PCG* 7 seems to imply that being a councillor was desirable; it was presumably a way into politics for those without a family tradition of activism. The attraction of being paid for a demanding post which required the holder to spend much time in the Agora will have varied according to the state of the Athenian economy and the distance between a man’s home and the city. It is normally assumed (e.g. Traill 1986) that small demes quite often had trouble filling their quota. Sokrates, who served in 406/5 (*PA* 13101, *AO* p. 180), was presumably an acquiescent rather than an eager candidate, in one of the larger demes (Alopeke). The number of attested cases of councillors serving twice is small (76 out of 3100 *bouleutai*, to the beginning of the Christian era, P. J. Rhodes 1984, but the chances of finding them in the existing distribution of lists have not been calculated and many of Rhodes’ identifications are problematic: see n. 16 below).

the deme to fill Council posts. Euboulides of Halimous was perhaps both demarch and councillor in 346/5 (Demosthenes 57; Whitehead 1986*a*, 411 no. 19; ch. 26 n. 15). In any case, in a small group with lifelong membership such as a deme, a man had to establish his claim to be considered a serious candidate (cf. P. J. Rhodes 1972, 4–6; Ruschenbusch 1979*b*, on the status and wealth of councillors). Candidates must have been nominated and not picked by lot from the whole list of deme members.¹² There are accusations of corruption (Aischines 3. 3, 62, 73); it could be important for a politician to serve on the Council, or have friends there, in a specific year (P. J. Rhodes 1972, 3–4). As members of Athens' main executive body councillors could exert influence over a wide range of issues: nomination of ambassadors, scrutiny of eighteen-year-old candidates for deme membership and citizenship, allowances for the disabled,¹³ and much besides. Any family that was making a bid for power in the deme would be likely to include Council membership among its objectives.

Lists of councillors often cover only a single tribe, are unevenly distributed chronologically, do not always include patronymics, and are sometimes difficult to date.¹⁴ We have no dated list between 328/7 (*IG* ii³ 360) and 304/3 (*Agora* XV 61), which means that we cannot assess the impact of the exclusion of poorer Athenians from citizenship in 321–307. We have unusually full lists for 304/3 and 303/2 (*XV* 61–2), which in combination with data from the Lykourgan period make it easier to identify kin serving together or in successive years, elderly councillors,¹⁵ and

¹² The size of the pool from which councillors were drawn is very controversial: see especially Ruschenbusch 1979*b*; P. J. Rhodes 1980; Burckhardt 1996; G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, 81–3. I consider it most unlikely that *ephēboi* or *diaitētai* were drawn only from those who figured both in their deme's list of members and in its (?) *katalogos* of hoplites (so also M. H. Hansen 2007). Quite apart from the lack of textual support for such a restriction, it seems natural that all those entering the deme would be passed forward for ephebic service, while since non-hoplites could serve as jurors there seems no reason to exclude them from being *diaitētai*. One should distinguish, in any case, between the 'Solonian census' category of hoplite/zeugite and men who possessed hoplite armour and served as hoplites. The Solonian census categories were no longer operative in the 4th c. (*A.P.* 7. 4, 47. 1); men who served in the cavalry and/or as hoplites could certainly be identified (though the two categories overlapped), but we have no evidence after 403 for attempts to use these categories in constitutional legislation (the oligarchies of the late 4th c. drew up new census classifications). It may be the case that some poorer Athenians did not come forward for service as epheboi, bouleutai, or diaitetai and were not pressed to do so (this was presumably the case at least for those potential epheboi who were physically disabled), but we have no evidence for formal exclusion. We also do not know whether ephebic service for the sons of kleruchs was (de facto) voluntary, nor whether kleruchies had their own diaitetai. On the procedure for appointing councillors and alternates see also Humphreys 2010*a*.

¹³ Aischines attacks Timarchos for his failure, when councillor, to support the application of his blind uncle (FB) Arignotos for a disability allowance (Aisch. 1. 104, cf. *A.P.* 43. 6; ch. 27 n. 30).

¹⁴ *Agora* XV 20 is particularly difficult to date; see Appendix 1.

¹⁵ Elderly councillors (cf. M. H. Hansen 2007): the best evidence comes from cases where councillors also appear in lists of diaitetai: Euetion of Sphettos serving at 61, Lykourgos of Melite (*IG* ii³ 4. 33) and Theokrines of Hybadai at 62. Stephanos (son of Demylos) of Probalinthos, diaitetes in 325/4 (*IG* ii³ 4. 35. 49), is listed as a councillor in ii³ 4. 26. 59, now dated c.330–317 (Tracy 1995, 131). If *IG* ii³ 4. 31

men serving a second term.¹⁶ It is impossible in the current state of the data to say whether the patterns we see here are specific to the period (heightened significance of kinship in deme affairs, renewed enthusiasm for Council service, and/or re-emergence of elderly Lykourgans after 307¹⁷) or would appear in all periods if we were better informed.

Brothers serve in the same year in eleven or twelve cases before *c.*320 and four or five cases *c.*307–300, and in adjacent years in another;¹⁸ father and

is a list of diaitetai from 343/2 or 336/5 (Humphreys 2010*a*, 81–2), the sons of two of them, councillors in 304/3, Ameinokles I son of Tachyllos I of Kydathenaion (*XV* 61. 64 with *IG* ii³ 4. 31. 14) and [Poly]-mnestos son of Polystratos of Gargettos (*XV* 61. 50 with *IG* ii³ 4. 31. 9), may well have been in their 60s. Three men named on both ii³ 4. 81–2 (? 334/3) and *Agora* *XV* 61 (304/3) should have been at least sixty on the second occasion: Epikrates son of Alexiades and Eratostratos son of Nausikydes, both of Anaphlystos, and Kephisostratos son of Archias of Besa. Sokrates (son of Pyr—) of Paionidai (*IG* ii³ 360 and *XV* 61) may be a similar case. Phanostratos son of Stratios of Oion Kerameikon (*IG* ii³ 4. 53), councillor in 371/0, will have been over 65 (chs. 7 Case 9; 26 n. 70). Stephanos son of Empedion of Cholleidai, councillor after 307(?; *XV* 56 = *SEG* 34. 127) and born before a half-brother who won a victory as *agen-eios* *c.*360 (*IG* ii³ 4. 583 = *CEG* 758, cf. ch. 12 n. 90) must also have been over 60. The Aristoteles son of Opsiadēs of (Upper) Potamos who served as councillor in 303/2 (*Agora* *XV* 62. 25) may be the A. son of O. (demotic not preserved) who (?) registered and leased a mine *c.*340 (*Agora* *XIX* P 26 [253], 259; *LGP*N II Opsiadēs 5 needs correction. See ch. 26 nn. 113–14). Any date for *XV* 20 will produce some elderly councillors. We can also, however, identify some possible cases where a son serves as councillor about 30 years after his father or a grandson 60 years after his grandfather, perhaps suggesting service for both shortly after the qualifying age of 30 had been reached: Theopompos of Kerameis in ?336/5 and his son Th[eo]kl[e]id[es] ? after 307 (*XV* 42, *SEG* 34. 127); Antiphanes and Kallaischros of Phrearrhioi in the late 5th c. (*IG* i³ 1040) and their homonymous grandsons *c.*333 (*SEG* 28. 52) and in ?336/5 (*XV* 42). Cf. perhaps Demokrates of Oa *IG* ii³ 4. 21, his son Demodokos ii³ 4. 55; Pausanias of Oa ii³ 4. 48, his son ii³ 4. 29, 348/7, Theophilos of Probalinthos *XV* 42, his son [Philis]tides *XV* 61; Menestratos son of Menekrates of Kolone (IV) ii³ 4. 25, his S or SS Menes son of Menestratos *XV* 61. Note also Nikostratos of Pallene, secretary in 366/5 (*IG* ii² 109–11), his son Philostratos *XV* 43. If the Philokrates of Halai Aixonides who was councillor in 304/3 (*XV* 61. 199) was the grandson of the Philokrates who was diaitetes in 325/4 (*IG* ii³ 4. 35. 110), he may have served at an early age.

¹⁶ On ‘repeating’ councillors see Rhodes 1972, 1980, 1981*b*, 1984. Antiphanes of Euonymon (ch. 23 n. 17) is another possible case, but the name is very common. Note that *IG* ii³ 467*a*, perhaps attesting a second term for [Soti]mides of Phegaia (after ii³ 4. 75 of ?? 343/2), is now dated probably in the 330s (Tracy 1995, 99; *SEG* 49. 99). Laches son of Charinos of Potamos of ii³ 4. 53 (371/0) will presumably be the father of Charinos son of Laches of ii³ 4. 25 (370/69), and the paternal grandfather of the Laches son of Charinos who served as an elderly man in 303/2 (*XV* 62).

¹⁷ Examples above (elderly men in *XV* 61–2); cf. the re-emergence of Xenokles of Sphettos as *agónothetēs* in 307/6.

¹⁸ Brothers: *IG* ii³ 4. 23, 390–360, Leon and Astyphilos sons of Philagros of Halai Aixonides; ii³ 4. 25, 370/69, Antichares and Phileas sons of Philion of Phrearrhioi; ii³ 4. 55, *c.*360, [Dem]e[t]rios and [Kr]at-inos sons of Demostratos of Kydathenaion; ii³ 4. 76, 341/0, Euthykles and Euthydikos sons of Ameinias of Philaidai, and Chaireas and Philarchos sons of Paramythos of Erchia; *Agora* *XV* 43, 335/4, Theogenes and Geneios sons of Pleistos of Acharnai; ii³ 4. 81, 330s, Kratinos and Kratios sons of Kratylos of Aigilia; ii³ 4. 83, *c.*330, Lysanias and Kleomedes sons of Aristokleides of Probalinthos; ii³ 4. 26, *c.*330–317 (Tracy 1995, 131), Euthoinos and Klearistos sons of Philarchides of Oa; *XV* 68, ? *c.*320 (Traill 1986, 142), Theophilos and Nikias sons of Echestratos of Acharnai (*APF* 11672 X needs revision; UP tombstone (?) of Theophilos, *SEG* 52. 200; Table 28.7); *XV* 55, *c.*321, two sons of Lysiades of ?Atene; *XV* 56 = *SEG*

son serve together five times and in successive years at least twice, perhaps five times.¹⁹

It is much more difficult to detect other relationships in the lists. However, Phanostratos son of Stratios of Oion Kerameikon served in 371/0 (*IG* ii³ 4. 53) and his grandson (DS) Glaukos son of Glauketes, also of Oion, in 370/69 (*XV* 13); perhaps there was some connection with the dispute over Hagnias' estate (ch. 7 Case 9). Demokles son of Antikles and Philoxenos son of Lysistratos of Upper Potamos, also councillors in 370/69, were probably cousins (FBS; *SEG* 28. 148, *APF* 1073). Meidias II son of Meidias I of Anagyrous (quota 6) was councillor in 304/3 (*Agora* *XV* 61. 177) and his nephew (BS) Euthydikos son of Kephisodoros in 302/1 (*APF* 9719, *Agora* *XVI* 123). Thoukydides son of Antidoros of Ikarion, also councillor in 304/3, was probably the cousin (FBS) of Charidemos son of Thoukydides of Ikarion, councillor in the same year (*Agora* *XV* 61. 44, 47). A Thoukydides of Ikarion, father of either Antidoros or Charidemos, was *diaitêtês* at the age of sixty in 330/29 (*IG* ii³ 4. 33. 17–18), and demarch at about the same time (Whitehead 1986*a*, 412 no. 30; ch. 24 n. 36). The two men called Arcestratos from Skambonidai who served together in ? 336/5 (*XV* 42. 221, 223) were probably cousins (FBS); the same may be true of Dionysios and Philon of Phaleron, serving together *c.*330 (*XV* 46, see Table 31.1). The son of an Arcestratos of Skambonidai perhaps served about 30 years later than his father (*XV* 56 = *SEG* 34. 127. 25, Theoxenos). Two brothers appear with the son of one of them in this last list: Olympion and Kleonostos sons of Mnesiades of Kerameis with Epikrates son of Olympion. Anytos and Anthemion of Euonymon, serving together in ? 336/5 (*XV* 42. 3, 7) will have been kin (*APF* 1324, ch. 23 n. 9). Such relationships cannot be deduced solely from lists of names; the case of Thoukydides and Charidemos is a warning that some of the examples classed above as showing father and son serving together may have other explanations.

Other examples are much more doubtful. Sophilos son of Sosias, Sophilos son of Antimachos and Sophilos son of Sostratos, all councillors of Peiraios (quota 10) in 303/2

34. 127, ? after 307, Olympion and Kleonostos sons of Mnesiades of Kerameis (with their FB); *XV* 61, 304/3, Morychides and Melanopides sons of Melanopides of Kephale, Aristokleides and Aristophon sons of Aristoteles of Phyle (Table 28.13), and Epikrates and Xenophon sons of Alexiades of Anaphlystos (perhaps with their FB Kallikrates). Doubtful cases: *XV* 11, 400–350, 2 sons of Hermo— of Keiriadai; *XV* 62. 95–6, 303/2, brothers in Kephale. Adjacent years: *IG* ii³ 4. 53, 371/0, Philokrates, ii³ 4. 25, 370/69, Amphiteles, sons of Amphitelides of Kettos. Note however Sopolis I of Kydathenaion serving *c.*360, ii³ 4. 55, and his brother Hippeus in ? 336/5, *XV* 42 (Table 5.6; ch. 25 n. 11).

¹⁹ Father and son: *IG* ii³ 4. 81, 330s, Gnathios Euphiletou and Euphiletos Gnathiou of Atene; *XV* 46, *c.*330, Kallikrates son of Hippo— and Kallikrates son of Kallikrates of Phaleron; *XV* 56 = *SEG* 34. 127, ? after 307, Epichares son of Mikon and Epichares son of Epichares of Cholleidai, Olympion son of Mnesiades and Epikrates son of Olympion of Kerameis; *XV* 61, 304/3 (cf. 59, 19, 25) Olympichos son of Pedieus and Pedieus son of Olympichos of Aphidnai. Adjacent years: Laches and Charinos of Potamos (n. 16); *XV* 61, 304/3, son of Mnesiergos of Eitea (X); *XV* 62, 303/2, Mnesiergos; perhaps also Polykles of Probalinthos and his son Poulytion, and Aristophon of Kolonai (IV) and his son Eumelos, *XV* 42 (? 336/5) and 43 (335/4); Antiphanes and Antiphates of Euonymon, *IG* ii³ 321–2, 337/6; *Agora* *XV* 42. 11, ? 336/5 (ch. 23 n. 17). Note also D[i]opolis of Kropidai *XV* 42 ? 336/5, his son Nausistratos *c.*333, *SEG* 28. 52. In the Atene case, as with the brothers in Philaidai in *IG* ii³ 4. 76, kin filled two of only three available places.

(*Agora* XV 62 = *SEG* 24. 162. 253, 256–7) may be cousins (FBS), all named after the same grandfather (Table 30.1), although the deme is large and the name is common. The same applies to two men from Thria (quota 7) both called Nausikrates, councillors together in 360/59 (*IG* ii³ 4. 56. 28, 34). Still more dubious are two councillors with names beginning in Demo- from Teithras (quota 4) and two from Phegaia (quota 3) with names beginning in Theo-, all councillors in 341/0 (*IG* ii³ 4. 76. 55–6, 61–2). Some of the cases where a name occurs in two lists, but the patronymic is not present in both lists, among those classed by P. J. Rhodes (1980, 197–201; 1981*b*; 1984) as evidence for councillors serving twice, might be due to service by homonymous first cousins.

Finally, it is noteworthy that Dionysios son of Hephaistion of Philaidai (quota 3), elected in 341/0 with a pair of brothers from another family (*IG* ii³ 4. 76. 17), had already served not long before, in ? 343/2 (ii³ 4. 75. 4). It seems that this small deme either was dominated by a small faction or had trouble in finding men to serve.

At present the pattern of service by kin in successive years or within a short space of time can only be clearly documented after 338, due to the shortage of firmly dated lists in the earlier period, but since the evidence for kin serving together in the same year reaches back into the earlier period, it seems likely that the two patterns reflect the same play of familial influence in the deme. The choice to serve simultaneously or successively may have been influenced by a number of factors, from family size and the need to take care of other interests to the quality of personal relations; in some cases competing claims from other groups may have made simultaneous service impossible. And not all families will have been interested in pursuing such strategies. There are also cases in which a son appears as councillor about thirty years after his father, suggesting that both the family and its fellow-demesmen recognized a regular turn of Council service as its duty and due.

DECREES IN COUNCIL AND ASSEMBLY

It has frequently been noted that it was important for an Athenian politician to have friends in the Council of 500 to take care of his interests. Support was also needed in the Assembly. Recorded names of proposers of decrees, supported by a scatter of general comments, show that major political leaders did not always exercise their dominance over the Assembly by proposing one decree after another. Proposal was often left to minor figures, leaders intervening only if the debate took an awkward turn. Supporters also acted as claque, applauding their own man and heckling or drowning out opposing speakers. But though the use of such support groups is adequately documented, it is hard to find detailed evidence of the ties through which they were recruited. Until c.353 only the first name of the proposer of a decree was recorded, without patronymic or demotic, and this makes identification very conjectural. Thucydides' preoccupation with

demagogues and with presenting contrasting viewpoints gives a misleading impression of Assembly debates, which are not likely to have been so clear-cut. Aristophanes uses choral interludes in the *Thesmophoriazousai* (372–610) to represent the buzz of audience comment between speeches, and the speakers in the *Ekkleziiazousai* (130–267, 396–457) are frequently interrupted. In the same play, the women plan their campaign before the Assembly starts (130–267).²⁰ The gradual build up of support as various speakers express their opinions is better documented for debates in the Roman Senate (Aulus Gellius 14. 7; cf. Talbert 1984, 240–8). Senators moved around during the debate to show their support for speakers (Staveley 1972, 227–8). We do not know whether that was ever feasible in the Athenian Council or Assembly, but there is some evidence that those with similar views might try to sit together in a block. Thoudydides son of Melesias is said to have introduced this practice as a way of impressing voters in the Assembly (Plutarch *Pericles* 11. 2); from 410/9 seats in the Council were allocated by lot.²¹ The chairman of the Assembly was selected for each meeting by lot, so that it would not be possible to confer with him before the debate started.

Thoudippos of Araphen, who had a son called Kleon, has been identified with the Thoudippos who proposed the decree imposing much heavier tribute on Athens' allies in 425/4 (*IG* i³ 71), and it has been widely supposed that he had married a daughter of the demagogue Kleon of Kydathenaion, who was near the height of his power at the time and must have been largely responsible for the policy which the decree represented (*APF* 7252). The decree, which contains much complex detail, would have been first proposed in the Council, and it is assumed that Thoudippos was Kleon's henchman there. These assumptions have however recently been challenged.²² Kleonymos, who proposed a decree concerning tribute collection in the previous year (*IG* i³ 68) has also, on flimsy grounds, been identified as an associate of Kleon. Kleinias, proposer of the tribute decree of 448/7 (*IG* i³ 34; see P. J. Rhodes 2008), is usually assumed to be Perikles' affine (MBDH; *APF* 600 VI), the father of Alkibiades III; but here too we are dealing with a common name. Euryptolemos III's support for Perikles II in the Assembly in 406 (Xenophon *Hell.* 1. 7. 16f.) has already been discussed

²⁰ M. H. Hansen 1987, 69–72 gives an excellent account of the evidence for audience noise, heckling, and the use of minor *rhētores* as supporting speakers; cf. also P. J. Rhodes 1986, 138–41; R. Thomas 2011. Designation of proposers by name alone might suggest that in early days most were well known; but Plut. *Per.* 7. 7 (Kritolaos) attributes the use of straw men to Perikles, and 4th-c. sources do not treat it as a novelty (Aisch. 3. 159, [Dem.] 59. 4). Lykourgos used an expert to *draft* decrees (and/or *nomoi*? [Plut.] *Mor.* 842c) but liked to make his own proposals (Humphreys 1985a, 217; on L. and Demades see Lambert 2015a, n. 17). The only systematic study of proposers is Daverio 1968, but her identifications are not always reliable.

²¹ On seating in the Assembly see M. H. Hansen 1987, 77; Stanton and Bicknell 1987.

²² Ch. 8 n. 56.

(chs. 14 n. 44, 16 n. 60; Humphreys 1986*b*, 82–3), as has the procedure for nominating ambassadors.

With the fourth century we reach slightly more solid ground. *IG ii³ 503* (R/O no. 64, Lambert 2006 no. 3), a decree of 346 conferring honours on the rulers of the Bosporan kingdom in the Crimea, was proposed by the well-known politician and historian Androtion; a rider was added by Polyeuktos son of Timokrates of Krioia (*APF* 13772). His father Timokrates, like Androtion, had been attacked in court by Demosthenes (Demosthenes 24); Timokrates had served with Androtion on two commissions, and in 353/2 had proposed a law which according to Demosthenes (24. 26) was intended to protect Androtion from prosecution. Father and son seem to have been closely associated; both are named as appearing as witnesses for Meidias in Demosthenes' speech attacking him, *c.*348.²³

Euphiletos III son of Euphiletos II of Kephisia (*APF* 6067) proposed honours for Euphron of Sikyon in 323/2; his brother or son, Pamphilos son of Euphiletos, added a rider to his proposal and proposed a second decree for Euphron and his descendants in 318/17 (*IG ii² 448* = *Syll.*³ 310 + 317, M. J. Osborne 1981–3 D 38). The text mentions *philoi* and *oikeioi* of Euphron in Athens who are to see that the decrees are inscribed.²⁴

IG i³ 48 bis, a strange and fragmentary text dealing with a nameless man who seems to have a special relationship with Athena (or possibly Artemis),²⁵ provides a committee of five men, chosen by the beneficiary, apparently to watch out for his interests. Two of these may be brothers, sons of Theodoros.

In other cases we can see evidence of collaboration between fellow-demesmen. In one of the years of famine between 330 and 327 Telemachos of Acharnai proposed a decree in the Assembly asking the Council to suggest honours for the corn trader Herakleides of Salamis. His fellow-demesman Kephisodoros proposed the draft decree of the Council that followed, and Telemachos himself later proposed a second decree for Herakleides in the Assembly.²⁶ It seems that Telemachos, the trader's main champion, asked his fellow-demesman to look after matters in

²³ Dem. 21. 139; according to Aischines (3. 52) this case never came to court.

²⁴ On *IG ii³ 378* see Lawton 2003. She assumes that where honorary decrees for foreigners carried reliefs the sculpture was commissioned and paid for by the Athenian demos, but this seems to me doubtful. Euphron's relief may have been added by his friends; Lambert (2007*b* no. 97), following Henry 1977, thinks that of Rheboulas, *IG ii³ 351*, may have been due to private initiative; cf. also *ii³ 411 bc* (R/O 70, Lambert 2006 no. 4). On the proposer of *IG ii³ 1005* (Soteria at Delphi) see chs. 12 n. 89, 26 n. 22.

²⁵ The term *hierodoulos* does not occur until later, but some status of this kind seems to be in question (Peppa-Delmousou 1971 suggested *hier[on kai asylon]*). See Borgeaud 1979, ch. 5, Connor 1988*b*, Jim 2012, on possession.

²⁶ *IG ii³ 367*; R/O no. 95; Lambert 2006 no. 43, 2015*a*; cf. P. J. Rhodes 1972, 66–7. On Telemachos, ch. 28 n. 69. Honours for [Cha?]rias of Kydathenaion are proposed in the middle of the 3rd c. by a fellow-demesman, whose name is not preserved (*IG ii³ 991*).

the Council. However, Acharnai was a very large deme and the fact that two of its members concerned themselves with Herakleides may be coincidence; later honours for the same man, in 325/4, were proposed by two non-Acharnians, from different demes (*IG* ii³ 367. 6, 66).

When honorary citizenship was conferred on a foreigner it seems to have been a regular practice for the proposer of the decree also to sponsor the beneficiary in application for membership of his own deme.²⁷ In this case political patronage or sponsorship led to (quasi-)kinship, an interesting continuation of the practice which must have obtained in the incorporation of immigrants into tribes and phratries in the archaic period.

From the late fourth century onwards there seems to be an increasing tendency for honours to individual Athenian citizens to be proposed by fellow-demesmen or kin, although this is still far from being a regular rule. Ktesiphon, who proposed in 336 that Demosthenes should be honoured with a gold crown, and was prosecuted for doing so, may have belonged to Demosthenes' deme Paiania (D. M. Lewis 1955, 31). An earlier proposal for a crown had been made by Demosthenes' cousin (FBS) Demomeles II in 338 (Demosthenes 18. 223, [Plutarch] *Mor.* 846a). Demomeles II was probably the father of Demon II, whom Demosthenes had defended in a lawsuit c.340 (Demosthenes 32). In 323 the decree for Demosthenes' recall was proposed by his cousin (FBSS, *APF* 3597) Demon II (Plutarch *Demosthenes* 27. 6), and in 280/79 Demosthenes' nephew (ZS) Demochares (*APF* 3716) asked that he should be awarded a commemorative bronze statue in the Agora, with perpetual dining rights at the public table in the Prytaneion for his heirs ([Plutarch] *Mor.* 847d, 850f).²⁸ Demochares' son later, in 271/0, requested the same honours for his father ([Plutarch] *Mor.* 847d–e, 851d). Whereas Ktesiphon was taking a risk with his proposal to honour a man who was still a living force to be reckoned with, later members of Demosthenes' family were advertising their connection with orators seen, by the early third century, as heroes of a past age when Athens was still a great power (Humphreys 1985*a*, 220).

In 328/7 Prokleides son of Pantaleon of Kerameikos proposed honours for his fellow-demesman Androkles son of Kleinias, priest of Asklepios (*IG* ii³ 369, Schwenk 1985, no. 54; Lambert 2004*b* no. 11). Moschos son of Antiphanes of Anaphlystos, who proposed a cavalry decree honouring the phylarch Demetrios son of [Anti?]phanes of Alopeke (*SEG* 3. 115, cf. ch. 32 n. 14) may have been an affine. In 283/2 Nikeratos son of

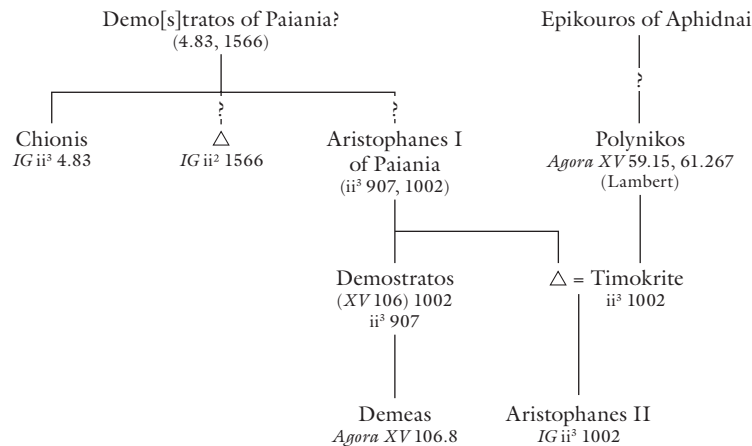
²⁷ References are collected at *APF* 11672 IV. Savalli 1985 surveys practice in other cities. A freedman sometimes takes the name of his ex-owner (or of another patron) as patronymic (Babakos 1963, 55–8, Kalymnos).

²⁸ Table 4.7. On such proposals see E. A. Meyer 2013; M. J. Osborne 2013. If *IG* ii² 3207 belongs with ii² 457 and honours Lykourgos, four of its crowns were proposed by fellow-tribesmen (I learn from Adele Scafuro that the monument is discussed in a Padua dissertation, Tozzi 2014).

Phileas of Kephale proposed a gold wreath for the comic poet Pheidippides son of Philokles of the same deme (*APF* 14546; *IG* ii³ 877, *Syll.*³ 374; Paschidis 2008 A 52). In the same decade Kallistratos son of Glaukon, of Kropidai, proposed honours for the two officials responsible for the celebrations of the Eleusinian Mysteries (*epimelētai*), one of whom was his brother (*IG* ii³ 915, *Syll.*³ 384); this would perhaps hardly have been allowable before Chaironeia. Dromokles son of Arkesas of Oa proposed *SEG* 21. 525 in 282/1 in honour of a board of cavalry officers that included Nikogenes son of Arkesas of Euonymon; the two men may have been second cousins (FMBSS/FFZSS); chs. 23 n. 13, 25 n. 40.

In 247/6 or 246/5 Demostratos son of Aristophanes of Paiania (perhaps a Bouzyges: *APF* 3276) proposed honours for the priestess of Aglauros, following a report on her activities presented to the Council by her son Aristophanes (*IG* ii³ 1002). D. M. Lewis (1983*c*) suggests that Demostratos was ‘a loyal husband’, but in that case it seems a little odd that the priestess’s report should be presented by her son; and Demostratos would be praising her for spending money which had come from his own household. It is perhaps more likely that she was a widow, and that Demostratos was her deceased husband’s brother, making it clear that the family approved of her behaviour (Table 17.1).

Less surprisingly, when a committee is set up to ensure that provisions of an honorary decree are carried out we often find kin or associates of the honorand nominated to serve on it. Thymochares of Sphettos is to sit on the committee responsible for the statue of his father Phaidros, a well-known general of the early third century,²⁹ together with a fellow-demesman (Straton), and Menon



Notes: Lambert 2004c, 337.

Agora XV 59.15 [Polyni]kos Epik[ourou] of Aphidnai. 61.267 [P]oly[ni]kos Epikourou of Aphidnai.

TABLE 17.1. The priestess of Aglauros (*IG* ii³ 1002; *APF* 3276 Stemma II)

²⁹ *APF* 13964: *IG* ii³ 985, dated in the year of Philinos’ archonship, 259/8. Note also the prominent collaboration of Phaidros II in the *agōnothesia* of his son Thymochares II in 265/4 (*IG* ii³ 985. 56–60; M. J. Osborne 2004).

of Acharnai (*APF* 12143). The committee elected by the garrisons of Eleusis, Panaktos, and Phyle to collect money for a statue of Aristophanes of Leukonoe in the late third century (*IEleus* 196) was headed by a fellow-demesman, Hephaistodoros.

It should be noted that such honours, when granted to Athenians, are always granted to individuals and not to wider sets of kin, with the exception of the hereditary right to dine in the Prytaneion. Even in that case the right was only enjoyed by one descendant at a time, and it is not clear when hereditary grants became the rule.³⁰ Grants to foreigners were sometimes wider in scope. Honorary citizenship and proxenia were regularly granted to all legitimate descendants of the honorand (his *genos* or *ekgonoi*),³¹ and siblings may also be mentioned.

IG i³ 27 grants honours to a group of brothers, and their father, perhaps Delphians, *c.*450/49; *IG* i³ 28 a–b in the 440s grants proxenia to four brothers from (?)Abydos and their descendants; i³ 155 grants proxenia *c.*440–430 to Krison and (?) his brothers, and possibly to another man. i³ 73 grants privileges in 424/3 to Potamodoros of Orchomenos and his son Eurytion, who were perhaps already *proxenoi* (i³ 97. 6–7), and probably exiles, and money to Potamodoros, Eurytion, and (probably) Pythilles, whose relationship to the other two is not explained. Archestratos, who proposed riders to both the decrees on this stone, was presumably the family's patron in Athens. A decree of the late fifth century, *IG* i³ 228, honours Archonides of Erbita and his brother Damon, minor tyrants of towns in northern Sicily. *IG* i³ 165 (before 420?) grants proxenia to a father and son and invites the father's brother also to dinner in the prytaneion. Fathers are associated with honours granted to their sons in *IG* ii³ 468 ab (Lambert 2006 no. 44, *c.*333, Tyrians) and in *SEG* 36. 165/39. 101 (304/3). In *ID* 88 (*Syll.*³ 158)

³⁰ Hereditary rights were granted to the families of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, in the late 6th or early 5th c., because the 'tyrant-slayers' themselves were not alive to be honoured. Victors in Panhellenic games had earlier enjoyed lifelong rights, but these were not hereditary. Eventually lifelong rights and hereditary rights came to be combined (Humphreys 1985*b*, 220; 2004, 121; 2017*b*), but this may not have happened until the end of the 4th c.; it is safer to assume that they had originally been distinct.

³¹ *IG* ii³ 452. 18–21 (Lambert 2006 no. 8) specifically excludes a hostile descendant. No distinction was drawn in such grants between children born before or after the grant, and the requirement that children had to be born of two Athenian parents was de facto not applied in the case of new citizens (cf. Whitehead 1986*b*). *IG* i³ 178 (420–405) extends protection to the honorand's wife as well as his children. It may have been expected that only one descendant in each generation would inherit the commission of *proxenos*, at least in early times (when in any case the grant would lapse if descendants were inactive); but the privileges of the status soon came to outweigh its duties, and no limit is normally specified. In *IG* i³ 56 (*c.*430) the grant of proxyeny to the honorand's descendants (*paisi*) is added in a rider. See Gschnitzer 1973; Walbank 1978; Henry 1983.

the proxenia granted in 369/8 to Pythodoros of Delos is extended in 363/2 to his nephew (ZS).³²

Athenian practice may have been influenced by that of other cities perhaps more inclined to think in terms of households or small lineages rather than individuals. The Delians, in an interesting case of the late fourth century, granted proxeny to two Athenians who were brothers by birth but had evidently been separated by adoption (or were matrilinear half-brothers), Chairites son of Polymedes of Myrrhinous and his brother Antiphon son of Theodoros (*ID I 74*).³³ An early proxeny decree from Eretria (*c.*500–475, *LSAG* 88 no. 15) may honour two brothers (W. Wallace 1936); grants of freedom from harbour dues at Olbia (*ateleia*) mention brothers in indivision and also servants (*therapontes*) of the honorand.³⁴ Examples could easily be multiplied, especially from later periods.

³² V. Chankowski 2008, 252. Other cases are more doubtful. *IG i³ 162 = SEG 32. 5* is restored by D. Rendić-Miočević (1977–8) as a proxeny-grant to an Epidamnian prince (?) and his two brothers (440–15). Walbank 1978 no. 48 restores *IG i³ 81 (421/0)* as a grant to Polystratos of Phleious and his brother, but the restorations have very little basis. Most of the conjectures in *SEG 10. 76* have been justifiably rejected by *IG i³ 70*. Meritt 1941, 315–17 suggested restoring in *IG i³ 28. 11–12* (see *SEG 37. 7*) a grant of freedom from military service to the honorands and their eldest descendants (*ekgonôn tois presbytatois aiei*) but there are no convincing parallels; see Henry 1983, 245. *IG ii² 180* (before 353/2) is restored to give a grant of proxenia, *ateleia*, and *gês enktêsis* to two brothers and their descendants, with a third brother, but the restorations are problematic, as is the attribution of the family to Skyros. In *IG ii² 52* (Walbank 1978 no. 63, Appendix) honours granted to the petitioner's grandfather are confirmed in the early 4th c. to him and his brothers; this is the normal working of a hereditary grant, but such requests may have encouraged the idea that a grant to a group of brothers was normal. Cf. Lambert 2012, 402 on *IG ii³ 495*, and Lambert 2006 no. 37 = *IG ii³ 432* (Sopatros of Akragas).

³³ The grant of *ateleia* to Aristoph[ilos], his brothers, their descendants and their *oiketai* (*c.*400; *ID 1* no. 71) may be made to a Delian.

³⁴ *ID 74*, Antiphon added later? Wilhelm 1913, 31–5, discussing *ID 71*, collects grants of privileges to groups of brothers, and to women; further examples in Wilhelm 1929, 163–8. See Dubois 1996 nos. 5–8; Bravo 1977; Erxleben 1974, 488.

KINSHIP IN ANCIENT ATHENS

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An Anthropological Analysis

Volume II

S. C. HUMPHREYS

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PART FIVE

Corporate Groups

The Pre-Kleisthenic Tribes and Trittyes

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this final section of the book is to consider the history, functions, and articulations with other aspects of Athenian social experience of groups in which kinship (patrification) acted as a constitutive structuring principle. These groups had corporate identity and organization and were, in one way or another, officially recognized by the Athenian state.¹ This does not mean that they—let alone their segmentary articulation—were ‘natural’ or primordial (cf. J. K. Davies 1997). While the terms for tribe (*phylê*) and phratry already occurred in the *Iliad*, *phylê* is probably used there in its general sense of ‘kind’; it will be argued here that the widespread diffusion of tribe names suggest a horizontal form of social classification of interest mainly to the elite, while phratries were local units linking the elite vertically with commoners, and the articulation of tribe and phratry may well have been a later development.

The question whether these units were ‘personal’ or ‘territorial’—a persistent theme of N. F. Jones 1987, which surfaces also elsewhere—is badly phrased. As the Kleisthenic demes in Attika show, a unit recruiting by patrification could also have a territory (at least roughly defined: ch. 22 n. 52). To associate affiliation to subdivisions of the citizen body firmly with residence would require a regular system of census taking, which is as yet first attested for the Roman empire (Bagnall and Frier 1994). It is possible that before Kleisthenes’ reforms an elite family could have had more than one local affiliation without being compelled to choose which to privilege.

Recruitment to tribes and their subdivisions by patrification affected the social experience of Athenian citizens and their interactions with kin, since agnates necessarily shared group membership. The system also had a wider ideological influence. Although belief in common descent from eponymous group ancestors was at best vague, and descent was not a salient principle of internal organization (as opposed to recruitment) at the lowest level (phratry and deme), the use of

¹ The position of the *genê* (ch. 20) differed from that of the tribes, trittyes, and phratries, but still implied a relation to the state. On rituals organized by tribes in later periods see Chaniotis 2006, 231–2.

descent groups (clans)² as subdivisions of the citizen body supported a tendency to link concepts of citizenship and cultural units to the ‘natural’ symbolism of procreation and ‘blood’, and to think of social organization in segmentary terms, in terms of affiliation to a series of descent groups—phratry and deme, trittys, tribe, city-state, nation—in which kinship ties became progressively more distant but were never totally eliminated. Such assumptions strengthened boundaries separating citizens from non-citizens, Dorians from Ionians, and Greeks from barbarians.

Tribes and their subdivisions also acted as intermediaries between the state and the individual household at the practical level. The conventions and mechanisms developed for conducting public business in city assemblies were imitated and employed by the smaller bodies (demes and phratries), and many Athenians got their first experience of the public sphere in deme or phratry assemblies. There were, however, some significant differences correlated with the change of level and with variations in group size. Especially in the smaller bodies, ties of kinship and marriage alliance could have a significant impact on local politics. On the other hand, the group’s right to acknowledge its members’ children as legitimate, or reject them, gave it a voice in disputes between kin.

Because they occupied this intermediate position between state and household, tribes and their subdivisions changed their functions and, on occasion, form as the state developed. The Athenians themselves took a more historical view of these groups than of the kindred or the family, and modern research has done the same. The chapters of this section thus have a more diachronic and less systematic structure than chs. 2–17.

The evolutionist schema inherited from the nineteenth century, in which it was assumed that Greek communities had since primordial times been divided into patrilineally recruited segmentary groups, gradually modified in the historical period by the development of the city-state, was difficult to reconcile with the picture of Greek states with centralized financial systems—and very little interest in kinship—that emerged after the decipherment of Linear B in 1952. The older view was to some extent salvaged by greater emphasis on a ‘Dark Age’ in which pre-Mycenaean forms of social organization might have re-emerged, but it was thoroughly criticized in 1976 both by Bourriot and by Roussel. It took a long time, however, for scholars to digest the implications of their arguments (T. Schneider 1991; Ulf 1996*b*); indeed, the ideas that early societies are more

² Anthropologists distinguish clans, which recruit their members by filiation but do not organize their internal structure by genealogical relationships, from lineages, whose members can map their relationship to each other by reference to common ancestors at varying levels. The term ‘descent group’ is sometimes restricted to systems of lineage type. From this point of view Greek tribes and their subdivisions formed systems of segmentary clans. The term ‘clan’, however, tends to have misleading associations for historians (on Scottish clans see e.g. Cathcart 2006).

rigid and ‘traditional’ than states, or that Greek democracy was *sui generis* whereas models drawn from comparative data can help to reconstruct its remoter antecedents, have not yet vanished.

The history of the ‘ethnic’ identities Ionians, Dorians, and Aeolians—marked by dialect, shared festivals and associated month names (Trümper 1997), and sets of tribe names—provides an example of this slow and unfinished process of rethinking. Intelligent questions had already been formulated about the construction of these identities c.1900 (see especially Wilamowitz 1906), but this did not impede the construction of the ‘Dark Ages’ as a period of depopulation and lack of movement—apart from ethnically labelled ‘migrations’—between c.1200 and c.800. Dialectal and ‘ethnic’ differences would have crystallized in this situation of isolation or limited contact.³ It has taken decades for the accumulation of archaeological evidence to bring realization that the ‘migrations’ eastward may have resembled continuous trickles of mixed origin rather than group expeditions (Lemos 1998, 2002, 2007*b*; C. B. Rose and H. Parker 2008), and that scattered communities may have maintained contact by meeting at sanctuaries (C. Morgan 1990; Polignac 2009, 430–9). It is also becoming clear that we cannot make a simple distinction between ‘myths’ and rituals transmitted from an unreflective age and more critically formulated ‘historiography’. Reflection on memories and identities was a continuous process that went on reshaping rituals and accounts of the past well into the fifth century (see especially Kowalzig 2007).

On the basis of this recent work we can remind ourselves that shared month names derived from festivals are unlikely to persist without some co-participation in festivals and travel between communities;⁴ and that the early emergence of ‘literary’ dialects, which contributed to the development of dialect consciousness (Morpurgo Davies 1987), rested on communication and not on isolation.

If only to shake off the lingering effects of models of evolution from naive simplicity and community *habitus* to rationality and ‘individualism’, which privilege units rather than their interrelations, we need to make the effort to imagine the prehistory of Greek states in interactive terms, as made up of overlapping

³ I. Morris 1997 traces the history of the construction of the ‘Dark Ages’, but with less attention to the problems caused for historians by the decipherment of Linear B. Cf. also Papadopoulos 1993.

⁴ Trümper 1997, 31–8 (cf. 2003) suggests a BA origin for at least some of the Ionian month names, but her argument is problematic (cf. Wenskus 1998). She does admit that month names may have varied locally, according to the siting of sanctuaries and prominence of festivals, until polis calendars were formalized. N. D. Robertson 2002 (an important contribution) suggests—as I do—a dialectical relation between the development of shared festivals and of conceptions of ethnic identity; he claims that names for winter months are more divergent than those for the months of the sailing season (but Knoepfler 1989 says the opposite). On the construction of Ionian identity see also Connor 1993. Trümper 1997, 35–6 points out that a period with more festivals may have more diversity in month names. Robertson also notes that Spartans were grouped by tribes and phratries at the Karneia (n. 42), but connects this with military organization. Apatourios now attested as month at Massalia, *SEG* 50. 1076.

patterns of classification and reflexive, situational response. One aspect of ‘the formation of the polis’ was the systematization and homogenization of these overlapping schemata.

PROCESSES OF CLASSIFICATION

Persons

I am concerned here specifically with classifications of persons, space, and time. Astronomical, climatic, and agricultural calendars had their own seasons and rhythms (harmonized by Hesiod in the *Works and Days*), marked by associated rituals; it was only when political communities began to appoint officials for one year only that each selected its own date for the community’s New Year’s Day. Central places had overlapping catchment areas linked to varying patterns of ritual or politico-judicial activity and of exchange (and their own metric systems). Members of the elite were linked to their peers in other communities by interaction in central places and to local neighbours by patterns of resource distribution (sacrifice, loans, part-time labour and its rewards);⁵ the elite and the commoners (*agathoi* and *kakoi*) might view their social worlds differently and vary in their norms of marriage, adoption, or inheritance (ch. 1 at nn. 73–82).

This does not mean that social strata were fixed and sharply bounded. If the elite was characterized culturally by spatial mobility and wider perspectives, its members needed young men to build and row ships, act as chariot drivers and squires, and perform other services; those successful in such roles might become incorporated into the elite. Conversely, older and less successful members of the elite might settle into a village-based pattern of life.

Archaeological evidence—which is admittedly biased towards the movements of those who had the resources to make valuable dedications⁶—suggests that the worldview of the elite would have been wider and more ‘amphiktyonic’ than that of the villager. Forrest 2000 recommended a focus on amphiktyonies as significant contexts for pre-polis interaction, using the term loosely (as I do here) to denote

⁵ See Polignac 1995 on the complementary uses of wealth for dedications at regional sanctuaries and for funerals at home; Schmitz 2004 on village norms.

⁶ For recent archaeological work on amphiktyonic sanctuaries see Lohmann 2002, 2004, Lohmann a. o. 2007 on the Panionion on Mt Mykale; C. Morgan 1994, 1999 on Isthmia and Perachora; C. Morgan 1997, 2003, Marchand 2015, 70 on Kalapodi; Schumacher 1993 and Mylonopoulos 2003 on Geraistos (also *BE* 2014 no. 227), Sounion, Kalaureia, and Tainaron; B. Wells 2010 on Kalaureia; Knoepfler 1988*b*, 2010*a*, K. G. Walker 2004, Knoepfler a. o. 2008, Krapf 2011, Marchand 2015, 68, *BE* 2014 no. 231, on Amarynthos; Huber 2003 on Artemis (?) at Eretria. (Brisart 2011 stresses polis-orientated uses of archaic art, and has little to say about sanctuaries.)

sanctuaries drawing worshippers from beyond the local community.⁷ Ethnic classifications would be a facet of amphiktyonic culture; comparison of dialects, cult practices, and myths would stimulate convergence and attempts at systemization (Hesiod) or more marked differentiation as in ‘literary dialects’. Poets contributed to all these processes. Amphiktyonic culture provided patrons and audiences for them; it encouraged the formulation of norms for the proper conduct of war and competitive sports, and it probably also facilitated inter-group marriage (visiting groups of young athletes being met by local choruses of singing and dancing girls? see Rutherford 2004*b*, Kowalzig 2007; *Hymn to Apollo* 157–64 on Deliades).

Thus there seem to be arguments for associating the development of ethnic identities with elite status, mobility, and amphiktyonic culture. Greek raiders and mercenaries in the eastern Mediterranean were known in the eighth century as ‘Ionians’ (Iaunana: from Euboea and the Cyclades? Luraghi 2006). The Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, while stressing that Delos drew worshippers from the whole Greek world, also gives Ionians a privileged position among them (27–44, 146–52). The settlers who took over a Carian sanctuary on Mt Mykale, between Miletos and Samos, c.700 (n. 6) renamed it the Panionion, as if hoping to rival Delos. Anthela formulated amphiktyonic membership in ethnic terms, allocating two places to Ionians (cf. Sánchez 2001).

What is not clear, if we think of ethnic identities as gradually crystallizing out of patterns of repeated association rather than as fixed and primordial, is why recurring sets of tribe names should also have become associated with these identities.⁸ In the ethnographic record recurrent sets of names for social categories (descent groups, age sets) are thought to facilitate mobility and the formation of alliances. For social groups, genealogies provide wide-ranging social maps that justify

⁷ Any sanctuary is at some level amphiktyonic, and the range of catchment areas varied widely (see e.g. Chaniotis 1991 and Kowalzig 2007, 375–9 on L. Kopais, for small-scale examples; C. Morgan 1994, 1997 for changes in range over time). Sanctuaries of Poseidon, strung out along shipping routes, would be different in clientele from, for example, the Artemis shrines of the Euboian gulf (Aulis, Halai, Amarynthos, Brauron—linked in Attika also to Mounichia, Athmonon, and perhaps Myrrhinous; see S. G. Cole 2000; Huber 2003, 150–3)—although the Euboian channel was also an important route in the EIA, *AR* 2004/5, 1. It may be worth asking whether in some areas there were festival circuits producing penteteric or trieteric patterns of heightened celebration in individual sanctuaries. Another early archaic, amphiktyonic sanctuary of (?) Apollo on the Corinthian gulf near Pagai (Bouri/Dourako Alepochoriou), *AD* 55 B 1 [2009], 92–3; 60 B 1, 124–6; 61 B 1, 2006, 141–2.

⁸ See N. F. Jones 1987. Attestation is patchy and comes from the classical period or later, though the recurrence of metropolitan tribe names in colonies *may* go back to the date of foundation. Some names slip from the tribe level to that of sub-units. The Ionian tribes Boreis and Oinopes are attested only in Anatolia (and colonies); Delos is the only island that may have had the same 4 Ionian tribes as Athens (Vial 1984, ch. 2). Hellanikos *FGH* 4 F 125 makes Boros the great-great-grandfather (FFF) of Melanthos, and a distant descendant of Aiolos. The Dorian record is rather more consistent. In some forced migrations one male was taken from each household, which would have spread pre-existing tribe names (Thera, M/L 5; Heurgon 1956 for Rome), but this degree of formal organization was probably unusual in Greece.

friendship or rivalry; for the mobile individual, clans and age sets classify members of other communities as marriageable or not, senior, coeval, or junior. Greeks in the eighth and seventh centuries were clearly interested in genealogy as a way of organizing knowledge, and the use of genealogy as a basis for claiming alliance continued even into the Hellenistic period (Curty 1995; Giannisi 2006; L. E. Patterson 2010). But they had no rules of group exogamy, and the formalization of an age-class system at Sparta seems to have been a relatively late development. The names of the tribal eponyms—with the exception of the Dorian Pamphyloi, suggesting a residual category—were not etymologically transparent, and (apart from Hyllos, attracted into stories of Herakles) no mythical narratives were attached to them. A few straws in the wind might suggest connection to epithets of the gods, but there are hardly any later indications of a division of cultic responsibilities among tribes;⁹ in Attika, at least, the systematization of rights to appoint priests developed through the *genê* (ch. 20) and not the tribes. Perhaps all we can say is that a form of social organization that has amphiktyonic characteristics was thoroughly transformed by being adapted to the context of the emerging city-state.

Places

The process modern scholars call ‘the rise of the polis’ was not a simple matter of larger and more prestigious settlements subjugating smaller ones and establishing territorial boundaries. The boundaries of cultic and political catchment areas never wholly coincided, and this distinction of function was itself the product of the process of development of the polis. The foundation of new cities that had to assert claims to land use against non-Greek neighbours—first in Anatolia and later in the west, the northern coast of the Aegean, the Black Sea and the channels leading to it—clearly influenced concepts of the relation between community and territory.

On the mainland, poleis defined their identities and boundaries in a landscape that was already settled by gods as well as men (Jameson 2004). Here too the sites that prospered as amphiktyonic centres were sometimes poor in agricultural land.¹⁰

⁹ Dorian Hylleis possibly with Zeus Syllanios and Athena Syllania (Plut. *Lyk.* 6); Ionian Aigikoreis with Athena; Hopletes just conceivably with Arkadian/Achaian Zeus Hoplosmios and Hera Hoplosmia (Hoplodmia). Cf. Arena 1996 no. 19. On Zeus Geleon see n. 52 below. Separate sacrifices by the 3 Dorian tribes on Kos in *IG* xii 4. 1. 278 (R/O 62 C, *LS* 151 C, shortly after 366). Mantinea has tribe names related to cult (N. F. Jones 1987, 134), but they do not recur. On Dymanes in W. Lokris see Jones, 81.

¹⁰ See A. M. Miller 1986 on the explanation given by the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* (51–60, 257–71, 529–30) of Apollo’s choice of infertile sites. The *Hymn* belongs to the 7th or 6th c. (Chappell 2011; the early 6th c. date in Janko 1982 for the Pythian section seems to be derived from the date for the First Sacred War, which did not necessarily mark the beginning of friction between the sanctuary and neighbouring towns); but see also N. Richardson 2010. The small island Despotiko (Kouragios 2005*a–b*, 2009; *AR* 2014–15, 20) is a new example. Cf. Jameson 2004 for a distinction between numinous and constructed sanctuary sites.

The island now called Poros, on the south side of the Saronic gulf, home to the Kalaurian amphiktyony with its cult of Poseidon, had a magnificent harbour but little else.¹¹ Delphi was a mountainside site. But other religious centres, such as Olympia and Eleusis, were set in fertile plains.

It was not obvious from the start that some sites were destined to become religious centres and others were destined for statehood. In the pre- or proto-polis stage, cult must have been in all settlements an important source of prestige and focus of social interaction.¹² The elite legitimized their power and privileges, at least in part, by providing victims for sacrifice and distributing meat to the rest of the community.¹³ They also competed with each other in games, at sanctuaries as well as on private occasions (funerals, weddings), and they dedicated cauldrons and tripods to the gods as well as giving them to their peers. Sacred sites marked levels of social organization along a scale ranging from local collaboration between small hill villages to the sanctuary that sent heralds far and wide to announce its festivals.¹⁴ The result was a pattern of overlapping circles of social interaction rather than a map in which land was unambiguously divided by the boundaries of territorial states.

There were two contradictory trends in the development of Greek communities. One was exclusive, tending towards a sharper distinction between insiders and outsiders and, eventually, the development of the concept of citizenship; the other was inclusive, aiming at attracting periodic visitors and, in its most developed form, leading to the concept of initiation. As ambitions grew, the tensions between these divergent trends became problematic. Attempts to resolve the contradictions took a variety of forms, depending on local circumstances.¹⁵ Where an amphiktyonic centre was strongly established in an area in which the surrounding settlements were relatively weak and approximately equal in size and resources, two local communities might compete for control (Elis), or more distant communities with an interest in preserving the extraterritorial neutrality of the sanctuary might intervene to prevent annexation by a rising local polis

¹¹ Cf. n. 6. T. Kelly's view (1966) that this was a political union based on fear of Argive expansion seems to me unlikely.

¹² Cult, myth, and material symbols of sacred power (natural features or Mycenaean remains: on the latter see Antonaccio 1994*b*, 1995) reinforced each other as sources of prestige. Success in war at both individual and community level must also have played a role, although Van Wees 1992 suggests that the Homeric poems exaggerate its salience.

¹³ Victims were also collected from the community: see *Od.* 3. 4–8, and below n. 71.

¹⁴ On village-level amphiktyonies in Attika (e.g. the Hekalesia) see ch. 22 at n. 91; on heralds, Giovannini 1969, Nachtergaele 1975. There is increasing evidence that smiths travelled to work at amphiktyonic festivals (see e.g. C. Morgan 1993).

¹⁵ The contradiction was never entirely resolved, and resurfaced in new forms in the Hellenistic period, when states that had lost political autonomy redefined themselves as centres for initiation into Greek culture. Cf. J. K. Davies 2008.

(Delphi).¹⁶ Where, however, an amphiktyonic centre was located close to a powerful and ambitious polis, a different kind of symbiotic relationship had to be established. This happened eventually in the case of the Argive Heraion,¹⁷ and probably earlier at Eleusis. Athens incorporated the inhabitants of the Eleusinian plain and the surrounding valleys into her tribal system and—perhaps more significantly—recognized the right of the Eleusinian aristocracy to hold office at Athens; but she left the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Eleusinian hands and did not interfere with (perhaps even supported) the embassies in which Eleusis invited all Greeks to attend the Mysteries, and requested other cities to observe a truce while the pilgrims were travelling.¹⁸

The polis was an ‘imagined community’ (B. Anderson 1983; cf. Chatterjee 1993). During the period in which polis identities were constructed and frontiers were defined, community leaders, with the help of poets, engaged in intensive dialogue about historical traditions¹⁹ and cultural boundaries. Genealogies and stories were used to map descent and alliances; mountain ranges that closed visual horizons and impeded communications became cultural as well as political frontiers, separating Dorians and Ionians from each other and from other, less sharply defined ethnic groupings. In the case of Attika, although there were certainly cultic continuities between Megara, Eleusis, and Salamis,²⁰ extension of the Parnes range to the sea between Eleusis and Megara formed a more impressive natural barrier than the ridge that separated the plain of Athens from that of Eleusis. The boundaries of Attika came to be seen as marking a division between Ionians and non-Ionians—although, as we shall see, problems of definition and

¹⁶ Hdt. 6. 127, *FGH* 70 F 118 on the struggle between Elis and Pisa over the Olympic sanctuary and games (cf. also Jeffery 1976, 166–9; Demand 1990, 64–5; C. Morgan 1993). The historicity of the First Sacred War over Delphi has been questioned (N. D. Robertson 1978; Polignac 2009, 440) but see J. K. Davies 1994*b*, 2007; Rousset 2002, esp. 285.

¹⁷ I cannot here deal with the complexities of the Heraion. It seems possible that the destruction of Asine *c.* 700, *after* which the site developed amphiktyonic functions (Kowalzig 2007), was due to amphiktyonic (Argolid) action. Amphiktyonies, in addition to promoting conditions for war and peace (Lelantine agreement set up at Amarynthos, Str. C 448/10. 1. 12; cf. reference to amphiktyonic sanctuaries in *IG* i³ 104. 28), could engage in war, as e.g. at the Panionion.

¹⁸ Cf. ch. 20 nn. 20, 33, 69, Sourvinou-Inwood 2003*b*; a boundary between Athens and Eleusis was recognized in ritual (more than one? cf. n. 68), but this does not imply that Eleusis had once been a fully developed autonomous polis. Myths of war between Athens and Eleusis translated the contradiction between ritual autonomy and political incorporation into diachronic and military terms. A closer relation was established at least by the mid 7th c. with the construction of the Eleusinion in Athens (*Agora XXXI*). Cf. Baines 2013 s.v. *waystations*.

¹⁹ Including memories of, or legends about, Mycenaean kingdoms.

²⁰ See *FGH* suppl. on 328 F 14–16, on Skiros and Skiras; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 172–4. It appears that when Athens established control over Salamis *c.* 600 the inhabitants were expelled as Megarians and the island resettled from Attika (Plut. *Sol.* 8–10). Athenian settlers retained their ancestral tribe and phratry affiliations.

of the integration of the local elite into the polis continued into the sixth century in the area north of Mt Pentelikon.²¹

The role of the poets in this process of identity construction favoured fluidity. They provided a panhellenic channel for the assertion of competing status claims, without having any final authority to adjudicate between them. Poets claimed their own right to modify traditional stories when inspired to do so; they were also accused of adding lines to traditional poems as a favour to this polis or that. Poems were political: the tyrant Kleisthenes of Sikyon, in the early sixth century, banned rhapsodic performances because the Homeric poems glorified Argos, and transferred the honours previously given to the Argive hero Adrastus to his traditional enemy Melanippos.²² The odes of Bacchylides and Pindar represent a late stage in this kaleidoscopic process of assertion and counter-assertion of claims to prestige (see Kowalzig 2007). New ingredients were also added to the mix in the kaleidoscope; after Drakon had formulated written rules for handling homicide disputes in the late seventh century, the Athenians evidently felt no incongruity in (as we would say) projecting their prestige in this legal sphere back into mythical times.²³

By the sixth century, however, tensions were beginning to appear. The stories told about Kleisthenes of Sikyon, if they date back so far, already indicated a less tolerant attitude.²⁴ By the end of the century prose writers, who claimed a new authority for their work, were attempting to reduce myths and genealogies to order and produce a single coherent narrative of Greek history from Deukalion and the Flood to their own time. It was a difficult task. They were asking questions that had not been raised before, and in doing so brought into focus conflicts and contradictions that had previously lurked unnoticed in the silences between narratives.²⁵

In the course of this process of rationalization historians of Attika had to date the introduction of the tribal system. Since it was a fundamental part of their conception of the state, and was known to be shared by other Ionian states, it was attributed to Ion, who probably had not played much part in Athenian conceptions of identity before the late sixth century. The tribes, it was supposed,

²¹ Eleutherai was not incorporated into the Athenian state (ch. 22 n. 12). On Aphidnai and the Tetrapolis see ch. 21 n. 4. The failure of Thebes to turn Boiotia into a polis-state (cf. Bintliff 1994*b*) presumably has some bearing on the permeability of the north-eastern sector of the Attic–Boiotian boundary. On the hardening of boundaries between dialects see Risch 1991, 237.

²² Hdt. 5. 67. The *Phoronis* presumably belongs to the same process of rivalry.

²³ Humphreys 1991, 32*f.*, 39–40.

²⁴ Models that postulate a period of fluidity and situational adaptation before evidence becomes sufficiently detailed to reveal conflict are always suspect. Nevertheless, the development of prose historiography introduced a new need to decide between conflicting stories, and new criteria of decision.

²⁵ R. Thomas 1989, ch. 3 is fundamental. The systematization of genealogies in writing uncovered discrepancies that were often reconciled by duplication of heroes (a process misunderstood by Broadbent 1968).

were named after his sons: Geleon, Aigikores, Argades, and Hoples.²⁶ As the founder of Athens' civic organization, Ion had to be closely associated with the city's founder-king Erechtheus. However, the connection of the Ionians with the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos and with celebration of the Apatouria, a festival of Apollo, had made Ion a son of Apollo. The two strands of tradition were reconciled by stories that Ion was a foreigner who came to Athens and married Erechtheus' daughter, or that he was son of Erechtheus' daughter by Apollo or Xouthos.²⁷ There were, however, further problems. Tradition, and the ritual of the Synoikia (see n. 43), associated the foundation of the Athenian state with Theseus rather than with Erechtheus and Ion. This problem was solved by the story that the four sons of Erechtheus' successor Pandion had quarrelled and divided their inheritance. Theseus had reunited three of the resulting kingdoms to give Attika its classical boundaries.²⁸

ANCIENT SCHEMES

The Athenaion Politeia

The author of the Aristotelian *Constitution of Athens* (*A.P.*) presents a later development in the relations between Ion and Theseus. He describes modifications introduced by Theseus, and then summarizes the structure which he probably attributed to Ion: four tribes, twelve 'trittyes and phratries', and 360 genê, to each of which thirty men were allocated (the term is *tetagmenous*). Theseus' contribution was to distinguish the Eupatridai (nobles), from two other status groups: *gêómoroi* or *gêórgoi* (landowners, farmers), and *dêmiourgoi* (craftsmen).²⁹

²⁶ This is the order given by Hdt. 5. 66 and seems to be the canonical Ionian order (N. F. Jones 1987), perhaps implying a connection of Hopletes to **hoplos*, young (*LSJ* s.v. *hoploteros* does not mention *methoplotatê* in M. Davies 1988, 146, *Carmen Naupactium* F 1). Eur. *Ion* 1575–81 has Geleion, Hoplos, Argades, Aigikores (perhaps influenced by metrical factors); Pollux 8. 108 has Teleontes, Hopletes, Aigikoreis, Argadeis; Plut. *Sol.* 5 has Hopletes, Argadeis, Teleontes, Aigikoreis. Folk etymologies that associated Geleontes (var. Teleontes) with divinity or priesthood, or with Ge, Hopletes with infantry, Aigikoreis with herding, and Argadeis with crafts (cf. Str. 383/8. 7. 1, and perhaps Pl. *Tim.* 24 a–b), may have influenced conceptions of ranking. A late Roman deme called Ergadeis, Traill 1975a, 114. Note cults of Zeus and of Hera Hoplosmios/ê in Arcadia, Jones 1987, 134 (above, n. 9). *Koinon* of Geleontes at Claros, 3rd c. BCE, Rousset 2014a, 2014b; *patra* of Geleontes on Thasos, Grandjean 2013, 258–61.

²⁷ Hdt. 8. 44; Eur. *Ion*; *FGH* 328 F 13 with comm; Wilamowitz 1893 II 136–8, 1926. Jacoby (on *FGH* 323 F 19) thinks that schol. Eur. *Medea* 19 is confused.

²⁸ Philochoros, *FGH* 328 F 107–8 with comm. This story included claims that Pandion had controlled the Megarid, which Nisos then lost to Minos of Crete. See below at nn. 43–51 on the Twelve Towns.

²⁹ Good discussion of this account (fr. 2–3) and its possible philosophical connections in Lambert 1993, Appendix 2; cf. Blok and Lambert 2009. N. D. Robertson 1992 takes the implausible view that tribes and trittyes were the same, and consisted of 3 phratries per unit. However, *A.P.* or its source might well have thought that the number of phratries had increased since the time of Ion/Theseus (it is most unlikely that there were only 12 phratries in the 4th c.).

I have argued above that *A.P.*'s source got his Theseian status groups from terms used in political conflict at the time of Solon's reforms, which had made their way into the archon list (ch. 1). Did he have any equally reliable source for his tribal system?

He did not derive it directly from experience. It is inconceivable that classical Athens had 360 *genê*, and almost certain that there were more than 12 phratries (Lambert 1993, 379). The evident relation of these numbers to the calendar is cause for suspicion. Moreover, it is rather unlikely that the equation of pre-Kleisthenic trittyes with phratries was widely accepted. Comparison with the Kleisthenic system was more likely to suggest an equation between phratries and demes.³⁰

Experience, however, was not likely to exercise much restraint over historical reconstruction in such matters. There were probably small sanctuaries in most parts of Attika which had once been controlled by now defunct *genê*, or had names suggesting *genos* ownership.³¹ Some phratries may have given their names to Kleisthenic trittyes (Epakreis). There were fewer phratries than demes, and thus phratries were larger than many demes, though not all. There may have been some fission or fusion of phratries after Kleisthenes' reforms, justifying speculation that their number had changed.³² While the pre-Kleisthenic tribes retained some ritual functions in the classical period, it is not clear that more than one trittys did so (below, n. 103). Disappearance of the other trittyes may well have favoured the view that tribe, phratry, and *genos* were the units of the pre-Kleisthenic system.

The question, then, is whether *A.P.*'s source had some evidence linked to the pre-Kleisthenic period, or drew his inspiration from another direction.

J. H. Oliver (1980) claimed that *A.P.* transmitted a scheme genuinely used in military organization in the sixth century. The idea of an army divided into four regiments, twelve companies, and 360 platoons, each consisting of 30 men, is in itself possible enough.³³ Indeed, one is immediately reminded of the Spartan army, which in the classical period seems to have been divided into *morai* and *enômotiai*, each of the latter containing about 40 men; the relation of the enomotiai to dining groups (*syssitia*) is uncertain.³⁴ This comparison, however, is cause for disquiet rather than reassurance, both because *genos* would be an unlikely

³⁰ We only know one pre-Kleisthenic trittys name, Leukotainioi, and there is little reason to suppose that it was also the name of a phratry (there was however a phratry G(e)leontis); ch. 19 n. 6.

³¹ Cf. ch. 20 n. 45 on the Sôtidai of Erchia, etc.

³² Cf. chs. 20 on Salaminioi, 19 nn. 171, 160, on Dyaleis and on the (probably Lykourgan) restrictions on admission of new citizens to phratries.

³³ Oliver's scheme is however more complex, with 30 *genê* distributed across tribes and trittyes, 30 members of each *genos* in each trittys.

³⁴ Singor (1999, 2002) suggests that the archaic enomotia contained 3 syssitia of about 15 men each, the classical enomotia one syssition plus perioikoi. See Van Wees 2006*b*.

name for a group resembling the Spartan *enomotia*³⁵ and because claims that Athens' institutions in the remote past had resembled those of Sparta suggest utopian discourse rather than parallel development in the archaic period. Moreover, a tribal system and army organized along these lines would perhaps hardly have seemed to need reorganization in 508/7. Oliver did not explain how *A.P.* would have got its information, and his views have not attracted much support.

A more plausible interpretation of *A.P.* can be found by looking in a different direction. There is a striking coincidence between *A.P.*'s scheme and an account of a polis constitution found in a papyrus of c.270 BCE (*PHibeh* 28). The city of this text has 5 tribes, 6 demes (12 per tribe) and 720 phratries (12 per deme); two of the phratries performed some function, probably cultic, on each day of the year.³⁶ When the papyrus was first published, it was thought to provide a description of one of the Greek poleis in Egypt, but Stephanie West (1983) has formulated strong arguments for regarding it as part of an utopian text.

Speculation based on numbers found in contemporary Greek constitutions, constitutional reforms introducing new numerical proportions and symmetries, and utopian texts making use of such schemes, are all found in antiquity. The stoic philosopher Sphaيروس suggested that the Spartans elected 28 elders to their council because 28 is a perfect number;³⁷ Plato chose 5040 as the number of households in the utopian city of his *Laws* partly because it is divisible by all numbers up to 10 and by 12 (771c); several Greek cities introduced, at dates we cannot pin down, tribal subdivisions called 'thousands', 'hundreds', and 'fifties', which presumably at least at the time of introduction contained a corresponding number of members. Others gave their tribal subdivisions names of fractions (Kos had 'ninths'). Ehrenberg (1960, ch. I ii) considered such arrangements to be an early feature of the East Greek states, but reorganizations in the late sixth or early fifth century cannot be ruled out.³⁸

Plato's city, in the *Laws*, was to have twelve tribes, equal in size and wealth, each of which was to be responsible for the cult of one of the twelve Olympians (771d). They were to be subdivided into phratries, demes, and villages (*kômai*), which would serve as military units (746d), and would have their own patron gods, spirits, or heroes (738d). Each tribe will honour its own Olympian every

³⁵ *Genos* suggests filiation, which is not a suitable basis of recruitment for equal-sized units of c.30 men. An *enomotia* was an oath group.

³⁶ The editors suggested that the paired phratries provided prytaneis, which is possible on the Attic model (daily duty in the Tholos), but if the text is utopian the parallel with Plato's *Laws* suggests cult.

³⁷ Plut. *Lyk.* 5. 12–13; the point about perfect numbers is not printed as part of Sphaيروس F 629 *SVF* (I p. 142), but since it comes between the Sphaيروس quotation and Plutarch's own view it seems to belong to Sphaيروس.

³⁸ Details in N. F. Jones 1987. In the later 5th c. imitation of Athenian institutions perhaps became more common.

month,³⁹ and there are to be at least 365 festivals during the course of the year, to ensure that at least one public official is offering sacrifice every day (828 a–b).

It would not be difficult for an admirer of Plato who wanted to give his account of Attic prehistory an idealizing cast to move from this sketch to *A.P.*'s scheme. Plato had not explained in detail how his religious calendar would be worked out, and the fact that his mathematical interests committed him to a 365-day year would have created some difficulties had he tried to do so. But there was surely no problem in assuming that the length of the year had not been correctly ascertained in the days of Ion. *A.P.*'s source also had a less free hand than the author or source of *PHibeh* 28, since in reconstructing early Athenian institutions he was committed to the figure four for his tribes. But the three texts—Plato's *Laws*, *A.P.*, and *PHibeh* 28—seem to bear a strong family resemblance.

If we look for an Atthidographer who admired Plato and could have been used by *A.P.*, the name of Phanodemos immediately comes to mind. His account of early Athenian history was much fuller than that of his predecessor Androtion, whom *A.P.* certainly used; it probably appeared in the 330s, and could therefore have been used by *A.P.*, who was still working on his text in 329. Phanodemos was an associate of Plato's pupil Lykourgos; he was prepared to treat traditions in a cavalier fashion in order to produce a rational and edifying narrative; he was patriotic; there are other signs of interest in phratries and *genê* during the Lykourgan period.⁴⁰

If we reject the account given by *A.P.*, we must conclude that there was little valid historical tradition about the pre-Kleisthenic tribal system left in Athens by the fourth century. The man in the street may have known that *phylobasileis*, 'tribal kings', were still appointed to represent the four old tribes, and some may have known the tribes' names. Those interested in proverbial expressions may have known that *mê phylokrinein*, 'don't split hairs', was derived from criticism of those who continued to take an interest in membership of the old tribes after Kleisthenes' reforms;⁴¹ these would presumably have been men interested in

³⁹ Plato is probably here building on the idea that certain days of the month were sacred to particular deities: cf. Mikalson 1975.

⁴⁰ See Humphreys 1985*a*, 214–15; chs. 19–20. In Phanodemos *FGH* 325 F 5 the daughter of Hoples (tribal eponym, son of Ion) marries Theseus' father Aigeus; it is somewhat surprising that the link between Ion and Theseus is made through Hoples rather than Geleon, but the link shows an interest in relating the 'Ionian' tribes to the Synoikia, and Pl. *Krit.* 112 had conflated Geleontes and Hopletes into a single guardian class. The influence of Plato's versions of early Athenian history deserves further study. Phanodemos will have had to make some compromises between utopian theory and Attic tradition, which cannot be fully reconstructed on the basis of the *A.P.* fragments, and which may well have left some inconsistencies.

⁴¹ *A.P.* 21. 2, cf. ch. 20 n. 60; *exetazein ta genê* means 'examine descent'. It is not clear whether *A.P.* implies the interpretation suggested here. The suggestion of David 1986 (judgement *by* tribes) is philologically unacceptable; a reference to ethnicity (Strauss 1994) seems improbable. Brulé 1996 links the 4 oxen on the N side of the Parthenon frieze with the 4 old tribes, but see R. Parker 2005*a* ch. 12.

holding the office of *phylobasileus*, which probably came to be restricted de facto, if not *de jure*, to men who claimed Eupatrid status.⁴² One could perhaps have discovered even in the late fourth century, with some research, the tribal affiliation of each phratry in the old system; but no one was interested in doing so.

Before we take a more detailed look at the evidence for the pre-Kleisthenic system, such as it is, we should consider other Athenian ideas about Attic society in the archaic period.

The Twelve Towns

In the first place, the conception of Theseus' 'synoikism', preserved by the festival called *Synoikia* in which the tribal kings played a role, was associated with claims that the older Attic towns had been autonomous until Theseus unified them. By the early third century there was a list of twelve of these towns, given by Philochoros (*FGH* 328 F 94): Kekropia (Athens itself), Tetrapolis, Epakria, Dekeleia, Eleusis, Aphidnai, Thorikos, Brauron, Kytherros, Sphettos, Kephisia, and perhaps Tetrakomoi (Phaleron, Peiraios, Xypete, and Thymaitadai).⁴³

Attempts have been made to link the towns of this list with the distribution of Mycenaean remains in Attika, but they are not very persuasive. We cannot locate all the towns, and there are some obvious discrepancies; for example, Acharnai (Menidhi) and Aixone (Alike Glyphadas), both sites of tholos-tombs known in antiquity, do not appear on the list; nor does Lamptrai (Kiapha Thiti), where there was cult in classical times on the Mycenaean akropolis; it is not clear whether Perati, a substantial Mycenaean settlement on the east coast, should be linked with Brauron, Kytherros, or neither.⁴⁴

An attempt to link the Twelve Towns with Dark Age archaeological material fares no better. There may have been continuous settlement from Mycenaean times at Eleusis, Marathon, and Thorikos, as well as round the Akropolis; any

⁴² Pollux 8. 111 says that the phylobasileis were Eupatridai, Hsch. merely that they were chosen (*hairetoi*) from the tribes. The representation of the 30 Roman *curiae* in late Republican assemblies by 30 lictors (Cic. *de leg. agr.* 2. 12. 31) may provide a parallel to the continuing representation of the 4 pre-Kleisthenic tribes by phylobasileis (cf. Flament 2010; Cornell 1995, 114–18 on the early Roman tribes and curiae), as may the phratry representation at the Spartan Karneia as reported by Demetrios of Skepsis (Athen. 4. 141f., from the slightly older Sosibios *FGH* 595, c.250–150?). The tradition that Boutes was son of Teleon or Geleon (Wilamowitz 1893 II 136 n. 18) implies that the Eteoboutadai belonged to Geleontis.

⁴³ Tetrakomoi suggested, partly for palaeographic reasons, by Jacoby *FGH* III B ad loc. Wilamowitz 1893 II 143 suggested Mounichia. Some reference to the Phaleron area seems to be required (cf. N. D. Robertson 1992, 70). On Epakria see chs. 19 n. 16, 21 nn. 133, 137–9. Against Flament 2010 one must insist that the Synoikia united tribes, trittyes, and phratries, not city-based Eupatridai.

⁴⁴ Evidence for cult at prehistoric tombs in Attika is collected in Antonaccio 1995, 102–26, cf. Whitley 1988; for Lamptrai (Kiapha Thiti) see Hagel and Lauter 1987, Lohmann 2010a. On Kytherros, Traill 1986. In the Kleisthenic system the remains of Perati seem to have lain in the territory of Steiria.

Athenian asked about old towns, of any period, could have hit on these three names, for a variety of reasons.⁴⁵ Beyond this we are quickly in difficulties, due at least in part to lack of early archaeological interest in pottery without figured decoration.⁴⁶

The problem with the list is not so much what it includes as what it omits. We can understand that Brauron, with its prestigious sanctuary of Artemis, was felt to be old, though archaeological evidence does not seem to reach back beyond the ninth century. But why not Pallene, home of the league of Athena Pallenis? or Prasiai, from which the sacred embassies left to visit Delos? Why Kephisia rather than Phlya (more prestigious) or Acharnai (bigger)?⁴⁷ And so forth.

Dekeleia was the home of a phratry, and there may have been a phratry Epakreis (ch. 19 n. 16), but there were phratries based in Paiania, Myrrhinous, and Alopeke, none of which appear in the list.

Perhaps we should take the association with Theseus more seriously. Although the names do not appear in geographical sequence, the list could be divided equally between the three kingdoms unified by Theseus: Dekeleia, Epakria, Aphidna, and Tetrapolis north of Pentelikon; Brauron, Kytherros, Thorikos, and Sphettos south of Pentelikon and east of Hymettos; Kekropia, Kephisia, Tetrakomoi (?) and Eleusis west of Hymettos. Sources on Pandion's sons say that Lykos took the Diakria (northern Attika) as his share, Pallas the coast, and Aigeus Athens and its plain.⁴⁸ The coincidence of these descriptions with the list of Twelve Towns (which may have existed in more than one version) is not perfect, but in the case of the northern kingdom it is striking.

The story of Pandion's sons seems to be at home in the late seventh or early sixth century, when Athens was at war with Megara over Salamis and Athenian politics was dominated by rivalry between three factions, called the men of the plain, the men of the coast, and the men from beyond the hills.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ N. D. Robertson's attempt to identify the Twelve Towns with 12 phratries (1992) runs into serious difficulties. It is more likely that the number 12 came from the pre-Kleisthenic trittyes.

⁴⁶ Cf. ch. 10 at nn. 36–50, on subgeometric; D'Onofrio 1995; Mersch 1996; Lemos 2002 for 'Dark Age' data; Scheidel 2003 on the problems of using reported pottery finds as evidence for demography.

⁴⁷ There was a fairly prominent sanctuary of Kephisos at Phaleron (*IG* ii² 4547–8; A. Williams 2015), and it is just conceivable that Kephisia here stands for Phaleron, in view of the absence of other towns in the Attic plain. This type of reference, however, is characteristic of antiquarian poetry (Euphorion, Kallimachos), and it is usually assumed that the poets depend on Philochoros rather than vice versa.

⁴⁸ *FGH* 328 F 107. Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 58 says that Aigeus got the area round the city, as far as the Pythion; the westernmost Pythion known to us is that of the Kephallidai at Dafni, which would leave Eleusis in Megarian territory, a problematic view. N. D. Robertson 1992, 68–70, has a different distribution. For possible relations with Kleisthenic trittyes see ch. 21 n. 3. On Pandion and Megara see also Schachter 1998, 27–8.

⁴⁹ *FGH* 328 F 107–8. Hyperakrioi in Hdt. 1. 59. 3; Diakrioi in *A.P.* 13. 4 and Plut. *Sol.* 13. 2, 29. 1; Epakrioi in Plut. *Mor.* 763d. See *LGP*N s.v. for use of the name Pedieus in the 6th–5th c.

There is one major problem: the dialogue *Hipparchos* attributed to Plato and probably written in the early fourth century, which seems quite well informed, says that Peisistratos came from Brauron, which on my hypothesis belongs to the coast rather than the area ‘beyond the hills’.⁵⁰ However, epigraphic evidence now suggests very strongly that the term Diakria points to the northern area and cannot be interpreted as meaning ‘beyond Hymettos’.⁵¹ We might in any case suppose that Peisistratos’ link with the ‘men beyond the hills’ was forged after he had quarrelled with Megakles, leader of the coastal faction.

I suggest, then, that the list of the Twelve Towns was developed in connection with the story of Pandion’s sons, the division of Attika, and its reunification by Theseus. It was an appropriate story for Peisistratos, champion of the marginal areas of the north, and at least some of the towns may have been selected because he had connections or support in them, although others (Eleusis, Thorikos) figured because they were too obvious to be omitted. In any case, the list is not a reliable guide to earlier history.

Calendars

Our only first-hand evidence for the pre-Kleisthenic tribes and trittyes comes from two fragments of a sacrificial calendar inscribed during the codification of law undertaken in Athens during the period 410–399 (*SEG* 52. 48 + 57. 64).⁵² The principal fragment at least came from a section of the text devoted to festivals in which offerings were determined by a biennial cycle, and thus does not provide a complete picture of the state’s ritual activity for the period it covers. It shows, however, that the four tribal kings (phylobasileis), the tribe Geleontis, and the trittys Leukotainiai (White Ribbons), still had ritual functions at the end of the fifth century.

The codifying commission cited the sources from which it took its information: the sacrifices ‘listed by month’, those ‘not on a fixed day’, those ‘of the phylobasileis’, and finally ‘the *stélai*’. This suggests that it had access to one or more earlier sacrificial calendars, perhaps supplemented by a comprehensive list

⁵⁰ *Hipp.* 228 b ; cf. Plut. *Sol.* 10. 3. On the date of *Hipp.* see Souilhé 1930*a*, who thinks Thuc. contradicts *Hipp.* on the death of Hipparchos; the relationship may rather be the other way round, but a date close to the publication of Thuc. seems quite possible.

⁵¹ Chs. 19 n. 16, 21 n. 133 on Epakria; Traill 1986. An association of the Mesogeia with the coastal kingdom is indicated by the connections of Pallas, and his sons the Pallantidai, with Pallene, Sphettos (base of the Pallantidai in Plut. *Thes.* 3. 7. 13, etc.), Hagnous, and Gargettos. Theseus defeats the Pallantidai in the area of Pallene, where Peisistratos defeated his opponents, who included Megakles and the men of the coast.

⁵² Lambert 2002*b*. A priest of Zeus Geleon (and of Ares Enyalios and Enyo) from Hagnous (*LGPN* s.v. Maximos) in *IG* ii² 1072, 116/7 CE. On the view of Papazarkadas 2007*b* that the Epakreis of *IG* ii² 2490 were a pre-Kleisthenic trittys see ch. 21 n. 138.

of occasional rituals (performed, for example, to avert pollution or portents). Since the text is very fragmentary, there may have been additional sources. On present evidence, however, Athens does not seem to have made a systematic practice of recording the ritual duties and perquisites of magistrates.⁵³ It is possible, therefore, that the *phylobasileis*' list was drawn up at the time of Kleisthenes' reforms, or at some subsequent date when it was felt necessary to clarify the division of ritual responsibilities between old and new tribes.⁵⁴

The *phylobasileis* were concerned with the celebration of the *Synoikia* on *Hekatombaion* 15–16, and with a sacrifice to *Erechtheus*, on (?) *Thargelion* 5.⁵⁵ This was a period of transition from one year to another, *Thargelion* and *Skirophorion* being the last two months of the old year and *Hekatombaion* the first of the new year.

Written calendars imposed a linear timeframe reckoned in lunar months on ritual rhythms whose practical logic was orientated to social contexts, agricultural work, and star time (see Bourdieu 1980, II. 3). Ritual gave form to these rhythms, built on their self evidence, heightened their naturalness, re-presented them as matters of concern. The relation of ritual and practical activities is metonymic rather than metaphoric; parallel and dialogic, not causal.⁵⁶

⁵³ I.e. lists of obligations and perquisites are organized by month and deity, not by office; this is also the case in the demes. See R. Parker 1996, ch. 4.

⁵⁴ Cf. the stele recording the responsibilities of the *Areiopagos* in homicide cases (*Lys.* 1. 30), perhaps set up in 461 (Humphreys 1991, n. 54), and *IG* i³ 7 (ch. 20 n. 78).

⁵⁵ In *SEG* 52. 48 A fr. I col. III the sacrifice to *Erechtheus* on the 5th of an unknown month is followed by a sacrifice to *Athena* 'from the sacrifices without a fixed date' on the 6th; below a line on the stone, in a different hand (J. H. Oliver 1935), we have provisions for the *Pythais*. This embassy to consult the Delphic oracle (prompted by the omen of lightning 'over the *Harma*') could take place at any time during a three-month period; in 355, it left after *Thargelion* 7 and had not returned by the date at which the deme *Leukonoion* admitted new members (*Is.* 7. 15, 27–8), which may have been as late as *Metageitnion* 12 (ch. 22 n. 109; N. D. Robertson 1992, 111–12; A. Chankowski 2014. The speaker of *Is.* 7 was also appointed *gymnasiarch* for 355/4, § 36, but need not have been present in person when nominated). Boethius 1918 dates the *Pythais* to *Thargelion*, but we can really only say that on general grounds the year-transition period *Thargelion*–*Skirophorion*–*Hekatombaion* seems likely. The *ephors* in *Sparta* watched towards the end of the civil year (*Plut. Ages.* 11. 2–5); the *Tetrapolis* probably sacrificed to *Apollo Apotropaios* on *Hekatombaion* [7], which might suggest that their own signwatchers (n. 61; ch. 20 n. 49) ended (or held) their vigil on that date. Dates in Athens and the *Tetrapolis* need not have been exactly harmonized, but the rituals should belong to approximately the same time of year. However, the *Pythais* provisions extend over two columns, so their relation to the dates above them is unclear.

⁵⁶ I.e. the coincidence of rituals with turning points in the agricultural, stellar, and civil years is part of the way time is experienced and thought about. The coincidences of star movements, seasons, work rhythms, etc., confer naturalness on temporal categories, and innovations (in ritual or political institutions) seem 'right' when they fit, extend, and enrich the system of coincidences (cf. Baines 2013, 212–13 on Egypt). Although we may occasionally be able to date innovations, we should not assume that any one level of experience (stellar, agricultural, civic) has priority over others either in historical or in cultural terms. Cf. Humphreys 2004, ch. 6. N. D. Robertson 2010 has much interesting material on calendars but privileges agricultural dates. Rather than stressing that there is no 'natural' New Year (R. Parker

Starting from social categories and practical logic, we can deconstruct the year-end rituals of Athens into three parallel sequences, only loosely articulated with each other. One belongs to the whole community; one to the women who tend Athena on the Akropolis; the third to the male office-holders who represent the city.

If the sacrifice to Erechtheus on *SEG* 52. 48 is correctly dated to Thargelion 5, it starts the whole process. The representatives of the community, the phylobasileis, are involved in honouring the mythical king of the Akropolis and founder of the state.⁵⁷ On Thargelion 6 the eponymous archon, Erechtheus' living representative, purified the community by driving out two human scapegoats, 'one for the men and one for the women'.⁵⁸ On the same date there was a sacrifice to Athena; the watchers⁵⁹ took up station, perhaps on the 7th, in the shrine of Pythian Apollo. It was their duty to watch the sky over the saddle of Mt Parnes (the Harma) for three days and nights in each of three months; if they saw lightning, an embassy (the Pythais) was sent to Delphi. On the following day Apollo was honoured by tribal choruses singing in competition.⁶⁰

The meaning of these provisions is clarified by comparison with Sparta, where the tribal headmen may have got their name, *ephoroi*, from their duty to watch the sky for shooting stars once every eight years (Engelmann and Merkelbach 1971). If a star was seen, the two kings were suspended from office while an embassy was sent to Olympia or Delphi to ask how they had offended the gods, and what action should be taken.⁶¹ Driving out the *pharmakoi* was not enough. At the end of each period of office (or, where office was lifelong, each eight-year

2005*a*, 194–5)—the variation in Greek civic New Year dates would already show this—we need to think of the civic New Year, when introduced (in association with annual magistracies?), as gradually but never entirely superseding in importance other ritually marked annual cycles (cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 148–9). For comparative material see Proulx 2011, 164; Baines 2013, 212–13.

⁵⁷ The phylobasileis apparently get perquisites from the sacrifice to Erechtheus, although they do not pay for the victim. *IG* i³ 232 *A* *may* have references to Erechtheus, phylobasileis, and Dipolieia, but all are very uncertain.

⁵⁸ Burkert 1985, 82–4. His analysis of the year-end rituals (V 2. 2) starts only with the Arrhephoria.

⁵⁹ R. Parker 2005*a*, 85–6. We do not know who they were, and I hesitate to claim that in the classical period this was one of the responsibilities of the phylobasileis, although the parallel with the Spartan ephors supports the idea. In the Tetrapolis watching for omens was a *genos* responsibility (ch. 20 n. 49). N. D. Robertson 2010, much concerned with lightning, does not discuss these watchers.

⁶⁰ In the classical period tribes were paired for this competition, which might suggest that it existed in pre-Kleisthenic times: a change from 4 to 5 choirs rather than 4 to 10. However, since the Thargelia probably only lasted 2 days (R. Parker 2005*a*, 481), the pairing might be due to time constraints—or even conceivably shortage of auletai (tribes were paired for dithyrambic contests also at Eretria, Knoepfler 2010*a*).

⁶¹ Plut. *Agis* 11. 2–5; the solar and lunar calendars coincided every 8 years. The mention of Olympia alongside Delphi as a source of divine guidance suggests a date in the 8th c., when Delphi as the most authoritative oracle in Greece had not yet overtaken Olympia, sanctuary of Zeus, the source of signs from the sky. Etymology, Engelmann and Merkelbach 1971 (*LSJ* s.v. *ouros* B); the term is more usually interpreted as 'overseer' (Richer 1998 accepts that etymology but has a new interpretation of the 'star-watch').

solar cycle) the relation between the community and its office-holders had to be reaffirmed. Zeus judged (cf. Hesiod); but appeal against condemnation could be made to the oracle.

While the watchers took up station, Athenians on Thargelion 7 celebrated the Thargelia in their phratries, in honour of Apollo. They also honoured Demeter Chloe, goddess of the green corn shoots, and ate a vegetable stew made of green corn ears and other plants. They would remain in their villages, driving off birds and animals from the corn as the scapegoats had been driven off from the city,⁶² until the grain harvest was in. The Kronia, a rural festival of reversal and rejoicing, dated to Hekatombaion 12 in the sacrificial calendar, marked the end of the harvest;⁶³ after it farmers would converge on the city to celebrate the Synoikia.

Meanwhile, other rituals were carried out by women and magistrates. On the Akropolis, Athena's rites of transition began at the end of Thargelion with the Plynteria on the 25th, when her clothes and ornaments were washed,⁶⁴ and the Kallynteria at about the same time, when the temple was cleaned. The day of the Plynteria was sinister (Plutarch *Alkibiades* 34. 1). A new (or washed) robe was offered to the goddess, with clean white fleeces, on Thargelion 29, with sacrifices.⁶⁵ Shortly afterwards, perhaps on Skirophorion 2 (Lambert 2002*b*), there was a further sacrifice to Athena, accompanied by a piglet to Kouroutrophos (*SEG* 52. 48 A fr. 3 col. I 24–7); this may coincide with the Arrhephoria, in which two (or four) girls who had served Athena for a year⁶⁶ took something

Divination at Olympia seems to have been the responsibility of seers, the Iamidai and Klytiadai, who interpreted the way the sacrifice burned: Parke 1967; ch. 12 at n. 73.

⁶² Apollo's bow, as well as his association with purification, makes him an appropriate deity for this festival. Foxhall 1995*b*, Thargelion date for the fertilization of fig trees; Calame 1990, 308–10 links the scapegoat ritual to the transition from the dried-fig diet of winter to the fresh foods of spring. On the intense work of the harvest period see Petropoulos 1994.

⁶³ Kronos is armed with a sickle (Parke 1977, 29–30), but season, myth (castration of Ouranos), and ritual seem to have taken diverging paths. See also N. D. Robertson 2010.

⁶⁴ On whether this was a procession and ritual bath of the statue itself, see Burkert 1970*a*, Sourvinou-Inwood 2011.

⁶⁵ *LSS* 10. 5–15; evidently the cleaning process was finished by this time, so it is not problematic that assemblies could be held on this date (Mikalson 1975). This may be the robe put on the statue by the Praxiergidai (*IG* i³ 7, ch. 20 n. 78), who were responsible for the Plynteria (note also the reference to a fleece, *kôidion*, in line 17). The Panathenaia seem to duplicate this ritual. See Sourvinou-Inwood 2011.

⁶⁶ Paus. 1. 27. 3 says there were 2; the lexicographers (R. Parker 2005*a*, 220–3), starting with Harp., say 4, of whom 2 were responsible for beginning the weaving of Athena's *peplos*. They were of good family, and although they were elected the archon basileus had some say in their appointment. If the number 4 indeed played some role in the selection process, they might have been chosen from the pre-Kleisthenic tribes, at least in the 6th c. (Brulé 1987, 207). It was suggested on the basis of sacrifices at Erchia on Skirophorion 3 to Kouroutrophos, Athena Polias, Aglauros, Zeus Polieus, and Poseidon, that this was the day of the Arrhephoria; but Erchia like Thorikos may have celebrated the Plynteria in Skirophorion (N. D. Robertson 1983*a*; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 138–40). The latter argues (29, 36) that the arrhephoroi were associated with Pandrosos rather than Aglauros. See also Robertson 2005.

secret down from the Akropolis in a basket, at night, and brought back something else, equally secret. This marked the end of their period of service.⁶⁷

Women were still prominent in the Skirophoria or Skira, celebrated on Skirophorion 12. The priestess of Athena Polias and priest of Poseidon Erechtheus (both appointed from the *genos* Eteoboutadai) left the Akropolis and processed to Skiron, a place which seems to have marked a ritual boundary between Athens and Eleusis. They sacrificed there to Athena, Poseidon, Demeter, and Kore.⁶⁸ One of the three ritual ploughing ceremonies in Attika took place at Skiron, and threshed grain may have been carried back to the Akropolis in the Skira (N. D. Robertson 1983*a*; 1985, 234). There was also, probably, a relay race of adolescent boys representing their tribes, carrying vine branches with green grapes, from a sanctuary of Dionysos to Skiron; the winner drank a celebratory drink made of wine, flour, cheese, oil, and honey (the *Pentaploa*), and the teams returned to Athens in a joyful *kómos*, presumably accompanying the priest and priestess.⁶⁹ While the gods (represented by their priests) were absent from the city, women celebrated a secret ritual in which they took on the civic roles normally reserved for men. Like the Thesmophoria, the Skira belongs to a complex of rituals and myths in which a break in time is marked by *gynaikokratia*, rule by women, and a reversal of the normal state of affairs.⁷⁰

Two days later an ox was sacrificed to Zeus Polieus in a ritual (the Dipolieia) in which the basileus, phylobasileis, and the *genê* of heralds attached to the Akropolis

⁶⁷ On the ritual see Burkert 1966; N. D. Robertson 1983*a*; Brulé 1987; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 42–6.

⁶⁸ Jacoby, *ad FGH* 328 F 14–16. By Pausanias' day the sacrifice may have been transferred to the sanctuary of the Phytalidai in Lakiadai, near the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis (Paus. 1. 37. 1–2; ch. 20 n. 69). Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 172–4. Note that the suggested boundary-horos between Athens and Eleusis (*PAAH* 1937, 37, rediscovered *AD* 53 B 1, 77) is only an uninscribed stele base (ch. 22 n. 52).

⁶⁹ Jacoby, *loc. cit.*; the relation of Skira and Oskophoria is still controversial (Calame 1990, 144–7 attributes the race to the Oskophoria, without discussing Jacoby's objections; see ch. 19 n. 53). Several elements are common to the two festivals: vine branches, *óschoi* or *oschoi* (associated by lexicographers and perhaps folk etymology with *oschea*, testicles) were carried in procession at the Oskophoria by two adolescent boys dressed as girls (the runners at the Skira may have worn white masks, Ellinger 1978); the *pentaploa* drunk at the Skira resembles the primitive diet of the Pyanopsia, a feast associated with the incorporation of new members into phratries. It may be just worth suggesting that the race at the Skira was introduced or remodelled in response to Kleisthenes' reforms, making use of pre-existing associations between the Skira and the cult of Athena Skiras at Phaleron, to create a doublet of the Oskophoria–Pyanopsia sequence (before Kimon, peculiar to the *genos* Salaminioi? see below, chs. 19–20) situated not at the beginning of the phratry year (Apatouria) but at the beginning of the civil year, when youths of 18 were admitted to demes. N. D. Robertson 1985 postulates sacrifices to Athena and Erechtheus when the Skira procession returns to the city. On ritual ploughings see also N. D. Robertson 1996*b*; R. Parker 2005*a*, 198.

⁷⁰ Burkert 1970*a*; Aristophanes in *Ekkli.* builds on ritual, as in many other plays. In Peiraios women celebrated the Skira in the Thesmophorion, *IG* ii² 1177. Brumfield 1981 suggests that at the Skira threshed grain is deposited in lime-lined pits, but see Foxhall 1995*b*. The restoration of the Skira in *IG* i³ 250. 6 (Paiania) is uncertain (Humphreys 2004, 154 n. 60). Foxhall, *ibid.*, links the plaster to threshing floors (but see R. Parker 2005*a*, 173–7).

played leading roles. The ox selected itself from a set of victims led round the altar (contributed by the four Ionian tribes?),⁷¹ by eating food from the altar. The role of sacrificer was divided between a number of officiants each of whom subsequently refused to take responsibility for the slaughter. The blame was laid on the sacrificial knife, which was solemnly condemned by the basileus and phylobasileis, sitting as a homicide court in the Prytaneion, and was thrown into the sea.

This ritual and the associated myth is, at one level, part of a complex of Greek speculations about the *raison d'être* and history of sacrifice, especially the sacrifice of man's helper the plough ox (Durand 1986). It also, however, stresses the collective character of the act of sacrifice; and in the trial scene, which is unlikely to be earlier than the seventh century (Humphreys 1991), it asserts the authority of the basileus and phylobasileis over the priestly personnel of the Akropolis cults.⁷² Whereas in the Skira it is the priest of Poseidon and the priestess of Athena who represent order in the city, in the Dipolieia judgement is given by city magistrates; and sacrifice is represented not as a transaction between community and deity mediated by priests who receive perquisites in recompense for their expertise, but as an unmediated encounter between a victim which selects itself and the deity. This occlusion of both the economic and the political implications of priesthood is noteworthy. It points to a contradiction in the practice of sacrifice which is also present in the myths about the sacrifice of the first plough ox. If sacrifice is to benefit the community, the community should provide the victims. This happened in Mycenaean Pylos, at least in some cases (PY Cn 3), at the Koan festival of Zeus Polieus (n. 71), and perhaps at the Dipolieia. But taxation for cult purposes was a minor element in Greek religion in the archaic and classical periods, overshadowed in most festivals by the competitive provision of victims by the elite.⁷³ The smallholder was not willing to give up his ox or even one of a pair of oxen (Durand, *op. cit.*). To refuse to do so, however, left the way open for the elite to install themselves in a privileged position as mediators between gods and men. The ritual and myth of the Dipolieia grappled with this contradiction.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Cf. the festival of Zeus Polieus and Hestia on Kos (n. 9), which has often been compared to the Dipolieia: here subdivisions of the citizen body provide oxen from which the victims are chosen by the priest and hieropoioi, who presumably base their judgement on crowd reactions. Cf. ch. 20 n. 28.

⁷² That the first sacrifice is dated in the reign of Erechtheus, in accordance with mythical chronology, lends support to the prominence of the basileus.

⁷³ Until the state took over. Solon, by specifying price and (?) number of victims in his calendar, begins the process by which acts of generosity are transformed into dues required by the state on behalf of the gods; the state probably took on a larger role in providing victims under Peisistratos (cf. also ch. 20 on parasites).

⁷⁴ Hostility to sacrifice is expressed much more clearly in the Zoroastrian Gathas (e.g. Yasnas 46, 51, M. L. West 2010 §§ 8. 13, 32. 14, 44. 20), and may also be present in Isaiah 1. 11–23. Zaeher 1961, 84–8 suggests that it is competitive sacrifice in which large numbers of victims are killed, in order to feed a crowd, to which the Zoroastrian text objects.

Zeus was honoured again late in Skirophorion as Soter, with Athena, in Piraeus and in the city on the last day of the year, but these sacrifices may have been introduced only after the Persian wars (Mikalson 1975). The Hekatombaia, a festival of Apollo probably celebrated on Hekatombaion 7, was prominent in several Ionian cities but not at Athens, where it was perhaps replaced as New Year festival by the Synoikia of Hekatombaion 16.⁷⁵ At this festival the members of the Ionian tribes and phratries, who as we have seen probably celebrated the Kronia in their villages on Hekatombaion 12, were summoned to the city by the proclamation *deur' ite pantes leôî*, 'Come hither, all ye people'. In the pre-Kleisthenic period they perhaps attended an assembly at which new officials were elected and took office.⁷⁶ The festival supposedly commemorated Theseus' synoikism of the state.⁷⁷ According to the list of the phylobasileis (*SEG* 52. 48 A col. II), an elderly sheep was sacrificed on Hekatombaion 15 for⁷⁸ the trittys

⁷⁵ So also N. D. Robertson 1992. It is not clear whether the month-name Hekatombaion was derived from a large sacrifice offered by each community to its presiding deity at the summer solstice, or from a festival associated specifically with Apollo. The Marathon Tetrapolis sacrificed to Apollo on Hekatombaion [7] (*IG* ii² 1358, *LS* 20 A 26, *SEG* 50. 168), and the date Hekatombaion 8 for Theseus' return to Athens in Plut. *Thes.* 12. 2 might suggest a festival around this date (cf. N. D. Robertson 1992). E. Simon 1983 takes Athens' Hekatombaia to be an early form of the Panathenaia. Robertson 1980, 1992, interprets the Karneia, celebrated by Dorian cities in honour of Apollo, as a summer solstice festival, at which leadership is renewed (see Hölkeskamp 1993 on Kyrene; Petterson 1992 is mere speculation), but Plut. *Nik.* 28 and Thuc. 5. 54. 2, 75. 2–76. 1 imply a later date for the Spartan Karneia.

⁷⁶ Whether election and installation could take place at a single meeting depends on the nature of the *dokimasia* procedure in the pre-Kleisthenic period. I tend to think that the Areiopagos scrutinized candidates before election. N. D. Robertson 1992 suggests that *leôî* implies an assembly in arms, abolished by Peisistratos (who would however have allowed a representative show of armed citizens in the Panathenaic procession); we might conceivably link this to the assembly at the Lykeion of *IG* i³ 105.

⁷⁷ Sacrifices to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratría (not apparently, Theseus) should guarantee the antiquity of the festival; it may have become associated with Theseus only in the 6th c., under the influence of Peisistratos. Unification of Attika, especially the north, with which Theseus had well-established links, and continuation of regular elections (Thuc. 6. 54. 6), both figured in his programme; and the restructuring of the Panathenaia in 566 favoured a historicization of the neighbouring Synoikia. Theseus was credited with creation of a single council and *prytaneion*, i.e. the introduction of collegiate, elective office (*pace* Wade-Gery 1958 [1931] 91–7, a prytaneion is used by magistrates, not councillors; the myth of Theseus' abdication, noted *ibid.* 97 n. 2, should in my view be associated with the end of the magistrates' term of office). Some additional ritualization of elections under the Peisistratid tyranny is likely enough. However, the attribution to Theseus of the creation of the Eupatrid order can hardly be Peisistratid (the tyrants did not wish to undo Solon's reforms); it should be post-Kleisthenic, probably introduced by an Atthidographer in whose mind Synoikia, phylobasileis, and Eupatridhood were closely connected (above, n. 29). On the date of vase representations of Theseus see Shapiro 1989; the François vase proves that there was already interest *c.* 560.

⁷⁸ The dative seems to imply that the meat was distributed to the body in question (the smaller victim being assigned to a trittys not a tribe?). We do not know how the meat was distributed in post-Kleisthenic times (the prices in the calendar do not imply sale). On the meaning of *leipognómôn* see Rosivach 1994, 148–53. W. S. Ferguson 1936 suggested that the sacrifice on Hekatombaion 15 was added when the trittyes were created, but seems to consider this a pre-Solonian development.

Leukotainioi of the tribe G(e)leontis;⁷⁹ the phylobasileis got a share of the chine and the herald got meat from the shoulder, feet, and head. On Hekatombaion 16 two adult cattle were sacrificed to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratría and distributed to the tribe G(e)leontis. The phylobasileis got a leg and the herald's share came from the ribs, feet, and head. These mentions of a herald indicate that the festival was preceded by formal announcements, which may have been made in the Attic countryside (at phratry centres?) as well as in the city.⁸⁰

So far, so good. Disorder has been followed by the restoration of order on three levels: that of the citizen body divided into phratries, that of the tendance of Athena by women on the Akropolis, and that of the official representatives of the community. There is, however, yet another New Year festival to come: the Panathenaia (c. Hekatombaion 23–30).⁸¹

In the classical period 'lesser' Panathenaia were celebrated every year, while 'great' Panathenaia had been celebrated every fourth year since 566. The great Panathenaia included musical, athletic, and equestrian contests open to all comers, and was perhaps introduced to rival new panhellenic contests organized at Delphi, Nemea, and the Isthmos in the 580s and 570s.⁸²

It is not clear whether 'lesser' Panathenaia had existed before 566. As we have seen, Athena seems to have received new clothes after the Plynteria, so the offering of a *peplos* at the Panathenaia does not prove antiquity.⁸³ The festival name Pan-athenaia seems to combine two sources; it is formally equivalent to Pan-dia, the name of a festival of Zeus (held just after the City Dionysia in Elaphebolion), and thus denotes a festival of the deity attended by everyone

⁷⁹ On the form Gleontis see Threatte 1980, 398.

⁸⁰ Heralds often got tongues; feet were also important for their work. There had presumably earlier been more victims, shared by all the tribes, perhaps appearing in a standard ranking order which began with the tribe Geleontes, trittys Leukotainioi and (?) phratry G(e)leontis.

⁸¹ Mikalson 1975. The duration of the festival probably increased over the centuries (cf. N. D. Robertson 1985, 266).

⁸² Competitions at community religious festivals had a long history (ch. 19 n. 64). There were distinctions between 'private' (not only funerary) games, Panhellenic games at amphiktyonic centres, and, finally, the Panathenaia which combined aristocratic games and panhellenic ambitions with a ritual representation of the whole community in procession (Parke 1977, Connor 1993; Warner 1953 ch. 1 on American Memorial Day processions). Traditional dates of Panhellenic festivals perhaps too high, Polignac 2009, 439–40.

⁸³ On the *peplos* see now Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 307–11. It is arguable that the ritual and mythical elements of the Panathenaia are either taken over from other Athenian festivals celebrated at the same time of year (Plynteria–Arrhēphoria–Synoikia) or imported from abroad (Lemnos, N. D. Robertson 1985, and the Panhellenic games). Only the race for *apobatai* remains problematic. In any case, Athens had a sequence of festivals honouring Athena at the turn of the year before 566. It is quite possible that the civic aspects of the Panathenaia became more prominent and those of the Synoikia less prominent after Kleisthenes' reforms.

(cf. *panēgyris*), yet also suggests a relation with the Synoikia as a gathering of all Athenians, *Athēnaioi*.⁸⁴

Conclusive evidence for the history of the festival cannot be derived from the events and participants included in the competitions and procession, since these evidently changed over time. There may have been an early competition for or display by *apobatai*, an Athenian speciality in which an armed man leapt off a chariot in motion, ran beside it, and remounted (cf. R. Parker 2005*a*, 263; Schultz 2007; Neils and Schultz 2012; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 169, 270–80), but it is far from clear that this practice had continued unbroken from the days when chariots were used in war (see Van Wees 2004, 59). There were competitions by Athenian tribal teams in ‘manliness’ (*euandria*),⁸⁵ perhaps in performing the Pyrrhic dance (in armour),⁸⁶ and in rowing. The Pyrrhic and *euandria* teams received an ox to sacrifice worth 100 drachmas; victors in the ship race received three oxen and a further 200 drachmas for feasting. It is possible that the Pyrrhic and *euandria* contests went back to the foundation of the Great Panathenaia in 566, or at least to the time of the tyrants, although this would imply a change from pre-Kleisthenic to Kleisthenic teams in 506, but there is no strong reason to date them earlier.

The festival also included a tribal torch race from the Academy to the Akropolis; N. D. Robertson has persuasively argued that it was modelled on a Lemnian festival in which new fire was brought to the island, whose principal deity was Hephaistos, and that the torch race in honour of Prometheus was modelled on that of the Panathenaia. The starting point of the race was (in classical times) an altar of Eros dedicated by Charmos, an associate of the tyrants who was about midway in age between Peisistratos and Hippias.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Cf. above at nn. 7–8 on the Panionion. In the late 5th c. demes contributed to the Pandia (*IG* i³ 258, c.420), but by the early 4th c. the meaning of the name was forgotten (the festival was eclipsed by the adjacent City Dionysia) and the festival was in some sense adopted by the tribe Pandionis (ch. 21 n. 91). On the Pandia model Panathenaia would be a festival of Athena celebrated by everyone, on the Panionion model a festival of all Athenians; the name may have been understood as suggesting both meanings, and the name may have been new even if the festival was not.

⁸⁵ On tribal competition in festivals in general see N. F. Jones 1987, App. II i. The *euandria* team seems to have been made up of beautiful youths (Crowther 1985; Neils 2007; the prize in *IG* ii² 2311. 75 = *SEG* 53. 192 suggests 50); the event put a competitive, public, but also romantic-homosexual spin on the adolescent male chorus (cf. perhaps Winkler 1990*b*, 31). See Rutherford 2013 on *theoriai*; Herzfeld 2004 on re-institutionalization. On Boegehold 1996 see Appendix 3.

⁸⁶ It has been argued from the absence of reference to a tribe in *IG* ii² 2311. 72–4 that the pyrrhic competition was not tribal (see Ceccarelli 1998, 2004); but there are other errors in ll. 76 and perhaps 80 (for line 80 see Rosivach 1994, 156, but he is wrong on line 76) and the cutter may have wanted to save space.

⁸⁷ N. D. Robertson 1985, 259–62; 1992. Charmos’ age is fixed by the traditions that identify him either as Peisistratos’ *erōmenos* or Hippias’ *erastēs*, regardless of the truth of the rumours, and *pace* Robertson the phrase *poikiloméchanos Erós* in this context should refer to the love affairs of the gymnasium. The altar may well have been set up when the race was introduced, or shortly afterwards. Parke 1977

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Tribal organization probably also determined the number of the eight *hieropoioi* (?) and eight *tamiai*, attested from the period of the early quadrennial festivals, and it has been suggested that the numbers of victims represented on the Parthenon frieze refer to the pre-Kleisthenic tribes.⁸⁸ It must be stressed, however, that the festival complex (both ritual and competitions) will have developed over time, and that it is impossible to determine the initial balance between Athenian and Panhellenic elements.⁸⁹ In the fifth century the dramatic festivals may have started to eclipse the Panathenaia as an attraction for non-Athenian visitors, and this may have encouraged a shift towards the local end of the spectrum in perceptions of the Panathenaia, which also became a vehicle for representations of Athens' relation to her 'colonies' around the Aegean.

It is not clear whether there were any tribal competitions at the City Dionysia in the pre-Kleisthenic period. The introduction of dithyrambic choral competitions for men, which were tribal in the classical period, is dated 509/8 by the *Marmor Parium*, but these were not necessarily the first choral performances at the festival.⁹⁰

denies that the race was tribal, but see Neils 1994 (who does not consider the possibility that it was pre-Kleisthenic) and ch. 21 nn. 58–9. Runners' headbands indicated tribal affiliation. The distance was approximately 2500m (Kyle 1992), probably run in short 50-m. sprints by a team of 50 (Rausa 1998).

⁸⁸ Eight (?) hieropoioi *IG i³ 507–8*; 8 tamiai *IG i³ 510* (c.550). 4 sheep, 4 cattle, and possibly 4 peplos weavers on the Parthenon frieze n. 41 above; in the 5th c. any tribal element in the festival would be Kleisthenic, but if the victims came in multiples of 10 the sculptor might have chosen 4 as a more manageable number carrying similar associations. See E. Simon 1983, ch. 4, esp. 65. There are also 4 flautists and 4 kithara players, but the musical competitions do not seem to have been tribal in the classical period (*IG ii² 2311*, cf. Shapiro 1992). On arrhephoroi see ch. 9 n. 25. See also Van Wees 2013*a* on kolakretai.

⁸⁹ It is also impossible to reconstruct the order of events (cf. Tracy 1991). *IG ii² 2311* is organized according to the type of prize awarded, not the order in which competitions took place. Connor 1987 n. 52 suggests a procession with first-fruit offerings of grain at pre-Solonian celebrations of the Panathenaia, but though the idea of relating Solon's census classes to ritual is attractive, such evidence as there is suggests that grain used in Akropolis festivals came from the area ploughed by the Bouzyges (ch. 20 nn. 32, 88); and the Eleusinian first fruits were offered at the end of the summer, when seedcorn had to be separated from the rest of the harvest, rather than immediately after threshing. The temporal rhythms of gifts to the gods are not necessarily those of the agricultural year (cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 167). Grain for meals in the prytaneion was in early times perhaps contributed by magistrates (cf. Sparta; later it would be purchased) and the etymology deriving prytaneion from *pyrou-tameion*, grainstore (S. G. Miller 1978, App. A 241, 258–9, 265–6) is of no historical value. N. D. Robertson's suggestion (1992) that Peisistratos introduced an ephebic oath taken in the sanctuary of Aglauros on the eve of the procession (by 16-year-olds? see ch. 19 n. 37) is not impossible, but does not rest on much evidence.

⁹⁰ See Pickard-Cambridge 1962. On Connor's suggestion (1989, 1993) that the City Dionysia were created after the end of the tyranny see Sourvinou-Inwood 1994*a*; Rausch 1998; Burnett 2003. We do not know how tragic choruses were selected in early times (it may possibly be significant that Kleisthenes of Sikyon reorganized both tribes and 'tragic choruses', Hdt. 5. 67–8). On the role of tribes in cult in other archaic cities see Sourvinou-Inwood 1990*b*, 312–13; possible tribal choirs of girls at Sparta, Calame 1977, s.v. *Dymainai*. On the Thargelia see n. 60; on the 'bears' of Brauron ch. 9 n. 22.

Although the details are controversial, it is clear that tribes played ritual roles in archaic Athens, and possible that they became more prominent under the tyrants (cf. Eder 1992). The existence of a list of the ritual obligations and perquisites of the phylobasileis (probably compiled at some date after Kleisthenes' reforms) implies that even after 507 their role was not confined to the Synoikia.

The phylobasileis also, as we have seen, sat in court with the archon basileus in the Prytaneion to judge homicide cases in which the blame was laid on an inanimate object. It is likely but not certain that they sat with the basileus also in other homicide trials.⁹¹ They had probably at one time led tribal regiments, though Herodotus' use of the term *phylarchoi* rather than phylobasileis to describe the system replaced by Kleisthenes (5. 69. 2) might imply that by the late sixth century tribal commanders were separately elected.⁹²

The lack of correspondence between number of tribes and number of leading officials may have been a general feature of city organization in the archaic period. Athens had four tribes but first three and then nine archons; Sparta had three tribes but two kings (who apparently both came from the same tribe); Argos had four tribes but nine or six *damiourgoi*. It may well have been felt to be undesirable that offices should be linked to tribal constituencies.⁹³ This would in any case have been a problematic arrangement in Athens, where the three principal elected magistrates—archon, basileus, and polemarch—had separate spheres of responsibility (Humphreys 2004, 231–3).

Athenians of the late fifth century and later believed that Solon had introduced a tribal council, to which each of the four pre-Kleisthenic tribes supplied 100 members every year. In my view the arguments against accepting their evidence remain strong. We have little idea what the functions of such a council could have been, in a period when assembly meetings must have been infrequent; even the Kleisthenic council of 500 only accumulated functions gradually, a significant group of responsibilities being transferred from the Areiopagos in 461, although the extent of public funds and public business evidently

⁹¹ Humphreys 1991, n. 15 suggested that in the pre-Solonian period the basileis who ruled on homicide may have been a self-selected elite group of nobles (basileis in the Homeric sense) rather than the archon basileus and phylobasileis.

⁹² Hdt. may however have chosen *phylarchos* as a generic term to cover both phylobasileis and strategoi.

⁹³ N. F. Jones 1987, 112 assumes an original correspondence in Argos between 3 (Dorian) tribes and the damiourgoi. Attempts have been made to find a third royal *genos* in Sparta, but genealogies imply that both royal clans belonged to Hylleis; the 5 ephors, however, probably represented the *ôbai* (ch. 20 n. 11). In Crete boards of *kosmoi* were appointed in turn by tribes, but this was an unstable system (Ar. *Pol.* 1272b 1–4, 7–16; evidence in Jones 1987; cf. Link 2003; Chaniotis 2005). Problems created by tribal representation in the *stratêgia* in 5th c. Athens (ch. 16) suggest some motives for earlier avoidance of coincidence between tribes and offices.

increased with the expulsion of the tyrants.⁹⁴ There is no parallel for a two-council system in the sixth century; Chios or Erythrai (M/L 8) had a tribal council c.550, but there is no evidence that it also had an aristocratic council of elders at that time.⁹⁵ Athenian views in the late fifth century were influenced by attempts to portray oligarchic reform as a return to the ‘moderate democracy’ of Solon (Fuks 1953); clearly a constitution without a council was unthinkable by this date.

NAUKRARIAI

A related question concerns the organization and functions of the *naukrariai*, which are solidly attested in early sources as units of the pre-Kleisthenic state. We are told that there were 48, 12 per tribe; each provided a ship; payments were made by officials from the naukraric funds, which suggest some kind of taxation system; and they also supplied *prytaneis*, who had a hand in state business.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ See below, n. 97, on the prytaneis of the naukrariai. Whereas the figure of 48 naukrariai links 4 tribes with 12 lunar months, the alleged council figure of 400 has no relation to either calendar or trittyes, and seems to have been reached by working back from the Kleisthenic figure 500, related to 10 tribes and 10 civic months. Since each Kleisthenic tribe only supplied 50 councillors, it is unlikely that in the earlier system each tribe supplied 100. If it were certain that Plut. *Sol.* 19 derives from a poem of Solon in which the two anchors of the state were named as two *boulai*, the question would be settled; but it is not certain. *A.P.* 8. 1 is not reliable evidence for the political functions of the pre-Kleisthenic tribes. F. X. Ryan 1994 supplies serious arguments for dating *IG* i³ 105. 34–43 before Kleisthenes but does not prove that these regulations originally applied to a Solonian council. The strongest argument for such a council is line 42 *bolésin*. Defenders of the Solonian council (e.g. P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 153–4; Ismard 2010, 87; Flaig 2011) rely mainly on Hdt. 5. 72–3, where a council opposes Kleomenes, but it remains possible that this is the Areiopagos.

⁹⁵ The name *dēmosiē boulē* does not imply contrast with another contemporary council (Werlings 2010, 158–65). One of the functions of this council was to hear appeals from magistrates’ judgments; in Solonian Athens the Assembly did this (Humphreys 1983*b*).

⁹⁶ Hdt. 5. 71. 2; *A.P.* 8. 3; *FGH* 323 F 8, 324 F 36. Provision of ships is implied by the name (Wallinga 2000, 134) and by Kleidemos’ comparison with the 4th c. symmories; his figure of 50 naukrariai after Kleisthenes is probably an inference from Hdt. 6. 89. Persistence of the naukraric system in fleet organization until 483 is likely enough, but we need not postulate a change in the number of naukrariai (Hdt.’s figure may be rounded). Pollux 8. 108 says that each naukraria also supplied two horsemen, but the source is unknown and this may be speculation. See also Van Effenterre 1979, 125–6; Kienast 2005, 78–81; Pébarthe 2006, 177–80; Papazarkadas 2011, 212–13. On the system of ship provision I agree with Wallinga (adding the Cinque Ports parallel); he has a different view of the prytaneis (so also Van Wees 2013*a*). My view implies that at some stage inland settlements were given naukraric status; Wallinga’s suggestion that Kleisthenes’ 50 (?) ‘coastal’ demes had been naukrariai ignores the fact that some of them had no coast. One might even suggest that the dispute between plainsmen and coast dwellers that preceded Peisistratos’ rise was concerned with naukraric obligations and status. There is no inconsistency between *A.P.*’s view (21. 5) that naukrariai were like demes and Kleidemos’ comparison with symmories, merely a selection of different features of the institution. The idea of Van Effenterre 1979 (cf. Ismard 2010, 303) that Laureion silver in the 490s might have been distributed through naukrariai seems implausible (through the Assembly? at a festival?). Cf. also ch. 21 n. 6.

It seems to me quite likely that the ‘prytaneis of the naukraroi’ were a commission of four men per month (one per tribe) who remained in the Prytaneion and represented the state during their period of office, as did the later prytaneis of the ten Kleisthenic tribes.⁹⁷

In Humphreys 2008 I suggested that the traces of contiguous organization orientated to road systems in the assignation of inland and coastal trittyes to Kleisthenic tribes (Siewert 1982) do not represent a new scheme designed for effective mobilization in the city of infantry, but the remains of the old naukraric system in which inland villages were linked to ports.⁹⁸ Linking of local naukrariai and phratries would come from the local bases of phratries. I take it that at commoner level a *phratēr* who changed his residence would seek admittance to the phratry based in the area of his new home. Naukrariai would be articulated more loosely with tribes through the local connections of rich shipowners. Evidence of a law concerned with procedure in cases where naukraric affiliation was disputed may be a sign that in the sixth century this looseness was becoming problematic.⁹⁹

There seem, therefore, to be solid grounds for accepting more or less the traditional view,¹⁰⁰ that an informal arrangement by which ships were maintained in ports around the coast of Attika, by leading families who could call on inland allies and villages to provide young men to serve as rowers, and labour and resources when a new ship had to be built, was transformed under the

⁹⁷ Cf. Humphreys 1991, n. 10. A similar suggestion was made (independently) by Lambert 1986 (cf. id. 1993); see also Gschnitzer 1973; Ostwald 1995; Develin 1986; Kienast 2005. The term *prytanis* on an ostrakon cast against Perikles’ father Xanthippos should be understood as a generic term for office-holders, with no reference to either naukraric or Kleisthenic prytaneis, *pace* Figueira 1986 and Van Wees 2013a (*Agora* XXV no. 1065, P 16873; *SEG* 34. 40b). N. D. Robertson 2010, 112, 148 thinks the prytaneis were in town for the Diasia, but this does not explain their role in the Kylon affair. Eliot 1967 suggested that *trittys* in *A.P.* 44. 1 meant a group of 3: cf. ch. 19 n. 5. Carawan 1998 suggested that the 51 ephetai were 48 tribal representatives (the prytaneis?) plus 3 archons (cf. F. R. Wüst 1957). P. J. Rhodes 1972, 16–19 thought the prytany commission was introduced by Ephialtes, but see Schmalz 2006; Kavvadias and Matthaïou 2014, *prytaneis* in a text of the 2nd ¼ 5th c.; see Erickson 2011 for comparative material.

⁹⁸ The naukraria is thus a territorial and not a descent group, being a ‘catchment area’ attached to a port, defined in terms of villages and hamlets and (above all) local property owners wealthy enough to supply resources and mobilize labour. Cf. Van Wees 1995, 169–70, on recruitment of rowers in Homer; id. 2013a, 44–61.

⁹⁹ Phot. s.v. *naukraria*; cf. Lambert 1993, Appendix 4. Wallinga 2000 points out that *amphisbêteō* here should mean ‘lay claim to’, i.e. ‘claim to be the head of’; in any case it would be the elite who had more than one local affiliation.

¹⁰⁰ De Sanctis 1898 (1975) 387–93 attributes the creation of the naukrariai to Peisistratos, which lands him in some difficulties; Hignett 1952, 67–74 is more cautious. The system of prytaneis may be Peisistratid; Hdt. 5. 71. 2 shows only that in his day it was considered early. It seems likely that there was some reorganization when coinage came into use (Van der Vin 2000; cf. Van Wees 2010 on Eretria).

Peisistratid tyranny into a more formal taxation system.¹⁰¹ The Sounieis who dedicated a statue in the sanctuary of Poseidon c.550 (*IG* i³ 1024 A) may have been a naukraria.

This system does not require us to believe that each of the four pre-Kleisthenic tribes had a separate region of Attika allocated to it.¹⁰² It is enough to assume that the phratry system and naukraric system were reconciled, i.e. each naukraria either was a phratry centre or was a subordinate settlement with a known phratry affiliation; and that phratry affiliation had a local basis, at least for commoners.

TRITTYES

It is thus unlikely that there was any correspondence between the naukraric system and the division of the pre-Kleisthenic tribes into trittyes. The only known trittys name, Leukotainioi (White Ribbons), does not suggest a local division. Nor do we know what functions the trittyes possessed in the pre-Kleisthenic system, except that they evidently played a role, as cadres in which phratries were grouped, at the Synoikia.¹⁰³

The main question to be asked is whether they also played a role in the early Athenian army. Homer thinks of armies as fighting by tribe (ethnic group) and phratry (cf. the use of *emphylos* as 'fellow countryman'), and it might be argued that as city populations grew larger a level of organization below that of the tribe was felt to be necessary for military purposes—perhaps not so much in organization on campaign as in estimating army size. There is growing evidence that the Mycenaean state, in imposing tax burdens on the population, did not start by conducting

¹⁰¹ In my view, long-distance ships always carried a substantial crew of rowers until the introduction of large merchantmen in the (?) late 6th c. (Humphreys 1978, 165–9); at this point it may have been necessary to formalize arrangements for maintaining a fleet of pentekontors, some at least capable of holding 100 oarsmen (op. cit., 300 n. 10). Attic trade is also likely to have become more concentrated on the harbours of Phaleron and Piraeus during the 6th c. *Theōriai* by ship to Delos from ports in east Attika presumably provided a precedent for naukraric financing of the land theoria to Delphi (*FGH* 324 F 36). Many naukraric ports will also have been cult centres (cf. chs. 20 n. 45 on Kolias; 26 n. 99 on Sounieis). Steinhauer 2004, 171 suggests that the pentekostyes of Aixone (*SEG* 54. 214; ch. 29 n. 91) may have been connected with naukrariai, but I wonder if they were only crews of the *Paralos*.

¹⁰² If this had been the case one would expect the factions of the early 6th c. to be named for tribes and not regions.

¹⁰³ On *IG* i³ 255. 9 (*LS* 11 A 7) see ch. 21 s. 'The Trittys'. Conceivably a name such as Leukotainioi might derive from markers worn in contexts where tribe and trittys affiliation would otherwise be unclear (as in the case of the feather or leaf headbands worn by runners in torch-races, above, n. 87). Trittys on Delos seem to have names derived from those of mortals: Thyestadaï, Okyneidai, Mapsichidai, ?Theandridai (Vial 1984, ch. 2), unless these are obscure local heroes. On the (Kleisthenic) trittys Epakreis of *IG* ii² 2490 and the (?) phratry Epakreis see chs. 21 n. 138, 19 n. 16.

a census and deciding how much each group could afford to pay, or levy a fixed percentage of produce, but first decided what it needed to collect and then imposed proportions of this quantity on divisions of the kingdom, dividing it into successively smaller fractions until the level of local administration was reached.¹⁰⁴ Perhaps the leaders of archaic states calculated in roughly the same way. There may even have been forms of demographic calculation based on equivalence between consumption of victims at festivals and military manpower. At present we can only speculate. But a comparative study of methods of calculation of population and produce in only partly literate societies might be a useful direction to take.¹⁰⁵

Most of this chapter, obviously, has been highly speculative. The speculation, however, is concerned more with models of early Greek organization than with fixing details by interpreting the very limited sets of sources. In general—unlike the author of *A.P.*—we should not be looking for elaborate schemes established once and for all at a date in the earliest history of the polis, but for a gradual development from overlapping units and distinctions used in different functional contexts to a more coherent and centralized system.¹⁰⁶ Thus, while it seems clear that phratry membership was the basic framework of every adult male's relation to a local community and thus for early regulation of homicide and legitimacy (Drakon and Solon, ch. 1), the tribal system may initially have been more salient in contexts of interaction between communities, and may perhaps therefore have been significant to the elite rather than to smallholders.¹⁰⁷ Naukrariai, in turn,

¹⁰⁴ Shelmerdine 1973; Lejeune 1979. If the Synoikia assembly was held in arms (N. D. Robertson 1992), this would establish a link between trittyes and army; but I still tend to think that the trittyes were introduced (in the 6th c.?) for festival rather than military purposes.

¹⁰⁵ I assume here that the Synoikia had once fed assembled members of all the tribes. Phratry probably did not keep written lists of members in the archaic period, and it may have been difficult to arrive at an estimate of average phratry size. Sources do not suggest that a level of organization between the small group of adjacent columns (phratry, *enômotia*) and the tribal regiment was prominent in Greek armies (on the post-Kleisthenic army of Athens see ch. 21 at nn. 34–56). The system of call up by age-sets seems to have been formalized by Kleisthenes, although organization of the phalanx by age groupings probably went back to early times (cf. Sparta). Lambert 1993, 256–7 and Van Wees 2004 connect the name Leukotainiai with military insignia, Van Wees (183) noting the practice of honouring units that fought especially well. Van Effenterre 1976 and Kienast 2005 doubt whether the pre-Kleisthenic units had military functions.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Ismard 2010. As in ch. 1 n. 71 (cf. ch. 20 at n. 44), I find myself drawing on the model proposed by Momigliano (1989) for early Rome. P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 69 makes a rather similar suggestion.

¹⁰⁷ There may have been some attempt to use the tribal framework to mobilize support in elections, especially after Solon's reforms, but phratry is likely to have been more important; the Peisistratids seem to have been interested in linking elite families to the centre (cf. Macedonian *betairoi*; ch. 20 nn. 56, 130 on parasites) rather than in organizing commoners. At present there is no firm evidence that any pre-Kleisthenic tribe or trittys had its own cult (on *IG* i³ 255 see n. 103), and the later procedure of electing officials in full Assembly even in cases of tribal representation does not suggest any long-standing tradition of tribal elections. It seems rather unlikely that pre-Kleisthenic tribes or trittyes ever held their own meetings. The view of Manville 1990, 108 that tribes owned land in pre-Kleisthenic Athens is not supported by evidence and does not seem to me probable (on *IG* ii² 2490 see n. 103; ch. 21 n. 138). On the exclusion of Salamis and Eleutheraï from the Kleisthenic system see ch. 22 n. 12.

organized a further set of relationships, in which ships and their crews set off to trade with or fight against members of other states, or at least against communities with which there was no regular shared cultic relationship.¹⁰⁸ They were significant especially for the elite, who organized such expeditions, and for the young, who took part in them in the hope of gaining prestige and resources, and of adding an aura of danger and adventure to their identities (Humphreys 1978, 165–8). As with the festival calendar, so with these social units, systematization was a subsequent development, which probably should not be dated before the sixth century.¹⁰⁹

Before we turn to the best-known example of such systematization, however, the introduction of the Kleisthenic system at Athens, we need to take a closer look at the basic units of the pre-Kleisthenic system, the phratries, which survived into the classical period, and the elite priesthood-holding *genê*.

¹⁰⁸ Ships would also take competitors to the panhellenic games, *theoriai* to overseas festivals, etc.

¹⁰⁹ The reforms of Kleisthenes of Sikyon and Demonax of Mantinea (Hdt. 4. 161, Kyrene) show the interest of 6th c. cities in this type of reorganization.

The Phratries

ORIGINS AND LOCATIONS

It has been argued above (chs. 1, 18) that the phratry was (in most if not all parts of archaic Greece) the ordinary man's primary community.¹ Phratries gathered for religious festivals, among which the presentation of new members, celebrated by sacrifice or other offerings, had probably played a role from early times; fellow phrateres were expected to aid the kin of a homicide victim in pursuing the killer; manpower could be mobilized through phratries for military purposes.² Normally phratry membership was acquired by patrification, but a commoner who moved from one village to another, or an exile, would probably gain entry to the phratry of his new place of residence by marriage to the sister or daughter of a local man, or by becoming a hanger-on of a local aristocratic oikos. The distinction between *homogalaktes* and *orgeônes* that occurred in Philochoros' law on phratries and citizenship may possibly be based on consciousness that elite families retained allegiance to the same phratry even if they moved from one part of Attika to another, whereas commoners could not make the same claim; if so, the law was devolving responsibility for admission to phratry subgroups in general.³

¹ Since there have been two fairly recent systematic treatments of the Attic phratries (Hedrick 1984, Lambert 1993), the organization of this chapter will be mainly chronological. For phratries in other parts of Greece see Guarducci 1937–8; N. F. Jones 1987; n. 4. The references to phratries in Homer and in Drakon's homicide law guarantee the antiquity and wide distribution of the institution.

² This would be the informal mechanism, perhaps not formalized in the pre-Kleisthenic period: ch. 18 n. 105.

³ Philochoros *FGH* 328 F 35, with Theodorides 2002 (note however that we do not know how stable book divisions were (Feeney 2016, 193–4)); it does not seem to me either linguistically or politically likely that this law belongs to the 430s, as argued by Andrewes 1961 (see below n. 77. Ismard 2010, 104–6, thinks the law Kleisthenic, despite *A.P.* 21. 6). In uses of *kai... kai*, both terms carry equivalent weight or the second is stressed (Denniston 1934, 323–4); however, Philochoros' word order may have been determined by the need for a gloss on *homogalaktes*. The use of milk rather than blood as a metaphor for descent may derive from siblingship (cf. *homogastrios* in Homer, and *Ar. Pol.* 1252 b 15–18) or merely from co-residence (Jameson a. o. 1993, 20; cf. Wilgaux 2011, 222; perhaps *homochytroi* on Lemnos, Culasso Gastaldi 2008, 273–7; 2010, 358). Alternatively, it is perhaps conceivable that *homogalaktes* and *orgeônes* were not terms for all members of aristocratic genê or of commoner *thiasoi* (feasting groups), but terms for outsiders admitted by them, *homogalaktes* being dependants attached to aristocratic oikoi and *orgeônes* those admitted to a share in sacrifices. The fact that the term *orgeônes* was later used mainly by relatively wealthy and exclusive groups tells us nothing about its use in the early 6th c. *Gennêtês* comes

It is possible that phratry organization had already been formally recognized by the state in the Mycenaean period, but if so the formalization is likely to have broken down in the Dark Ages.⁴ On reformation in the archaic period, as conceptions of citizenship crystallized, see ch. 18. It required an explicit articulation of phratries to tribes and trittyes, the latter possibly created in this process. There will previously have been at least an implicit articulation, based on the tribal affiliations of leading phratry families, but the idea that phratries as such were the base units of the citizen body may not have been explicitly formulated. There may have been some incorporation of representation of the phratries into city ritual at this time, perhaps at the Synoikia.⁵

We know the names of at least seven phratries, and have some other possible candidates, plus evidence for the existence of at least six more phratries to which we can attach no name. Therrikleidai may have been based in the city; Gleontis, which shared its name with one of the pre-Kleisthenic tribes, in the city or somewhere along the course of the river Kephisos; Thymaitis presumably in the deme Thymaitadai.⁶ There was a phratry based at Alopeke (Humphreys 1990*a*) which may also have had ties with Phaleron.

from *genna* (cf. *gennaios*), not *genos*; it was well established in the technical sense by c.355 (Is. 7), but is perhaps most likely to have originated in the period of Theognis and Pindar, probably after Solon's abolition of the privileges of Eupatridai, perhaps even after Kleisthenes' reforms. In *Dig.* 47. 22. 4 I would read (with Guarducci 1935) *dēmos ē phratores ē hierōn orgiōn sunthutai ē sunsitoi ē homotaphoi ē thiasōtai*, but without inserting *ē nautai* after *thiasōtai* (ch. 1 n. 56 Paros, 6th c.; *IG* iv² 2).

⁴ The institution is widespread (no general study since Guarducci 1935; but see *BE* 1939, 28; J. K. Davies 1996*a*; Brulé 1998; Habicht 2010; *BE* 2011 nos. 307, 369); *SEG* 51. 1071, Paros, 6th c.; *IG* iv² 2. 2002–3 Aigina (cf. Guarducci II, 91–2); *SEG* 50. 1076 (Massalia); Malouchou 2006, Chios; Grandjean 2013, 258–61, Thasos; Kritzas 1992 + 2013, 291, Argos. See also Jacquemin a. o. 2012 no. 30 on the Labyadai at Delphi. *Tu-ma-i-ta* (Thymaitas) appears as a personal name at Knossos, AS 605. Migrating groups and colonies take the institution of the phratry with them, but do not seem to have taken phratry names from their metropoleis (for tribe names see ch. 18 n. 8).

⁵ For N. D. Robertson 1990, 1992, Synoikia as a phratry festival, see Jameson 1994*a*. The question put to an archon at his dokimasia, 'Do you have an Apollo Patroios and Zeus Herkeios, and where do you worship them?', presumably was not originally equivalent to 'Do you belong to a phratry?' although it was later understood in that sense. Some *genē* may have had their own cults of Apollo (Salaminiōi, Elaidai?), as may groups of orgeones (Eikadeis, see below, n. 152); others may have shared the cult with their phratry (Therrikleidai, Achniadai, the phratry of Is. 7; see Lambert 1993, 211–12). Any Apollo worshipped by a phratry would be 'ancestral'. The cult of Zeus Herkeios was perhaps originally a household cult of the large oikos, although Thorikos sacrificed to him in the 5th c., and might have taken over the cult from a phratry. The term trittys, 'a group of three', may suggest that phratry representatives processed in groups of three at the Synoikia, which would give us (probably) a total of 36 phratries (ch. 18 n. 29). Note that the Spartans did not incorporate phratries into their systematization of tribes and *ōbai*, which took place in or before the middle of the 7th c., but instead systematized smaller feasting groups, the *syssitia*, which corresponded to the Attic thiasoi in form, though not in function.

⁶ Therrikleidai: *Agora* XIX LA 1. 30 = *Agora* XVI 255 F, cf. below, nn. 130–1. Gleontis set up a horos at the end of the 5th c. on its sanctuary of Kephisos, which was found in the Agora (*Agora* XIX H 9), but horoi in the city do not necessarily imply that the original phratry base was there (cf. *IG* i³ 1057, Thymaitis). On *IG* ii² 4975 (Lambert 1993 T 25) see now Papazarkadas 2011, 164 n. 5. For duplication

Southeast Attika is well represented, with phratries based at Anaphlystos,⁷ Kephale (Achniadai), and Myrrhinous (Dyaleis). Sounion had a substantial contingent of residents from the *genos* Salaminioi, who perhaps belonged to the phratry based in Alopeke; the southeast tip of Attika may not have been thickly populated until its silver mines became important in the late sixth century.⁸ The Eikadeis, a group of *orgeones* (?), perhaps belonged to the Dyaleis.⁹ Thorikos is likely to have been a phratry centre, as is Lamptrai, although no evidence has yet been produced by either; the variety of the cults celebrated by the deme Thorikos in the fifth century (*IG* i³ 256 *bis*) suggests a long-established cultic tradition, and the *orgeones* of Zeus Epakrios, worshipped on Hymettos, had links with Lamptrai, whose Mycenaean akropolis was a cult centre in archaic and classical times.¹⁰

Further north in the Mesogeia plain there was a phratry based at Paiania, possibly called Demokleidai, and another perhaps in the area of Charvati. Erchia and Pallene are likely candidates as phratry centres, but have not so far produced evidence of phratry activity.¹¹ The area of Prasiai–Steiria–Brauron may have contained another phratry, Araphen–Halai a further one (cf. Isaïos 9).

of tribe names at lower levels of organization cf. perhaps the Argive tribe Dymanes and phratry Dymmadai (Piérart 1983); N. F. Jones 1999, 205–7; Geleontes at Klaros, Rousset 2014*a*, 2014*b*. It may suggest that the two levels of organization were not created and named simultaneously. We have a thiasos Etionidai from the Thymaitadai area in the early 5th c., *IG* i³ 1016 (ch. 20 n. 45). It is not clear how many city-based phratries we should envisage. Lambert 1996 suggests that there was a phratry Io[nidai], on slender evidence (*Agora* XIX H 118 with *SEG* 46. 229).

⁷ Anaphlystos: *IG* ii² 2723, see below, n. 149. The Halaieis who dedicated *IG* i³ 1013*a* (cf. *b–c*) to Apollo Zoster *c.*475 may be a phratry or *naukraria* rather than a deme; the *genos* Kolieis may have belonged to it, or to a phratry based at Halimous.

⁸ Dedication to Zeus Phratris at Myrrhinous, *SEG* 53. 210 (Kakavogianne 2003), ch. 25 n. 44. Salaminioi: n. 173; ch. 20 at nn. 103–110; Humphreys 1990*a*. Their sacrifice to Apollo at the Apatouria strongly suggests to me that the whole *genos* belonged to a single phratry. For the move to Sounion cf. the move of a branch of the Lykomidai to Phrearrhioi. The Sounieis of *IG* i³ 1024*a* may be a *naukraria* (ch. 18 at n. 101). Achniadai: on *IG* ii² 2621 (Lambert 1993 T 1) see now Papazarkadas 2011, 163–4. Medontidai: see nn. 127, 153.

⁹ See below, nn. 152, 153 (Eikadeis) and 173.

¹⁰ Zeus Epakrios: *IG* ii² 1294 (*SEG* 50. 162; cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 195 n. 145) with Langdon 1973 (the text is of the 3rd c. and was found in Athens, in the Plaka, but this has no implication for earlier periods); on the Epigonos son of Endios of Lamptrai mentioned in this text see *APF* 4810; Papazarkadas 205 n. 193; ch. 23 n. 82. Cult on Mycenaean akropolis, Hagel and Lauter 1989. Cf. ch. 18 nn. 43–5 on the ‘Twelve Towns’.

¹¹ *IG* i³ 1083, a *horos* of the Demokleidai, came from Katsoulierti, perhaps one of the Paiania deme sites (below, n. 116). *IG* ii² 1239 came from Charvati, but since the Charvati *çiftlik* was a collecting point for inscriptions it may have travelled. The deme centre at Charvati may have been Kydantidai or Ionidai (but see ch. 24 nn. 90–1); we do not know if *IG* i³ 247, perhaps a decree of a body called —ntidai, found at Spata, came from a phratry or some other group (Lambert 2000*b*). Erchia had its own cult of Apollo, with offerings i.a. on Thargelion 4, but there are few offerings in Pyanopsion and the local phratry perhaps sacrificed on Thargelion 7, date of the Thargelia.

In the plain of Athens there was clearly a phratry in the area of Kephisia in which the family of Euktemon of Kephisia was influential (Isaios 6); it may have been called Elasedai.¹² There must have been a phratry at Phlya, and presumably others at Acharnai and Athmonon. The Medontidai may have had a connection with Kypseli, perhaps the deme Erikeia (but see n. 153); the phratry to which Aischines belonged, which shared its altars with the Eteoboutadai, was presumably based in Boutadai (ch. 20 n. 115). The Philieis may have drawn members from the area of the southern part of Mt Aigaleos and the pass leading through Daphne (Kettos?) into the plain of Eleusis.¹³ No other evidence related to phratries has yet been produced from the plain of Eleusis, but the Eumolpidai and Kerykes¹⁴ should have belonged to a phratry based in the town. Some phratries containing major priestly genê may have allowed the leading members of these genê to run phratry business in a way that did not generate written records. In any case, however, the epigraphic evidence for phratry activity is extremely sparse and scattered and this may be due to the rarity of written record in phratries in antiquity as well as to accidents of preservation.¹⁵

In the area 'beyond the hills', Epakria and Diakria (ch. 18 n. 49), the phratry Demotionidai was based at Dekeleia; the Epakreis may have been another phratry covering the area of Plotheia and Anakaia,¹⁶ and Ikarion may have had its own phratry.¹⁷ Titakidai and Thyrgonidai, villages in the Aphidnai area which achieved

¹² *IG* ii² 2602, a horos of Apollo Patroios of the Elasedai, came from the Kephisia area and must have marked the shrine of a genos or phratry (cf. ch. 20 n. 45). *IG* ii² 1240, a phratry decree, found its way to Rangaves' house in Kephisia, but its provenance is unknown.

¹³ Lyk. F VII 2 Conomis 1970, 51 Blass 1880; the Philieis are associated with the deme Perithoidai and the genos Koironidai, which had claims to an Eleusinian priesthood (ch. 20 at nn. 121–2). On the appropriateness to a phratry of a cult of Zeus Philios cf. the Zeus Xenios of Thymaitis, and Jameson 1994b, 46–7. Restoration of a reference to [Apat]ouria at Panakton in *IEleus* 196. 29–30 (and *IEleus* 194. 22) is improbable; Êrosouria (or ?Prosouria, Lambert 2000b, 75 n. 31) were celebrated at Erchia (see also *IG* i³ 232. 20–1).

¹⁴ On the origin of the Kerykes see ch. 20 at nn. 21–7.

¹⁵ A high proportion of the epigraphic evidence was generated by economic activities (horoi on property, sale of land in the hekatostai records, claims made to the poletai, leases, etc), and as we shall see it is possible that phratry funds and land were sometimes held by subgroups (below, n. 148). For other possible phratry names see below at nn. 154–6, on the hekatostai records. 'Euergidai', Pyrrhakidai, and Zakyadai are discussed in ch. 20 nn. 45, 83, 145.

¹⁶ The Epakreis of *SEG* 32. 144 (cf. 36. 189), who honoured a member of the deme located at Mygdaleza (perhaps Anakaia, Traill 1986) for serving as archon at their Apollonia, are more likely to be a phratry or local cult unit than a Kleisthenic trittys (ch. 30 n. 57), and in *FGH* 328 F 206 Semachidai (in Antiochis) is said to belong to Epakria. The (Kleisthenic) trittys Epakreis of *IG* ii² 2490, a different unit, can hardly belong to Hippothontis (ch. 21 n. 138).

¹⁷ The Ikarieis of *IG* ii² 1178 may be residents of the village, not all of them demesmen, rather than a phratry (cf. Lasagni 2004), but the cult of Dionysos in Ikarion was certainly pre-Kleisthenic (ch. 24 n. 20). The question really is whether some early 'amphiktyonic' cults were independent of the phratry system. The Hekalesia, celebrated at Hekale in honour of Zeus Hekalesios, provide a relevant case in this area (Plut. *Thes.* 14. 2 = *FGH* 328 F 109, cf. Hsch. s.v. *Hekaleios Zeus*, St. Byz. *Hekale*).

deme status only in the Roman period, are mentioned by lexicographers as ‘obscure phratries and genê derided in comedy for their *enteleia*’ (poverty or corruption); this is perhaps a case where a major deme centre, Aphidnai, was not the centre of the local phratry.¹⁸ From the area of the Marathonian Tetrapolis, we have four horoi naming phrateres; it is hardly likely that the Tetrapolis itself was a phratry, but there should have been at least one in the plain. A phratry is now attested at Rhamnous.¹⁹

It is probably a reasonable guess in many cases that a deme which sent more than five councillors each year to the city was also a phratry centre, but there will have been exceptions: villages that had important sanctuaries serving the surrounding area situated in upland areas where no village was large (Anakaia?), areas that had become densely settled only at a relatively late date (Sounion?), or where a village that was not a phratry centre had grown in the sixth century at the expense of its neighbours (Aphidnai?). That fact that there were 48 naukrariai and probably only 36 phratries may be due in part to the numerical exigencies of the prytany system (ch 18 n. 97), and in part to the function in the naukraric system of port settlements that had not been phratry centres, but shifts in the distribution of population may also have played a role.²⁰

Archaeological evidence provides only patchy guidance, since many areas of the Attic countryside have never been systematically explored. The Dekeleia–Aphidnai region, for instance, has produced no archaic evidence apart from the colossal statue of Dionysos from Ikarion, yet clearly had phratries. Even for the sixth century many sites are represented on the archaeological map only because the discovery of sculpted grave monuments or large mounds called attention to them.

¹⁸ Magnes, producing in the 470s, is credited with a comedy called Pytakides (*PCG* 5, 631 F 6; Kock I 8–9, F 6); this has been emended to Titakides, but Pyrrhakides is also possible, and we have no clues to the content of the play. Jokes about the claim that Titakos restored Helen to the Dioskouroi, and the humble status of his putative descendants are certainly a possibility for the Kimonian era (see below, n. 39–40); on the other hand, jokes about the ease with which men of allegedly foreign origin could buy entry to phratries were common in the later years of the Peloponnesian War.

¹⁹ Rhamnous: *IRh* 186–7 (319/8, 314/3), *SEG* 51. 164, 52. 160 (the latter not in Papazarkadas 2011). Tetrakomoi presumably was not the name of a phratry, since there was a phratry Thymaitis and the deme Thymaitadai was one of the four settlements of Tetrakomoi (the horoi of its sanctuaries of Zeus Xenios and (?) Herakles came from the city area, re-used in later walls: *IG* i³ 1057, *Agora* XIX H 131). One could restore [*pro Apatouri*]ôn in *IG* ii² 1358 (*SEG* 50. 168) A 28, but a pregnant sheep seems an improbable victim; the Stenia or Thesmophoria (also in Pyanopsion) are perhaps more likely (*pro* elsewhere in this text is used of festivals which the local community does not celebrate in its own right, Skira and M[y]st[e]r[ia]). We should probably add Sphettos (one of the Twelve Towns) to the list of putative phratry bases.

²⁰ Lambert 1993 suggests 30 as the original number. Change in council quotas after the Peloponnesian War is possible (ch. 21); some of the changes of 307/6 were quite substantial. See ch. 10 n. 87 on the gap in archaeological evidence from Attika of the 7th c.

Part of the difficulty is that we do not know for certain when the list of phratries (let alone their tribal affiliation) became fixed; the fact that they appear as recognized units in Drakon's homicide law and probably in Solonian legislation need not imply a fixed list. Phratries evidently had local bases, and at least until Solon's legislation there was probably some movement of migrating persons between them, i.e. at least at commoner level a phratry was a spatially identifiable group. It is equally clear, however, that the pre-Kleisthenic tribes were not regional units (had they been, we would expect reference to them in the period of regional faction following Solon's reforms). There seem to be two possible explanations. The process more commonly assumed, though seldom spelt out in explicit detail, is that leading families moved out from Athens into the countryside over the course of the ninth to seventh centuries, taking with them or acquiring on arrival groups of dependants who became, in each of the main settlement centres, a phratry.²¹ The alternative is to assume a looser relation between phratry organization and class relationships, in which settlement in the countryside was not always organized or led by the elite, much of phratry life came from popular culture, some phratry bases were in marginal hilly areas in which the elite possibly had less interest, and relations between elite families and phratries were rather variable (see ch. 18). Did the formalization of Eupatrid status in the early seventh century (ch. 20 at n. 16) make it necessary for each of the *genê* crystallizing at the time to be drawn from a single phratry?²² In any case, the number of *genê* in a phratry and the amount of interest their members took in phratry business—apart from the essential presentation of new members at the Apatouria—may have varied from one phratry to another. The tribal affiliation of phratries may have been determined by the tribe, or the alliances with aristocratic families, of their leading members in the seventh or early sixth century.²³ The experience of rural phratry members who visited the city to take part in major urban festivals, where they were organized by tribe and by the *basileis* of their tribe, will have been very different from their experience of village festivals, even where the latter had come under the formal authority of elite families who supplied priests and (except at the Apatouria) sacrificial victims. Some of this latter development may have taken place only during the sixth century, when it was

²¹ The most explicit formulations of this model (based on European feudalism), though without reference to archaeological evidence for resettlement of the countryside after the Dark Ages, are Ed. Meyer 1893 and de Sanctis 1898; see more recently J. K. Davies 1996*a*, 626; D'Onofrio 1995 for a survey of archaeological data.

²² Implying that pedigrees would not cross phratry lines, and if aristocratic families attached to separate phratries claimed the same god or hero as ancestor they would in practice operate mostly as separate *genê*.

²³ All this is of course very hypothetical, and is put forward with the aim of stimulating comparison of alternative models. For differences in village organization resulting from variation in caste distribution in Bali see C. Geertz 1964, C. and H. Geertz 1975.

perhaps in the interest of candidates for office to build up voter support in the countryside (ch. 18 n. 107).

It was through phratry organization that the concepts of Athenianhood and citizenship were (eventually) mapped onto territory,²⁴ and it is therefore appropriate that the aitiological myth that became attached to the Apatouria concerned territorial boundaries as well as the introduction of adolescents and immigrants to citizenship. According to the story,²⁵ Athens and Boiotia were in conflict over their borders on Mt Parnes, and the Boiotian king Xanthos challenged the Athenian ruler Thymoites to a duel. Thymoites was reluctant to fight, and offered his kingdom to the man who would take his place. The offer was taken up by an immigrant from Pylos, Melanthos, who won by distracting his adversary's attention with the question, 'Who is the helper standing behind you?' Thus the kingship passed from the descendants of Theseus—in Demon's version of the story (*FGH* 327 F 1), Thymoites was an illegitimate son who had killed his brother Apheidas in order to get the throne²⁶—to the family of Kodros. The story may have been influenced by a riddle—'Black Killing Yellow got the Blacklands'²⁷—and employs symbolism associated with the transformation of the adolescent who fights alone, in the dark, by stratagem, and wears a black cloak, into the hoplite.²⁸ It makes use of phratry names: Thymaitis was a phratry,²⁹ Apheidantidai a genos, and Melanthos' grandson was Medon, eponym of the phratry Medontidai. On the other hand, it also has Homeric overtones; a Thymoites appears in the *Iliad* (3. 146) and the fictitious accomplice of Xanthos reminds one of Athena's deception of Hektor, leading him to believe that he would have the support of his brother Deiphobos in his duel with Achilles (22. 226–99).

²⁴ See ch. 18 at nn. 12–18 on the divergent tendencies of proto-poleis and amphiktyonic centres, and on the views of Polignac 1984.

²⁵ The main source is Hellanikos *FGH* 323a F 23; on Thymoites and Apheidas see *FGH* 327 F 1 (Demon), and 90 F 48 (Nic. Dam.).

²⁶ This seems to imply that the genos Apheidantidai (ch. 20 nn. 127, 142) claimed to be superior in status to commoners in the phratry Thymaitis.

²⁷ Polyain. *Strat.* 1. 19 calls it an oracle, but it may be a riddle about night and day or winter and summer (cf. Usener 1898); in either case it would refer to a Pyrrhic victory. The duel is located either at Melainai, a hamlet on the eastern end of Parnes which is mentioned in the hekatostai records (Lambert 1997a, 196 no. 34) and in Euphorion's *Dionysos* (19e 25–6 Van Groningen 1977), and acquired deme status in the Roman period (Traill 1975a), or at the western end of Parnes in the area of Oinoe and Panakton, where there was conflict between Athens and Boiotia during the Peloponnesian War (M. H. Munn 1989; M. C. Taylor 1997, 260–2). The position of Melainai in the hekatostai records would put it either in tribe IX with Aphidnai or in X (so Lambert) with Kolonai and Eitea; St. Byz. s.v. *Melaineis* puts it in X. As a (late) deme it belonged to Ptolemais, to which Kolonai-X was transferred (D. M. Lewis 1973a n. 15). Cf. ch. 32 n. 35.

²⁸ Vidal-Naquet 1981; cf. also Winkler 1990b, 35 n. 43; Lambert 1993, 150–1.

²⁹ Lambert connects Thymaitis' cult of Zeus Xenios with this myth, but see Rolley 1965; above, n. 13. Zeus Xenios had a *trapeza* in Cretan men's houses, *FGH* 467 F 1 (Athen. 143c).

Melanthos' son Kodros was also a trickster who saved Athens by his cunning; the story is made up of diverse elements, some popular and some learned (N. D. Robertson 1988). It probably did not acquire its connection with Mt Parnes and the phratry before the sixth century, when Athens became interested in Eleutherai,³⁰ and some of the elaborations that made it seem true—the explanation of the riddle, the etymology connecting the festival name Apatouria with *apatê*, deceit,³¹ the explanation of the change of dynasty—may belong to the speculations of local historians in the fifth century. The story developed its own dynamic: the more details it contained, the greater its explanatory power, and the more it could explain, the more persuasive it became.³²

THE SIXTH CENTURY

Solon's legislation, it has been suggested here, encouraged ambitious families to take more interest in their phratry by allowing rich non-Eupatridai to hold office and defining the right of all phratry members, *qua* citizens, to vote. The phratry (and/or naukrariai? ch 18 n. 96) were presumably the cadre in which the regionally defined factions Diakrioi and Paralioi mobilized. Whatever the precise meaning of the law on *homogalaktes* and orgeones (n. 3 above), it is improbable that phratry voted in the sixth century on the eligibility of boys for whom the koureion was being offered,³³ or had written lists of members. If no one 'led the lamb away from the altar', sacrifice would constitute admission; any objection to sacrifice would come from kin or other members of the phratry who knew the boy and his sponsor, and these would normally be members of the same banqueting group;³⁴ a banqueting group whose lamb or lambs had been

³⁰ A Homericized version of a story about the Kodridai could have appealed to the Peisistratids, whose own family claimed Neleid descent (Hdt. 5. 65. 3; cf. N. D. Robertson 1988). On the treatment of Dionysos Melanaigis, Eleutherai, and the City Dionysia in Connor 1989 see Sourvinou-Inwood 1994*a*. For Kodros see also Steinbock 2011.

³¹ This enabled Athens to claim to have founded a pan-Ionian festival (Hdt. 1. 147), a claim which was particularly apt in the period of empire, but might have been developed earlier (cf. Solon F 4a West and Peisistratos' activities at Delos, Hdt. 1. 64. 2, Thuc. 3. 104. 1). The form Apatouria is Ionic and not Attic (Threatte 1980, 239–40), so there was presumably a period when the Ionian character of the festival was stressed even on the mainland. The interpretation of the name as meaning 'festival of those who have the same fathers' is given by Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 146.

³² See Calame 1990, 35–6, on 'intellectual elaboration round a stimulus experienced as part of reality'; the verbal coincidence *Apatê*/*Apatouria* was experienced as 'real'.

³³ Even later there was no vote at *meion* and *gamelia*; see below, n. 79. C. B. Patterson 2005, 283, suggests that phratry norms may have varied.

³⁴ *Genos*, *orgeones*, *thiasos*; we do not know exactly what the 6th c. terminology was, and it may have varied from one phratry to another, but the form of the festival, in which phratry members contributed victims more or less in rotation, favoured division into smallish units, perhaps of about 30 men if we can

sacrificed would settle down to the business of cooking and sharing the meat rather than paying close attention to the sacrifices of other groups. Solon's laws excluded *nothoi* (bastards) and temporary immigrants from formal phratry membership, but they were probably policed by those who had an interest in enforcing them rather than by phratry authorities; the latter would judge disputes rather than examine all candidates' credentials.

Peisistratos' local judges (*dikastai kata dêmons*; cf. Humphreys 1983*b*; ch. 21 n. 101) may have played some role in such disputes, but on the whole the tyrants do not seem to have been interested in phratry activities; they favoured city festivals in which they could take the role of patrons of the whole community. By the time of Kleisthenes' reforms in 507, the phratries will have enjoyed forty years of relative freedom from involvement in elite rivalry, during which local ambitions and local affairs will have occupied most of their attention.

As usually happened after a change of regime, there were attempts to pay off old scores by accusing opponents of having gained entry to the phratries illegitimately. There had been immigration to the city during the sixth century both from the Attic countryside and, probably, from outside Attika. Whether migrants within Attika travelled back to their villages of origin for the Apatouria or sought entry to phratries in the city area, other phratry members would know less about their wives and children than about those of village residents. A general feeling that phratry affiliation and residence in many cases no longer coincided, and that this situation led to loss of control over the composition of the citizen body, was very probably one of the motives for Kleisthenes' reforms, though perhaps not the only one.³⁵

It is unlikely that Kleisthenes made any change in the number of phratries, or indeed legislated explicitly on them at all.³⁶ The traditional ritual of sacrifice at the Apatouria was left in place, but the function of admitting boys to citizenship

judge from *A.P.* fr. 3 (but *triakas* in Pollux 8. 111 does not seem to have any independent standing), and the Spartan syssition (ch. 18 n. 34; see also Steinhauer 2004, 168–70 with ch. 29 n. 91). At the Apatouria lambs would be 8 to 9 months old, and a lamb would feed 30 to 50 people (Holly Wolff, pers. comm.; cf. Rosivach 1994, 157–8).

³⁵ In *A.P.* 13. 5 (see P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*) Sandys emended *d(ia)phēmismo(n)* to *diapsēphismōn*. It does not seem to me impossible that corruption of a phrase containing *phēmē* lies behind the papyrus text; if *diapsēphismōn* is the correct reading I would take it as a reference to the new registration in demes, not to a separate procedure (ch. 22 n. 19). Boardman 1974, ch. 2–3, is inclined to minimize the number of vase painters immigrating to Athens in the 6th c.; construction of the Olympicion will have brought in other craftsmen. Cf. ch. 20 n. 47 on the Gephyraioi.

³⁶ O. Murray 1987 (1990*b*, 14–15) revives the interpretation of *Ar. Pol.* 1319*b* 19–26 as evidence that Kleisthenes standardized the phratries, brought them under state control, and increased their number, but this part of the passage may refer only to Kyrene (cf. N. F. Jones 1987, 216–9; Hölkeskamp 1993; G. Anderson 2003). It seems to me that Solon must have dealt with phratries; the fact that the Athenian settlement on Salamis was not incorporated into the deme system might suggest that it had already been given a peculiar status under the phratry system because it was not felt possible to create new phratries.

was transferred to the newly created demes. The decision to set entry to the demes two years later than entry to the phratries³⁷ may have been taken with the aim of separating the two procedures more clearly, but if so the calculation misfired; it was the fact that phratries pronounced on a boy's legitimacy and right to citizenship earlier than demes which gave phratry admission continuing importance.

The process of determining which settlements would become demes (ch. 21) may have had a greater impact on the phratries, both immediately and in the long run, than the loss of their formal right to confer citizenship.³⁸ A complex of myths from the Dekeleia–Aphidnai area perhaps gives us a glimpse of the passions aroused. Dekelos, eponym of the local genos of the phratry Demotionidai, and Titakos, eponym of the phratry or genos Titakidai, were said to have helped the Dioskouroi in their search for Helen when Theseus had snatched her and hidden her at Aphidnai. Dekelos told them where she was, and Titakos betrayed Aphidnai to them (Herodotus 9. 73).

The story is hostile both to Theseus and to Aphidnai. Theseus appears in a bad light; Helen was only seven and he had taken her without the knowledge or permission of her kin.³⁹ Resentment of Kimon's exploitation of the Theseus legend in the 470s may be involved.⁴⁰ The hostility to Aphidnai, however, is likely to go back to the years round Kleisthenes' reform. Aphidnai was the home of the Gephyraioi, who had emerged into prominence as a result of the killing

³⁷ Cf. Labarbe 1953 (doubted by Lambert 1993). Hyp. F LXV/192 Blass 1894 seems to imply a two-year period of latency between admission to the phratry and full adulthood, attested by the phrase *epi dietes hēbēsai* in early law, which would have been reduplicated in the deme system (*A.P.* 42. 5); but if this interpretation is correct, Didymos (Harp. s.v. *epi dietes*) misunderstood the phrase (n. 47). Note that in Plat. *Laws* 785a–b phratries are to keep registers of citizens (though the city also had demes); children are to be registered from their first year, with archon dates.

³⁸ For the role of deme affiliation in determining internal lines of cleavage within phratries cf. ch. 22 n. 71.

³⁹ Cf. ch. 20 n. 46. Helen's age varies: she is 7, and Theseus is 50, in Hellanikos *FGH* 323a F 18–19; she is 10 in D. S. 4. 63, 12 in Apollod. *Epit.* 1. 23. The detail that the Dioskouroi captured Theseus' mother Aithra was introduced to explain the presence of an Aithra among Helen's servants in *Il.* 3. 144 (*FGH* 323a F 20–1). The story was told in the *Cypria* and by Alkman (F 21 Page 1951). Paus. 1. 41. 4 ff., who quotes Alkman, has a Megarian version in which the Dioskouroi were accompanied to Aphidnai by Timalkos son of Megareus. There are some possible versions of the seizure or liberation in the early 7th c. (the liberation was portrayed on the chest of Kypselos), and quite a cluster of representations on Attic vases in the late 6th/early 5th. Dekelos, Titakos, and Aphidnos (king of Aphidnai, who wounded Kastor in the right thigh) do not appear (*LIMC*, s.v. *Helen*). In Plut. *Thes.* 32 it is Akademos who helps the Dioskouroi.

⁴⁰ However, a Demotion son of Kydas (cf. Kydantidai) appears among the companions of Theseus in schol. Verg. *Aen.* 6. 21 (ch. 20 n. 127), which might suggest that Kimon had some friends among the Demotionidai; but this list may well be a later construction. The name Demotion (borne by the archon of 470/69) is attested in the classical period in Acharnai, Aphidnai (*IG* ii² 5736 + 7038), Lamprai, Phegous, Phrearrhioi (*APF* 3738), and Prospalta; cf. also *CAT* 3. 373a. It may however have been used merely as a convenient variant of other names based on the root Demo-.

of Peisistratos' son Hipparchos by two of their members in 514 (ch. 20 n. 48). Their deed was turned into a heroic exploit of resistance to tyranny, especially by those who resented the claims of the Alkmeonidai that it was they who had rid Athens of tyrants. The Gephyraioi were sufficiently popular locally to persuade the inhabitants of a large number of local hamlets to register as demesmen in Aphidnai, which became in consequence the second-largest deme in Attika, with sixteen councillors. It would be hardly surprising if leading families in local phratry centres were resentful. There was no doubt already a local cult of the Dioskouroi,⁴¹ and other legends linked Theseus to northern Attika (Hekale, the Marathonian bull); but the use made of the story of the rape of Helen by the groups claiming descent from Dekelos and Titakos probably belongs to the late sixth and early fifth century.

This was a period of very active work on 'mythical' history and genealogies, and it may be rash to assume that all myths concerning phratry eponyms are, in the versions we have, substantially pre-Kleisthenic. The linking of Thymoites, Apheidas, and Melanthos in the founding myth of the Apatouria indicates familiarity with the names of phratries and *genê*, but this familiarity was not lost overnight; and the idea of identifying phratry eponyms as kings of Attika who had not been incorporated into the group of ten tribal eponyms established by Kleisthenes may well belong to the period after his reforms.

A third early king who was also a phratry eponym, Medon, has a peculiar status. The term *medôn* means 'ruler', so the phratry name Medontidai is parallel to the name Basilidai attested for Ephesos and Erythrai, in both cities supposedly denoting a hereditary oligarchy that held power in early times.⁴² Both the stories attached to king Medon concern kingship. In the first, his right to rule is challenged by his brother Neleus because Medon is lame; when the Delphic oracle supports Medon, Neleus leaves to lead migrants to Ionia. In the second story, Medon gives up his kingship and takes instead the position of 'archon for life'.⁴³ The first story belongs to the context of Athens' claims to be the metropolis of

⁴¹ Plotheia contributed to a festival Anakia (*IG* i³ 258). Cf. ch. 24 n. 50.

⁴² Suda s.v. *Pythagoras Ephesios*; Ar. *Pol.* 1305b 18–22. The Attic Medontidai were taken to be a *genos* until *Agora* XIX P 5 showed them to be a phratry (cf. nn. 127, 153); since Thymaitis also had a king as eponym, we do not need to postulate a *genos* Medontidai in addition to the phratry. On Medon see Carlier 2005. It is not necessary to attribute either Solon or Peisistratos to the Medontidai (comm. *FGH* 323a F 23, nn. 16, 70). Wilhelm 1940*b* restored [Me]donti[dou] in *IG* ii² 2411, but Traill (*Agora* XV 72) reads —AONTI—; there is a Medontis in *IG* ii² 12050, 4th c.

⁴³ Hellanikos *FGH* 323a F 11, 23, with comm.; Paus. 7. 2. 1, Ael. *V.H.* 8. 5. Neleus was worshipped in Attika with Kodros and Basile, *IG* i³ 84 (the shrine was called the Neleion); possibly the colonization story explained his absence from the king list, but there seems to have been an independent tradition about him at least at Miletos (Jacoby, *FGH* loc. cit.). On the Ionian migration see ch. 18 at nn. 3–4. Jacoby attributes the second story to Kleidemos (it seems to have been known to Ephoros, D. S. 8. 22, *FGH* 90 F 49, comm. *FGH* 323a F 23, p. 46), but Hellanikos should not be excluded. On the archon's oath, *A.P.* 3. 3, see P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 100–1; it evidently contained Akastos' name, and a variant attributes

Ionia, and is therefore not likely to be much, if at all, earlier than the sixth century; the second may be a rationalization of the name Medon, and is also related to the tradition that the Athenian archons' oath was first sworn by or in the reign of Medon's son Akastos.

One might say, then, that whereas Solon's legislation on citizenship had given the phratries new, modern functions by incorporating them into the machinery of the state, Kleisthenes' reform reorientated them towards conceptions of history and tradition. The Apatouria became one of Athens' major public holidays; not, like the Panathenaia or City Dionysia, an occasion for watching organized events in the city, but a vacation period in which city dwellers took to the roads and returned to villages with which their families had past ties, for three days of informal, rustic jollity.⁴⁴ There will also have been other local religious festivals for which phratry officials and priests were responsible, and the process by which these passed into deme control must have varied considerably as a function of the relations between phratry and deme boundaries, whether leading families of the phratry were still resident in its centre, were distributed among two or more demes in the area of the phratry, or had moved to the city, etc. In the early years after Kleisthenes' reforms, leading families now registered in city demes may have concentrated on deme rather than phratry affairs (cf. ch. 20 n. 69 on Kimon).

FUNCTIONS

Since almost all our evidence for local cults comes from the post-Kleisthenic period, it will be easier to consider the question of the transfer of cults from phratry to deme in the analysis of demes, in chs. 23–32. It should be stressed here, however, that there is growing evidence from other areas in the Greek world for the variety of cults attached to phratries and their shrines. The list of festivals celebrated by the Labyadaï at Delphi, which included cults of Hera, the Dioskouroi, and Herakles, in addition to Apollo (*CID* 9 D; cf. R/O no. 1, Jacquemin a. o. 2012 no. 30), provides a good example. The sanctuary used by

the life archonship to him. All this is sophistic erudition. In addition, the *Certamen* (§ 16) makes Homer a guest of King Medon in Athens.

⁴⁴ N. F. Jones 1999, 207–8 (followed by Papazarkadas 2011, 164) thinks that it became common for urban residents to celebrate phratry festivals in the city (as some Demotionidai appear to have done c.413–397; cf. Xen. *Hell* 1. 7. 8) even in peacetime; but the provisions for travel time at the Apatouria (n. 63) do not support this view. Travel may also be implied by the provision of *IG* ii² 1237 B 59–64 (Demotionidai) for 5 days' notice of a change of venue for sacrifices; though the provision in B 71–8 for cases in which fewer than 3 members of the sponsor's *thiasos* are present may suggest some reluctance to travel. (Ismard 2010, 324 wrongly cites Lambert 1993 as suggesting that not all phratries celebrated the festival on the same date.)

the *patrai* of Thasos, plausibly identified with the Thesmophorion (Rolley 1965; cf. Grandjean 2013), was used for sacrifices to Zeus, Athena, Artemis, and the Nymphs. The Samian Apatouria included a sacrifice by women to Kouroutrophos, at the crossroads, which men were not allowed to attend.⁴⁵ Women must certainly have celebrated festivals in Attika before Kleisthenes' reforms; possibly, since women who married outside their own phratries would change phratry at marriage, and decisions about responsibility for festivals would be made by men, women's festivals may have been taken over by demes at a relatively early stage.

The only cultic function that phratries undoubtedly retained throughout their existence was responsibility for the Apatouria and the *gamêlia*, *meion*, and *koureion* offered at this festival. At least one phratry continued to meet for the Thargelia (Isaios 7. 15), but we do not know that this was true of all phratries (perhaps more likely for those with a base in or near the city?). Papazarkadas 2011, 167 suggests that Dyaleis held a meeting in Elaphebolion. Nor do we know that all phratries required members to sacrifice the *meion* for newly born children and to offer *gamêlia* in the year of their marriage. There will however have been some pressure from members of feasting groups (*thiasoi*) to claim contributions on these occasion if they were aware of births and marriages, and some concern on the part of phratry members whose affairs might be suspected of some irregularity to ensure that they had witnesses to the acceptance of these offerings.

It seems by now solidly established that *gamelia* were offered by a husband introducing his wife to fellow phrateres. The *meion* was sacrificed for a child in its first year,⁴⁶ and the *koureion* was sacrificed for boys at sixteen (Labarbe 1953; Lambert 1993, 165 is doubtful). At the time when the *koureion* was sacrificed for a boy he also cut his hair, but this does not seem to have been a prominent element in the phratry ritual. A wine offering, however, was probably required

⁴⁵ *Vita Homeri* 29–30. There seems also to have been variation in the deities associated with the Apatouria: Phanagoreia, a colony of Teos, had a cult of Aphrodite Apatouria (Guarducci 1937–8 I, p. 76); Athena Apatouria was worshipped at Troizen, with offerings from girls about to be married (Paus. 2. 33. 1, Schmitt-Pantel 1977). On Apollo Patroios in Athens see n. 126.

⁴⁶ Evidently the *meion* could be sacrificed late: n. 82 below), cf. Ar. *Frogs* 422, Andok. 1. 126–7. The term might mean 'the lesser sacrifice' (compared to the *koureion*; cf. Chantraine 1968, Frisk 1960, s.v., but see R. Parker 2005a, 459 n. 12), and there seems to have been some process of inspection of the lambs (ch. 9 nn. 18, 54). It may however have been Aristophanes (in the *Dramata*, F 299 PCG, cited by schol. *Frogs* 798, and in this passage of *Frogs*) who introduced the idea of a weighing connected specifically with the *meion*. In *Dram.* the speaker is worried that his lamb will be judged too light; the text may be corrupt (PCG F 299: see Lambert 1993, 168–9 n. 146). Apollod. *Peri theôn*, FGH 244 F 108, says that at the inspection the phrateres would call for a lamb to be weighed if it appeared too small; this view seems preferable to the claim (going back to Eratosthenes' *Peri kômôidias*) that all lambs were weighed, but both explanations are probably speculative. Calame 1990, 323, confuses the Choes with the *meion*, which seems to me a mistake (cf. also Burkert 1985, 255). All references to sacrifices at the Apatouria are to lambs, except the pig of the Salaminioi, *Agora* XIX L 4a 92, so the pig-sacrifice relief discussed by Palagia 1995 (cf. Vikela 1997 n. 26) must commemorate a different occasion.

and may have been supervised by the *oinoptai*.⁴⁷ We do not know whether the gamelia required a sacrifice or merely wine and food to be consumed by fellow phrateres,⁴⁸ nor whether the meion was required for daughters as well as sons.⁴⁹

For further information on phratry ritual we have to turn to two problematic sources: the Oschophoria as (in my view) reorganized by Kimon c.476, and Aristophanes' *Peace*.

It was argued in ch. 18 that Athens had a conglomeration of rituals associated with different groups and contexts which all clustered around the summer solstice, and which were given calendar dates and a fixed sequence only when the city's festival calendar was set down in writing, probably at the time of Solon. The phratries' share in this complex of rituals consisted of perhaps the Thargelia, which farmers would celebrate in their villages at the beginning of the harvest season, and the Synoikia, for which they would congregate in Athens after the intensive work of the grain harvest was done.

The phratry year, however, like the agricultural year, began in Pyanopsion (October–November) and not in midsummer. The fruit harvests were completed, and newly adult boys whose testicles had swelled like the fruit⁵⁰ were admitted to

⁴⁷ A. Chankowski 2010, 72–81, accepts 16 as the age of phratry admission, but with a complicated and unpersuasive argument linking the expression *epi dietes hēban/hēbēsai* to his belief in a more-or-less formal ephebate introduced in the early 4th c. (115–42); cf. id. 2014. *Koureion* is probably derived from *keiro* rather than *kouros/koros*; *koureion* appears as a shearing sacrifice in LSAM 39 (Thebes-by-Mykale, 4th c.). In Gleontis boys may have offered their hair to the Kephisos; although the procedure envisaged in *Il.* 23. 144–8 is irregular (Achilles has promised to offer a lock of hair and 50 fullgrown rams to Spercheios if he returns safely from Troy; it seems to be assumed that he will reach manhood during the campaign), the association between haircutting and rivers may be derived from a regular ritual for adolescents. Cf. Burkert 1975, 18; ch. 9 n. 29; S. F. Schröder 1986; Diggle 2004, 406. Wine offering to Herakles, see Lambert 1993, 163; n. 69 below.

⁴⁸ Sacrifice in Hsch. s.v. *gamēlia*; Ar. *Peace* (see below at nn. 60–73) has a sacrifice, but he may be combining elements from more than one of the Apatouria rites; game and special breads are also mentioned. The priest of the Demotionidai got no perquisites from gamelia. The Labyadai (*CIDI* 9 = R/O 1) offered *darata*, apparently a form of bread, for weddings and the birth of children (*gamela* and *paidēia*), and sacrificed only for the introduction of new members (*apellaia*); all these offerings had to be formally approved by the phratry. Wives are introduced to the group in *IG* xii *suppl.* 303 = R/O 61 (Tenos, late 4th/early 3rd c.). If gamelia had in early times been directly linked to weddings, as in the *Peace*, dispersal of phratry members to live at a distance from the centre will have made gamelia problematic (cf. ch. 9 at n. 47).

⁴⁹ Is. 3. 73 shows that the idea of offering the meion for a daughter was not unthinkable (cf. Plat. *Laws* 785a–b), but the statement there that meion and gamelia were required by the law of Pyrrhos' phratry suggests that the requirement was not universal. Lambert's idea (1993) that the meion was required only for epikleroi is untenable, and incompatible with Is. 3. 73, since a girl was not technically epikleros until her father's death. Pace S. G. Cole 1984, 237, it is not difficult to assume that at least some women passed from attachment to their father's phratry to that of their husband.

⁵⁰ The words *ōschos* (vine-branch with grapes on) and *oschea* (testicles) seem to have been felt to be related, and the suggestion of LSJ that we should read *ōschon* in Ar. *Ach.* 995 for MSS *kladon* is attractive (the chorus' visions of peace include suggestions of sexual pleasure as well as replanting the farm). Cf. *Et.* M. 619. 32 (s.v. *oischos*): *klēma botruas pherōn orgōntas kai gennaious*. Calame 1990, 325 thinks the pun

the phratries; in the same month, women celebrated the Thesmophoria and new seed was placed in the ground; the Apatouria was also a time for marriages.

THE OSCHOPHORIA

The ritual calendar for Pyanopsion began with the Oschophoria on the sixth of the month,⁵¹ the Pyanopsia on the seventh, and the Theseia on the eighth. Women's celebrations began with the Stenia on the ninth and continued through the Thesmophoria on the eleventh to thirteenth. The torch race in honour of Prometheus may also have taken place about this time, perhaps on the fourteenth.⁵² The Apatouria were celebrated over three days some time between the nineteenth and the twenty-fourth, or the twenty-sixth and the twenty-eighth; the Chalkeia, in honour of Athena and Hephaistos, were celebrated on the last day of the month.

The Oschophoria and Pyanopsia seem to use related sets of symbols drawn from the domain of food preparation to represent the transition from primitive life to civilization: at the Pyanopsia, from the boiled pulses which gave the festival its name to the figs, bread, honey, oil, and wine cup hung from the eiresione branch which boys carried from house to house, and at the Oschophoria from the grapes carried in the procession to the bread, meat, and (probably) wine provided by the *deipnophoroi*.⁵³

was invented by lexicographers (but *orchon* has similar connotations in the same passage, Henderson 1975, 125, 162). Pouilloux 1954*a*, Knoepfler 1989, and Salviat 1992 all put the beginning of the Thasian year in Apatourion (Trümper 1997, 68–9 disagrees). Cf. discussion of the ritual in Koutsoubou 2012.

⁵¹ The Salaminioi sacrificed an ox to Theseus on the 6th (*Agora XIX L 4a*), and it seems likely that this was their contribution to the Oschophoria, to which the state also contributed; the state's Theseia were celebrated on the 8th and the Oschophoria can hardly have been later. Thorikos sacrificed to Neanias in Pyanopsion, probably at the Pyanopsia. On all these dates see Mikalson 1975. Calame 1990 dates the Oschophoria on the 7th; N. D. Robertson 1992 (followed by Jameson 1994*c*) puts the festival in Boedromion, when the Salaminioi sacrificed to Poseidon Hippodromios, Phaiax, Teukros, and Nauseiros.

⁵² This date is suggested by N. D. Robertson 1985. The resemblance of the Thesmophoria to the festival of new fire at Lemnos (Burkert 1970*b*) might provide some support for dating one of the Athenian torch-races to Pyanopsion, but the race for Hephaistos is usually associated with the Chalkeia, and two torch races within three weeks is perhaps unlikely. Even the assumption that [Xen.] *A.P.* 3. 4 lists the races (Panathenaia, Prometheia, Hephaistia) in calendar order is not certain; a reference to gymnasiarchs may have dropped out (J. K. Davies 1967), and Polemon F 6 Preller 1838 has Panathenaia–Hephaistia–Prometheia.

⁵³ Calame 1990. He thinks there was a race with vine branches as well as a procession at the Oschophoria, but the arguments of Jacoby (*FGH III B suppl. ad 328 F 14–16*) are not seriously addressed here, nor in R. Parker 2005*a*, 173–7, Pilz 2011. Calame therefore includes the *pentaploa* drunk by the victor in the race (in Jacoby's view at the Skira) in the food symbolism of this festival. In pre-Kimonian times, at least, a race at the Oschophoria could hardly have been a tribal relay race, and I do not think we have evidence of individual races in which the runners had to carry something fragile (torches blow out,

There also seem to me to be close links between the Oshophoria and Apatouria. The procession from a temple of Dionysos in Athens to the sanctuary of Athena Skiras at Phaleron was led by two adolescent boys dressed as girls and carrying grape branches. When the participants had arrived at Phaleron there was a ritual supper; the following day, the procession back to Athens was accompanied by mixed shouts of joy and mourning, 'Eleleu, Eleleu!' and 'Iou, Iou!' In the Kimonian interpretation, the disguise of the Oshophoroi and the ritual supper were associated with the departure of Theseus for Crete⁵⁴ and the ruse of disguising some of the young men taken as tribute for the Minotaur in female clothing; the return procession was associated with Theseus' return and the story that he failed to change the black sail of his ship for a white one, and thus caused his father's death. Theseus' legend was in any case full of initiatory tests and exploits, but the expedition to Crete counts among these; it included the episode in which Poseidon acknowledged that he was Theseus' father.

My suggestion is that before the reinterpretation of the festival by Kimon the Oshophoria was a ritual carried out by the *genos* Salaminioi as a prelude to the Apatouria. After processing from Athens to Phaleron, they ate the supper on the evening of the feast, the Dorpeia, in their own sanctuary of Athena Skiras at Phaleron,⁵⁵ and on the following day proceeded to Alopeke (their candidates for phratry admission wearing black cloaks? n. 28) for the phratry sacrifice to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria.⁵⁶ The Oshophoria and Apatouria may have become separated even before Kimon's day, although it is also possible that the choice of a date for the Theseia required rescheduling of the Oshophoria. Thesmophoria and Apatouria seem to belong to a single turn-of-the-year complex; at the Thesmophoria men left the city and women took over, and the festival was associated with the sowing of new seed; at the Apatouria the phratries began a new year. The process of mapping local sequences of Proerosia/ploughing—Thesmophoria/sowing—Apatouria onto a single calendar sequence which gave

Frogs 1087–98, vine branches break; cf. R. Parker 2005*a*, 213 n. 95). A tribal race introduced by Kimon (in imitation of the Skira?) is possible; it might be considered aptly to symbolize the anxieties of the transition to adulthood, and would prefigure the games of the Apatouria. Note Calame's analysis of the links between the Thargelia and Pyanopsia.

⁵⁴ Note that according to Kleidemos (*FGH* 323 F 17; cf. 328 F 111) Theseus assembled his fleet for the attack on Crete at Thymaitadai, i.e. St. George's Bay; this detail forms part of a rationalizing criticism of the whole myth attached to the Oshophoria, but phratry rivalry may also be involved. Cf. M. C. Miller 1999 on transvestism; Waldner 2000, ch. IV.

⁵⁵ The *deipna* were, or included, loaves offered in the shrine of (Athena) Skiras, and subsequently distributed (R. Parker 2005*a*, 215). Deipnophoroi for the Kekropidai, Philoch. *FGH* 328 F 164a; Dorpophoroi as minor deities, associated with nymphs, on Paros, Tiverios 1975.

⁵⁶ For Alopeke see Humphreys 1990*a*, and below at nn. 173ff. I wonder whether the practice of wreathing the herald's staff might be linked to some early method of spreading the news through Attika that the time had come to celebrate the Apatouria (the Salaminioi, however, had their own herald).

a special place to celebrations in Eleusis and Athens may well have produced a spacing out of rituals that had once been more closely linked.⁵⁷

Kimon, in any case, took a *genos* ritual which had lost some of its importance as a result of Kleisthenes' reforms, gave it a new interpretation, and placed it in a new ritual sequence as prelude to the Theseia. Details of correspondence between myth and rite were no doubt worked out only gradually, both in the oral tradition of festival explanation and by the Attidographers, and contradictions remained: for example, the compression of the whole of Theseus' expedition and return into a two-day festival was problematic, and generated an alternative view in which the departure was commemorated by the offering of a suppliant branch to Apollo and Artemis on Mounychion 6.⁵⁸ Kimon's choice was no doubt multiply determined; he had brought the bones of Theseus back from Skyros at the end of his campaign, which orientated the search for Theseian elements in ritual towards autumn; concern with his own family's mythical ancestry would have aroused his interest in the Salaminioi, who also claimed descent from Ajax; Theseus' expedition to Crete provided a mythical charter for Athenian seapower. There is no suggestion that his choice was made in a cynical and rational calculation; rather, his practical and mythical preoccupations would make him receptive to signs that the Oschophoria was 'really' a commemoration of Theseus' journey to Crete.⁵⁹

As usual (Humphreys 1999; cf. Stein-Hölkeskamp 1999) Kimon acted with a brilliant flair for the use of political symbolism. Kleisthenes' reforms, rather than excluding the phratries and *genê* from the symbolic repertory and milieu of Athenian politics, opened up opportunities for restructuring the control of ritual power.

⁵⁷ The official announcement of the Proerosia was sent out from Eleusis on Pyanopsion 5, but the date of deme celebrations remained variable even in the classical period (ch. 22 n. 108; Mikalson 1975; R. Parker 2005a, 479). The Eumolpidai in 152/1 held a *genos* meeting on Pyanopsion 5 *kat' archonta*, 16 *kata theon*, possibly in connection with this announcement (*Hesp.* 1942, 293–8 no. 58; on dates *kata theon* see Roesch 1982, 60–8; Pritchett 2001, 88–91). In Ionian cities that have a month Apatouria, it often follows Pyanopsion, which suggests that the Apatouria were celebrated late in that month.

⁵⁸ Mikalson 1975; the association with Apollo Oulios and Artemis Oulia may go back to Kimon's own day (Pherekydes *FGH* 3 F 149; ch. 20 n. 65); on Kimon's use of Theseus, and claims made in his time that Ajax was Theseus' son, see Barron 1980. It may even be relevant that the ritual calendar of the Salaminioi began in Mounichion; however, the first sacrifice that the *genos* itself financed concerned Herakles.

⁵⁹ Calame 1990 rejects the interpretation of Theseus' voyage as an initiation, but I am not clear that we are in serious disagreement. Oddly, the Apatouria do not figure in his analysis. Note p. 320 on Apollo Delphinios' association with citizenship. On Theseus' voyage see also N. D. Robertson 2005. The mental process envisaged here is what Gernet (1948) called 'composer dans le fil de l'imagination légendaire' (cf. Humphreys 1978, 91); preformed cultural associations (links between the Oschophoria symbolism and the transition to adulthood, Theseus as the quintessential *ephebos*) laid the ground for an elaboration experienced as recognition of what was already implicit in the ritual.

ARISTOPHANES' *PEACE*

Our best guide to the ritual of the Apatouria is Aristophanes' *Peace* (421), which contains an extended parody of the festival lasting from Trygaios' return from Heaven with Peace, Harvest-Time, and Public Holiday (Theoria) in line 819 to the wedding song at the end of the play.⁶⁰ Trygaios arrives late in the evening of Dorpeia, he has had a long journey, his legs are tired, and the village seems small and primitive after his travels, as it might to a city dweller returning to his rural phratry base.⁶¹ Some of the richer phrateres are making their way home by lantern light after the communal *deipnon* to spend a comfortable night in bed; these are the shooting stars he passed on his way through the sky, and there may be an allusion to the procession of grandly dressed persons carrying lamps in honour of Hephaistos which Istros (FGH 334 F 2) attributes to the Apatouria.⁶² Trygaios himself, with a new bride, is happy to fuck and sleep soundly in the fields with the rest. First, however, he must give Public Holiday to the Council⁶³ so that they can get her legs up in the air and celebrate Anarrhysis—the second day of the festival—with everyone else. As he hands her over he describes the joys in store: you will be able to organize a competition tomorrow (on Anarrhysis) in wrestling and boxing, and the next day horse-racing and chariot-races.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ The first reference may even come with the herald's proclamation in 550–1. A. M. Bowie 1993, Olson 1998, and Scullion 2005 miss these references, though Bowie notes possible links to the Hermaia (adolescents) and the Demeter–Kore myth (Thesmophoria?). Lambert 1993, 158–61 deals with only some of them (not without misunderstandings). On Aristophanes' parody of rituals see also Habash 1997. The seasonal indications in 1140–70 are vague, beginning with the autumn sowing but then looking back to the ripening of the first grapes and figs (Oschophoria, Pyanopsia; note the beans of line 1144). In the second version of the play Opora (or Theoria) was replaced by Georgia (PCG F 305). Trygaios' name refers to the grape harvest.

⁶¹ 'The place looked small from up there—and, I must say, pretty unpolished. And now I'm here, you look coarser still' (820–3).

⁶² As Jacoby (ad loc.) points out, Istros' conception here of Hephaistos as fire-bringer and Athens as the place where fire was introduced is late; if Istros' procession is to be dated to Dorpeia there may have been some changes between Aristophanes' day and his (cf. ch. 9 n. 31).

⁶³ In 323/2 or 366/5 the Council and other officials got 5 days of holiday (Athen. 171a–e; we should of course, *pace* Lambert 1993, 156, accept Wilamowitz' emendation of *boulai* to *archai*); in 421, the year of the Peace, probably only 3 days. The holiday always began on Dorpeia (the statement of the Prologue of Philyllios' Herakles, PCG 7 F 7, 'I am Dorpeia of the *protenthai*', does not mean, *pace* Lambert 155–7, that their day of service was the day preceding the Dorpeia); an extra day for phratry business after Koureotis may have been added at some time in the 4th c. (cf. below, s.v., on the Demotionidai and the tendency to separate ritual from business). It is also possible that the Chalkeia, a festival which increased in importance from the later 4th c. (Humphreys 1985a = 2004, 102, n. 61) was the 5th day of the holiday.

⁶⁴ Did the games take place while the victims were cooking? On Koureotis the participants would be young men from rich horse-owning families, whose victims would no doubt be sacrificed first. I return below to the question when phratry business was done. Trygaios' day ends with wine drinking, perhaps the *oinistéria*.

The second day starts with a sacrifice, described as ‘settling Peace in with pots’ (line 923). *Hidruô*, ‘settle’, was used of sacrifices made at the consecration of a new altar or foundation of a new cult, *chytroi* were the pots used to boil the soups eaten at the Thargelia and Pyanopsia; Aristophanes may be thinking of a reconsecration of rural phratry altars after the period of war, and of a return to the simple diet of village festivals. There are also however, clear references to the sacrifices of the Apatouria.⁶⁵ Trygaios supplies his own lamb; he is celebrating the gamelia. The reference to women getting their share of *krithê* (barley/penis) when their husbands bring it home in the evening is problematic for our understanding of the Apatouria as well as the theatre; at a festival at which brides and babies were ‘introduced’ to the phrateres women must surely have been present, but it is possible that they were expected to remain on the margins of the group and either did not receive a share of meat or often had occasion to complain that they were served very late.⁶⁶

On Koureotis, the third day of the festival, many lambs were cooked and the phrateres would divide into separate feasting groups, for each of which the member or members who had sacrificed at the festival would act as hosts. Pedlars and scroungers would wander from one group to another, hoping for a share of innards or meat; Trygaios is pestered by a religious expert and subsequently by salesmen. He adds further items to the feast—choice types of bread, and game⁶⁷—and listens to two boys rehearsing the songs they will sing at the party, as Plato tells us boys did on Koureotis (*Timaios* 21b).⁶⁸ Finally, he and his bride are escorted home by a crowd of wedding guests singing a hymenaion.

Aristophanes tells us nothing about the conduct of phratry business, which may have been a rather brief affair in the fifth century: the only essential items were to elect a phratriarch for the coming year, and to conduct *enthynai* of outgoing officials if they had managed phratry funds. This may have been done on the second day of the festival; as we shall see, the Demotionidai at the beginning of the fourth century find it necessary to set up new arrangements for voting on candidates for admission and settling disputed cases.

⁶⁵ A reference to games, line 950. Aristophanes did not of course have to follow a single ritual item by item (ch. 9 n. 47), but a fairly close correspondence deepened the audience’s appreciation of the parody. In Aristoph. *Danaïdes* (PCG F 256) the altar of Zeus Herkeios has been founded with *chytroi*; this may be a reference to phratry practices (see PCG comm.; A. Bowie 1993).

⁶⁶ On women in theatre audiences see Goldhill 1994, Spineto 2005. See also S. G. Cole 1984 on women and phratres (n. 48); Lambert 1993. R. Parker 2005a, 458 doubts whether they took part in the Apatouria.

⁶⁷ These may have been the typical gamelia offerings in phratres where there was no sacrifice for the gamelia (cf. the *darata* of the Labyadai, *CID* I 9); Aristophanes may here be combining the sacrifice of the koureion with other contributions made for the gamelia.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Eccl.* 677–8, perhaps another reference to the same custom.

Trygaios does not encounter two boards of phratry officials attested for the Apatouria, the *protenthai*, ‘foretasters’, and the *oinoptai*, wine supervisors, although Aristophanes made a joke about the one-day office of the protenthai in the first version of his *Clouds*. Since they served on Dorpia only, they were perhaps responsible for providing some of the food or religious offerings set out on that date. Athenaios thinks of them as ‘a kind of group (*syntēma*) like parasitoi’ (171c–e); they may have provided *trapezai* for the phratry gods and dined in state themselves. The oinoptai may have served on the same occasion; both were surely phratry liturgists and not state officials.⁶⁹

Even at the time of Kleisthenes’ reforms, if there were only thirty-six phratries, they will have been large bodies, containing on average about 800 adult male members;⁷⁰ there is some evidence in any case that phratry boundaries tended to be more extensive than those of demes.⁷¹ Given the decentralized mode of sacrifice, members contributing victims according to their family circumstances, it is likely that the division into thiasoi attested in the fourth century was an early feature. Whatever the original name given to the groups, it is likely that phratries were divided into smaller sets of fellow feasters whose members habitually clustered together to share meat. Kin will normally have feasted together, unless they were on bad terms, but there will have been some freedom of movement, some coalescence of those with a shared deme affiliation, close affinal ties, or other interests in common.⁷² In the *Iliad*, Andromache imagines Astyanax, after his

⁶⁹ Cf. the material collected in Jameson 1994b. *Protenthai*: note *tenthēs* l. 1120. A connection with the weighing or inspection of lambs (above, n. 46) is perhaps doubtful, given the insistence that the duties of the protenthai began and ended on Dorpia. *Oinoptai*: Athen. 425a–b (Eupolis *Poleis* F 219 PCG 5, Lykourgos F VII 5 Conomis 1970, Phot. s.v. = Didymos p. 38 Moritz Schmidt 1854). The three oinoptai of the Krokonidai, who had a cheap liturgy (Lykourgos F VII S Conomis 1970, *ibid.*), and had to provide lamps and wicks (as well as wine?) may have served at the Theoinia (ch. 20 n. 119), and thus may not represent regular phratry practice. It is possible that each phratry thiasos had its own master of ceremonies, as dining parties usually did. Pace Lambert (1993, 154–5) Eupolis’ contrast between generals and oinoptai does not imply that the latter were state officials. The *oinistēria* seem to be associated with Herakles and hair-cutting rather than being a formal part of the Apatouria; there may well have been local variations (Van Straten 1979), and the companions who shared the wine may at least in some cases have been other young men, gymnasium associates, rather than fellow-phrateres (though Pollux calls it an *epidosis* to the phratry). See Hsch., Phot. s.v. *oinistēria*; Pollux 3. 51–3, 6. 22; Eust. *Il.* 907. 18; Athen. 494 f (= Eupolis F 146 PCG 5, Pamphilos’ lexicon, 1st c. CE). The term *ephēboi* in these entries does not show that the institution was later than the demes or the ephebate.

⁷⁰ The stock figure in ancient texts for the citizen population at the time of the Persian wars was 30,000 (Hdt. 5. 97, 8. 65). I do not know whether we should imagine that very uneven numbers in phratries made it easier for the Athenians to accept uneven size in demes. Cf. n. 174.

⁷¹ The Demotionidai had at least one member from Oion Dekeleikon in addition to those from Dekeleia; the phratry based at Alopeke had members also from Agryle, Kedoi, Euonymon, and Paiania (below, s. *IG* ii² 2345); the Medontidai had members from Gargettos, Melite, and Xypete, and were perhaps based at Kephale (below, n. 127).

⁷² Kinship might of course be combined with other factors.

father's death, wandering forlornly from group to group at a festival and being chased away by another boy because 'Your father does not dine with us';⁷³ the poet may have had groupings like the phratry thiasos in mind.

THE FIFTH CENTURY

The whole atmosphere of Aristophanes' scene is far removed from the formalities of public life. Nevertheless there was legislation on entry to phratries in the fifth century. Perikles' law on citizenship of 451/0 specified that from henceforth only the legitimate children of Athenian parents on both sides were entitled to the status of citizen or (in the case of women) *astê*,⁷⁴ woman of the city; technically this law only applied to demes, but a law quoted by Krateros (*FGH* 342 F 4) specified that anyone exercising phratry rights who was of foreign parents on both sides could be prosecuted in the court of the *nautodikai* (who dealt with cases concerning foreigners), on the last day of the month.⁷⁵ The logic of this ruling may be that it was preceded by a clause stating that Perikles' law was not to be applied retrospectively: phratry members with foreign mothers were to continue in their rights, but if anyone who had a foreign father as well as foreign mother was enjoying phratry membership he could be prosecuted in an equivalent of the *graphê xenias* used against those who exercised citizen rights illegally.⁷⁶ The natural assumption is that this rule is part of Perikles' law or of additional legislation passed in the next few years to clarify disputed points that had arisen since its passage, possibly at the time of the controversies over rights to citizenship generated by the gift of corn from Egypt in 446/5.⁷⁷ The concepts of valid

⁷³ The picture is presumably exaggerated, since Astyanax had kin. Cf. also Aesch. *Eum.* 656; Is. 9. 33.

⁷⁴ On this term see C. B. Patterson 1981.

⁷⁵ Prosecution was restricted to 'those with legal capacity', i.e. adult citizens not subject to any form of *atimia*.

⁷⁶ *Xenias*: Is. 3. 37. One cannot assume that the son of an Athenian mother and a foreign father was entitled to enter a phratry before this law was passed (*pace* Sealey 1987, sons of epikleroi would hardly come into question). The passage quoted is not concerned with defining the criteria of eligibility for citizenship, but with procedure. It has of course no bearing on the (hypothetical) question whether bastards who claimed to have two Athenian parents could become citizens, on which see Humphreys 1974; P. J. Rhodes 1978; C. B. Patterson 1990; Ogden 1996; ch. 22 n. 45. The *nautodikai* existed by 444 and continued to function until c.350. They were evidently created to take over part of the polemarch's load of cases concerning non-citizens, and hence were in existence at the time of the decree for Phaselis (*IG* i³ 10), which implies that there was an alternative to the polemarch's court. However, that decree may well belong to the period after c.454 (*SEG* 51. 27), when Athens was anxious about her position in the E Mediterranean; it is not necessary to assume that it preceded Ephialtes' reforms, since the presiding magistrate continued to declare the court's verdict (*dikazein*) even after the introduction of jury courts (Thür 2004).

⁷⁷ Andrewes (1961), who assumed that Perikles' law applied only to those born after it was passed, thought that disputes would become problematic only c.435, when sons of non-Athenian mothers born

marriage, legitimacy, and citizenship had been related since Solon defined citizenship; because Perikles' law restricted valid marriage to Athenian couples, and offering gamelia in the phratry was still the most formal means of securing public recognition of a marriage, Perikles' law (unlike those of Kleisthenes, which had not affected conceptions of marriage and legitimacy),⁷⁸ must have had an impact on the phratries. The introduction of courts manned by large jury panels in 461 (Humphreys 1983*b*) meant that legal disputes got a wider airing, and points of ambiguity in law rapidly became evident.

Problems arose in the Peloponnesian War, not so much because the law was ambiguous as because the life of rural communities was disrupted. For a number of reasons, it may have been relatively easy for children whose credentials were doubtful to gain entry to phratries, and then use their phratry membership as an argument that they were entitled to deme membership and citizenship also. Controls on sacrifice of the meion seem never to have been strictly exercised; in a society with a high child mortality rate, kin would hesitate before embarking on major quarrels over the status of an infant.⁷⁹ Before the war, a formal vote on eligibility may have been rare; even later, the procedure of settling disputes on eligibility by challenging the sponsor to take an oath, attested in two cases, may have been widespread.⁸⁰ Traditionally, entry to the phratry had been controlled by the interest of kin in preventing recognition of illegitimate children, and the effect of shame on a man caught in a ridiculous or embarrassing situation. There

about 451 reached the age of phratry entry; he dated both Krateros' law and Philochoros' law (*FGH* 328 F 35; above, n. 3) to that period. My own view (Humphreys 1974) is that the law covered all those who were not already deme members when it was passed, and that the question of eligibility for phratry membership, if not already covered in the law, would rapidly be seen to be relevant. Modifications of oaths taken in phratries, to include the assurance that the candidate's mother was *asté* as well as married, may have been introduced independently. The fact that when the law was reformulated in 403 it only applied to those born after that year is not evidence for 451; Athenians were more aware of technical problems in legal drafting by 403 (Humphreys 1988).

⁷⁸ Kleisthenes probably put an end to the limited concession of citizenship to permanent immigrants granted by Solon, and perhaps defined the status of metic, resident alien (but see Bakewell 1997; J. Watson 2010).

⁷⁹ The Demotionidai (below), very punctilious about the koureion, did not vote on the eligibility of children for whom the meion was sacrificed. Lysias *Against Theozotides* (F LXIV 128–50 Carey 2007) argues against an attempt to exclude bastards from the subsidy which orphans received until they reached maturity (chs. 1 n. 102; 29 n. 69), but he seems to be quibbling; de facto the issue of their status was only resolved at 18, but kin would not claim for them unless strongly committed to their support (Carawan 2008 misunderstands the situation).

⁸⁰ Kallias III of Alopeke rejected a child presented to his genos as his for sacrifice of the meion, but later changed his mind and sponsored the boy; the Kerykes challenged him to take an oath, and allowed the sacrifice when he did so (Andokides' exposure of this story, 1. 126–7, probably made it impossible for Kallias to legitimize the child, if he still wanted to do so, when the boy reached adolescence; cf. n. 138 below). When Mantias of Thorikos' elder son by Plangon pressed for introduction to his father's phratry, Mantias challenged Plangon to take an oath, and accepted the result (Dem. 39; Humphreys 1989).

were, however, in the late fifth century, many Athenians who had too little property for their kin to concern themselves with questions of legitimacy; pupils of the sophists who did not care for shame or the sanctity of oaths; groups who would welcome a generous contributor without scrutinizing his credentials or those of his children. Even shame could work two ways, encouraging kin to settle their problems by illegal private compromise if the alternative was confrontation in the courts (ch. 7 at nn. 122–4). Phratryies were large bodies whose members had in many cases become residually dispersed in the course of the centuries; phratry membership was manifest only at phratry meetings, where members spent most of their time in small feasting groups. Whereas candidates admitted by demes were also subject to public inspection, and demesmen frequently had to state their affiliation in public, there were no such controls on phratry membership.

Comic poets, in the war period, play on this laxity. The demagogue Archedemos ‘hadn’t got his phrateres yet when he was seven years old’ (*Frogs* 420–4).⁸¹ Such delays could be excused. A client of (?) Isaïos explains that he was introduced to his father’s phratry at the age of three to four, probably because he was born out of Attika.⁸² Kleruchs must have been a problem for phratryies, as they were for demes. The tradition that law was relaxed in the later years of the war, to allow an Athenian man to beget legitimate children on a woman other than his wife, is problematic,⁸³ but the re-enactment of Perikles’ law in 403, to apply to all children born thereafter, but not retrospectively, indicates a consciousness that the situation had got out of hand in the war years.

THE DEMOTIONIDAI

The same feeling is revealed by the decree passed by the phratry Demotionidai in 396/5 (*IG* ii² 1237, *SEG* 49. 14, R/O no. 5), although there were special

⁸¹ Cf. *Birds* 764–5, and further material collected by Lambert 1993.

⁸² *POxy* 31. 2538, Lysias F A 3a Carey 2007; ch. 9 n. 19 (cf. *Lys.* 30. 2). The parents married in Selymbria, in the Black Sea, perhaps in the last decade of the 5th or the first decade of the 4th c., and the implication that the couple returned immediately to Athens, before their sons were born, may be false. The father was probably dead by the time of the speech, but may have been alive when the koureion was sacrificed; he had remarried after the death of the speaker’s mother and sired another son, who testified for his half-brother. For the possibility that Iphikrates sacrificed the meion late for his son Menestheus see *APF* 7737.

⁸³ Such concessions—known in a variant form in Sparta, Plut. *Lyk.* 15—were made for the sake of the childless men, but with an eye also to the needs of the state for military manpower. Women whose kin accepted such unions on their behalf, in Athens, were perhaps more likely to be metic than Athenian. The tradition is entangled in the question whether Sokrates had two wives (*D. L.* 2. 26); cf. C. B. Patterson 1981, 142–3; 2005, 284; ch. 32 n. 11.

circumstances in their case, since the phratry base Dekeleia had been occupied by a Spartan garrison from 413 to 404. The Spartan choice of this site, though perhaps principally motivated by its position on a defensible hill commanding one of the routes from Boiotia into Attika,⁸⁴ was perhaps also influenced by the presence of a local *genos*⁸⁵ which claimed descent from the hero Dekelos, who had helped the Dioskouroi find Helen when Theseus had seized her and hidden her at Aphidnai; descendants of Dekelos had privileges at Sparta, and in the early years of the war Spartan invaders had refrained from raiding or doing damage in Dekeleian territory.⁸⁶

Much has been written about the regulations of the Demotionidai, and they have recently been the subject of several very full discussions.⁸⁷ Rather than recapitulating previous debates, I shall give my own interpretation with a minimum of supporting analysis.⁸⁸

The legislating body is a phratry, Demotionidai, in which in 396/5 a smaller group calling itself ‘the *oikos* of Dekeleians’ occupied a special position. The *oikos* appointed the phratry priest, and this position may in the early fourth century have been restricted, *de facto* if not *de jure*, to a single lineage;⁸⁹ priest and *oikos* seem to have played a leading role in the campaign for reform. They were probably the beneficiaries of the privileges enjoyed by descendants of Dekelos at Sparta, and some at least seem to have remained in the deme during the period of Spartan occupation.⁹⁰ The priest set up the stele bearing the inscription at his

⁸⁴ See McCredie 1966, Ober 1985, 141–2, ch. 30 n. 45; the wall at Palaioakastro may have been built by the Spartans.

⁸⁵ I.e. a group holding rights to a local priesthood and/or (in this case) other hereditary privileges (see ch. 20). We do not know whether they claimed to be Eupatridai. (A similar view in Lambert 1993, 106, cf. 113–14, 117–18, but he thinks that this group passed the decrees.)

⁸⁶ Hdt. 9. 73, 6. 92; above, nn. 39–40. The privileges need not have dated from time immemorial, nor even from the sixth century. Sophanes, who belonged to the *oikos* of Dekelos and had a panhellenic reputation (Humphreys 1999; cf. Lambert 1993, 113–14), may have inspired the grant himself, or it may have been awarded to some other distinguished member of the *oikos*.

⁸⁷ Hedrick 1990; Lambert 1993; P. J. Rhodes 1997 (cf. R/O no. 5, still taking the *oikos* as the phratry), Lambert 1999b; Ismard 2010, 110–17 (*oikos* a group from the demes of Dekeleia and Oion Dekeleikon). A very good account in Carawan 2010, except for over-emphasis on contested adoptions, as opposed to issues of legitimacy and impostorhood. The *diadikasia* surely did not decide between rival heirs (a phratry could not do this), but between two views of the phratry candidate’s eligibility. Of course challenges would often be motivated by property interests—though not, apparently, in the similar case over deme membership in D. 57—but a victorious challenger would have to pursue these in the courts.

⁸⁸ The problems were essentially solved by Schoell (1889) and Lipsius (1894), but both articles contain eccentricities.

⁸⁹ See Hedrick 1990. Priests’ names were updated twice. The priest in office when the third decree was passed, perhaps c.360 (below, n. 106) was Theodoros son of Euphantides, and his predecessor’s patronymic began with the letters *EUPHA*—; the name Euphantides might be considered related to those of Phantias and Phanodemos in the family of Nikodemos (below, n. 105).

⁹⁰ It is unlikely that the priest left, and Nikodemos (below) may have buried his parents in the deme during the last decade of the 5th c. The Spartans may have encouraged landowners to stay and produce

own expense, and inscribed on it, before the first decree, the perquisites due to him from sacrifices of the *meion* and *koureion*; he presumably managed the phratry's finances, since he bore a major part of the responsibility for collecting fines, which were to be paid to Zeus Phratrion. The provision at the end of the first decree (52–8) that henceforth *meion* and *koureion* were only to be sacrificed at Dekeleia unless circumstances (i.e. war) prevented this, in which case he was to fix an alternative venue, was in his interests.

The proposer of the first decree, Hierokles, is otherwise unknown. His decree lays down that anyone who has not yet had his case decided (*diadikazein*) according to the law of the Demotionidai is to be heard immediately; anyone who loses his case is to have his name deleted from both copies of the phratry register,⁹¹ and his sponsor is to be fined 100 drachmas, the fine to be collected by priest and phratriarch. (In future, *diadikasiai* of candidates for phratry membership are to be held in the year after the sacrifice of the *koureion*, on the third day of the Apatouria.) There is, however, to be an appeal (referral) procedure for those subject to immediate vote in the present year. They may demand *epheis* to the Demotionidai, i.e., reconsideration of their credentials in a less summary procedure; the house of Dekeleians is to select five men over thirty to speak for the phratry at this hearing, under oath. The penalty for unsuccessful appeal is a fine of 1000 drachmas, to be collected by the priest, or by anyone else who wishes.

We may pause at this point. The phratry has a backlog of controversial cases that have not yet been settled; they arise either from a general re-scrutiny of all members, which some have hitherto avoided by absence or excuses of various kinds, or more probably from challenges to some *soi-disant* phrateres whose credentials are considered irregular.⁹² The probability is that conflict broke out after the end of the war between phrateres returning from the city, who accused those who had stayed in the phratry centre of collaboration, oligarchic sympathies, etc.⁹³ and the priest's party, who counterattacked by refusing to recognize

food for them. My view has points in common with Lambert's argument (1993) that the *oikos* is a phratry subgroup engaged in a process of fission; I think however that the decrees (of phratry, not *oikos*) represent an effort to halt this process.

⁹¹ Presumably one was kept by the priest, at Dekeleia, and the other by the phratriarch, who need not have been a local resident. The Dekeleians who had left the deme may have continued to elect phratriarchs during the Spartan occupation.

⁹² It is unlikely that there is a difference of meaning in this text between *diadikazô* and *diapsêphizô*. Both imply that the voter chooses between two alternatives: X is a phrater, or he is not. Strictly, *diadikasia* might imply a full trial process with time for argument, whereas *diapsêphisis* could be a vote without preliminaries, but all that can be said here is that where *diapsêphizô* is used there is more emphasis on the vote itself.

⁹³ Such accusations were rife in the early years after the war, despite the formal amnesty accorded to all but the leaders of the junta of the Thirty: see Loening 1987; ch. 14 at n. 39; 15, s.v. There may also have been Dekeleian oligarchs in the city; the Aristarchos who was appointed general by the 400 could have been the Dekeleian APF 1663, although Sypalettos (PA 1669, Is. 10) is another strong possibility.

the validity of sacrifices performed in the city. In either case, Hierokles' decree is designed to deal with a residue of hard cases and/or evasive defendants. No further delay is to be permitted; ready or not, present or not, their status is to be settled. They may, however, appeal, but under threat of a swingeing fine if they fail. The priest takes personal responsibility for collection of this fine, for which the current phratriarch and his potential successors are not required to engage themselves. The *oikos* of the Dekeleians is to play an active role in appeal cases, and its representatives will be under oath to maintain the purity of the phratry.

This interpretation convincingly explains peculiarities in procedure: appeal 'from Demotionidai to Demotionidai',⁹⁴ the special role of the Dekeleian *oikos* not in all future disputes but for one special occasion,⁹⁵ and the excessively large fine for unsuccessful appeal, which contrasts strongly with the fine of 100 drachmas for unsuccessful appeal from *thiasos* to phratry in Nikodemos' decree (below), passed only a few years later.

Hierokles continues: these provisions, however [that follow]⁹⁶ are to be valid from Phormion's archonship (396/5). The phratriarch is to put the question to the vote every year 'concerning those subject to *diadikasia*',⁹⁷ and if he does not he is to be fined 500 drachmas, to be exacted by the priest and anyone else who wishes. In future, *meion* and *koureion* are to be sacrificed on the altar at Dekeleia, and if anyone does not sacrifice there he is to be fined 500 drachmas, to be exacted

Among the deme's and very probably also the phratry's democrats we may count Oinobios, elected general by the restored democracy for 410/9. Pausanias' statements that there was a statue of him on the Akropolis, and that he proposed a decree inviting the historian Thucydides to return (1. 23. 9), are problematic; clearly the information about the decree was not derived from the statue base unless it was post-classical. See Hitzig and Blümner 1896 ad loc.; Schoell 1878. *AO* 186 dates the decree to the rule of the Thirty, which seems to me improbable. Cf. ch. 30 n. 49.

⁹⁴ *Ephesis* within a state always takes the litigant from a less sovereign to a more sovereign body, and the sovereign body in this case is the phratry (cf. Van Wees 2011a, 133–4). Hierokles may have adopted the term from deme procedure, in which appeal could be made to the city's courts, and the deme elected five representatives to speak for it (*A.P.* 42. 1). A sponsor whose candidate was rejected by a *genos* or phratry, if he wished to take the issue to court, apparently had to bring a private suit, perhaps a *dikê blabês* (cf. [Dem.] 59. 60 and chs. 7 at nn. 134–6, 24 nn. 75–7 on Is. 12).

⁹⁵ As Wilamowitz (1893) saw, if the appeal was to be part of regular procedure Nikodemos' decree (below) would represent a major change.

⁹⁶ *Tauta* (44–5) can be used for 'the following', as well as 'the preceding', but is less emphatic than *tade* (Kühner-Gerth 1955 II, 646). Hierokles' choice of word may have been motivated by the greater significance in his mind of the provisions for dealing with immediate problems, and by the wish to add *de* to *tauta* to mark a new section of his decree.

⁹⁷ The phratriarch is probably only obliged to arrange the hearing of cases in which objections had been raised when the lamb was led forward (and had not been subsequently settled by compromise). Determined opponents would certainly raise objections at that time. Other phratries voted 'while the sacrifice was burning' ([Dem.] 43. 14, cf. Is. 7. 16–17).

by the priest⁹⁸ . . . if for any of the foregoing reasons (lost) sacrifice at Dekeleia is impossible, the priest is to put up a notice specifying an alternative venue, in the place where Dekeleians congregate in the city, five days before Dorpia.

Hierokles' provisions for future years have the effect of separating argument from ritual;⁹⁹ they are no doubt motivated in a general way by the post-war crisis, which has introduced conflict and rancour into the holiday atmosphere of the sacrificial part of the Apatouria. Sacrifices are not to be held up while sponsors and their opponents argue over a single boy's lamb; objections will be registered and the problem will then be shelved for a year while the two parties mobilize witnesses, or the sponsor is persuaded to drop the candidacy.¹⁰⁰ An effort is being made to separate ritual from the more secular aspects of phratry business.

A second decree inscribed on the same stone, by the same hand, was evidently passed soon after the first, although under a different priest. The second to sixth lines, which contain a reference to earlier decrees, are inscribed *in rasura*, either because the stone cutter made a mistake or because the proposer, Nikodemos, had been responsible for a rider to Hierokles' decree.¹⁰¹ An earlier decree had specified that a candidate was to provide three witnesses at his *anakrisis*, a term commonly used of a preliminary hearing by a magistrate; conceivably here it refers to a brief hearing of objections at the time of sacrifice.¹⁰² Nikodemos specifies that these witnesses are to come from the sponsor's own thiasos and are to testify under oath, answering specific questions. If there are not enough *thiasôtai* present,¹⁰³ however, the sponsor may produce other phratry members as witnesses. At the diadikasia, the members of the sponsor's thiasos are to vote, by secret ballot, before the rest of the phratry, and the result of this vote is to be

⁹⁸ It is the sponsor (not, as Lambert 1993, 121, and P. J. Rhodes 1997 suppose, the phratriarch) who pays the fine; cf. R. Parker 2005*a*, 96 on the use of *thuein*. Dekeleia was c.20 km from Athens, 27 from Piraeus, and some of the phrateres resident in the city area who had become accustomed to meeting there might well be reluctant to make the journey, especially if they were not demesmen of Dekeleia.

⁹⁹ Dem. 39. 4, *eiségagen, epoiésato, hina ta'n mesôi syntemô, engraphei tois Apatouriois*, may imply that in Mantias' phratry too there was a delay when controversy arose.

¹⁰⁰ However, the sponsor cannot re-present the lamb in the following year without debate, as seems to have happened in the case of Euktemon of Kephisia (Is. 6; ch. 7 case 1; below, at n. 136). *Pace* Carawan 2010, a candidate whose lamb has been rejected has not been admitted to the phratry.

¹⁰¹ For epigraphic details see Hedrick 1990. Since there is not much room on the stone for an earlier text containing the specification about witnesses, it seems that these had been published elsewhere (Lambert 1993, 138 n. 138), and the *rasura* covers an error by the cutter.

¹⁰² It seems to me improbable that the phratriarch would hold a formal *anakrisis*, but Carawan (2010) disagrees.

¹⁰³ It is unlikely that Nikodemos is providing for cases in which a thiasos contains less than four men; more probably there were cases in which members not resident in Dekeleia decided not to attend the Apatouria. One might imagine a sizeable kin group that formed the core of a thiasos deciding not to attend the festival because it preferred to avoid controversy, thus leaving marginal members isolated.

announced before the other vote.¹⁰⁴ If the thiasos votes to accept the candidate and the phratry rejects him, the thiasos is liable to a fine of 100 drachmas, from which only members who made their opposition clear are exempt. If the thiasos rejects the candidate he can appeal to the phratry but must pay a fine of 100 drachmas if he fails.

Nikodemos was evidently a well-known local resident. The tomb monuments of his parents, himself, his wife, and three children have all been found at the deme site.¹⁰⁵ The name of the father, Phantias, may suggest a relationship with the family of the priest Theodoros son of Euphantides, whose son was called Ekphantides.¹⁰⁶ Nikodemos himself was evidently named in a mood of enthusiasm for the achievements of Periklean Athens, perhaps around the time of victory over Samos in 439,¹⁰⁷ and his eldest son's name Phanodemos neatly combines family tradition with an assurance of loyalty, perhaps to the restored democracy of 403;¹⁰⁸ but the name of the second son, 'Blameless', suggests that the family may have been under attack. Nikodemos is clearly a local resident, very likely a member of the oikos of the Dekeleians, but anxious to reestablish his reputation as a loyal democrat.

A third decree, proposed by Menexenos, probably another member of the deme Dekeleia, who had mining interests,¹⁰⁹ is perhaps to be dated c.360. It shows continuing problems of communication between the phratry base and the Dekeleians (demesmen) living elsewhere; henceforth intention to sacrifice the koureion is to be announced to the phratriarch during the year preceding the sacrifice,¹¹⁰ and the phratriarch and priest are to post notices in the Dekeleian

¹⁰⁴ Nikodemos' idea resembles that of Solon's law on stasis (ch. 1 n. 25); members of the sponsor's thiasos, if present, are forced to take a stand for or against the candidate.

¹⁰⁵ *IG ii² 12865* (+ *SEG* 18. 134), 5983, 5980, 10607; see Willemsen 1974. Phantias and Philoumene I, Nikodemos' parents, were commemorated by a relief stele (of 5th c. style in Willemsen's view); Nikodemos, his wife (from a Phegousian family), and their son Phanodemos, by a stele crowned with a loutrophoros; Anenkletos, another son, by a relief loutrophoros portraying him with his father (ch. 11 n. 18); Philoumene II, a daughter, by a lekythos showing her (?), holding a baby, with her mother. All 3 children seem to have died young.

¹⁰⁶ Ekphantides registered and leased a *palaion anasaximon* mine, which to judge from the prices of similar concessions may have cost him 150 dr., c.340 (*Agora XIX* P 30. 11–12, 17); see *APF* 6029 (where the date of Theodoros' priesthood should be corrected to c.360). The priest's relationship, if any, to Theodoros son of Stratokles of Dekeleia, his brother Sannios, and the latter's son Python, all of whom appear on *IG ii² 1927* (see Humphreys 2010*a*) is unclear, as is the identity of the Theodoros of Dekeleia who appears as creditor on the horos *IG ii² 2725* (Finley 1952, no. 11) in 315/4.

¹⁰⁷ I am of course aware of the possibility that his grandfather (FF) was already called Nikodemos.

¹⁰⁸ The monuments of Nikodemos and his children are dated c.380–70; the sons died unmarried.

¹⁰⁹ A Menexenos son of Metaxenos of Dekeleia registered and leased a mine and new cutting (*kainotomia*) for 150 dr. c.342/1, *Agora XIX* P 26. 236, 242.

¹¹⁰ *Prôtôi ê* for *proterôi ê* is not otherwise attested in texts before the Christian era, but a colloquialism would not be problematic here; cf. Ar. *Ekk.* 618 (the translation in R/O 5 is clumsy). Lipsius' interpretation (1894), 'in the candidate's first year (of life) or whenever the koureion is offered', rested on the

meeting place in Athens and in the phratry sanctuary. The reason is, 'so that the phrateres may know who is going to be introduced'; it seems that members of scattered families are nervous that an illegitimate child may gain admission to the phratry when they are not present to protest. Menexenos himself may be one of the non-resident phrateres.

A fourth decree, on a separate stone, probably also belongs to the Demotionidai since it was found in the same area and may concern the cult of Leto, worshipped by them. It was proposed by a Theodotos and is dated to the late fourth or early third century. It seems to distinguish between resident and non-resident members, but is known only from a rather unsatisfactory transcript of a fragmentary stone, now lost.¹¹¹

The area of ancient Dekeleia has also produced a boundary stone of the second quarter of the fifth century marking a sanctuary belonging to the Komadai, who may have been another local *genos*.¹¹²

Nikodemos' decree seems to imply that such groups could be subsumed from the point of view of the entry of new phratry members under the general category of *thiasos*; if they were entitled to special privileges under the Solonian law quoted by Philochoros, they no longer claimed them. In any case Nikodemos was probably making explicit a feature of phratry organization implied in the relation between sacrifice and entry, namely that the group which would share the sacrificial meat took the main responsibility for deciding whether the sacrifice and candidate should be accepted or rejected. The *oikos*¹¹³ of the Dekeleians owed its position in the late fifth and early fourth century not to Solon or to mythical traditions of descent but to an adaptation of local traditions associated with the cult of the Dioskouroi, first to the rise to prominence of Aphidnai, in Kleisthenes' deme system, and of Theseus, in Kimon's innovations in cult, and subsequently to Athenian relations with Sparta. Although the group may have controlled the phratry priesthood, its coherence in the fifth century was perhaps defined more by the hereditary privileges granted to its members by Sparta.

There are some signs of conflict in other phratries in the troubled period immediately following the Peloponnesian War. The prosecution of another

assumption that the normal time for the *koureion* was the first year of life, which is unacceptable. It is not clear whether Menexenos referred to phratry years or civil years.

¹¹¹ IG ii² 1242 (Lambert 1993, T 4; the restoration of *orgeônes* in l. 8–9 is rejected); cf. also ii² 1295 (very fragmentary), and Lambert 294–8. Reference to Leto is not certain, and the text could be a deme decree. *Epid[êmeucin]*? in l. 3 preceded by the name of a festival?

¹¹² Ch. 20 n. 46. IG i³ 1086 *bis*. No connection with Zeus Parnesios, *pace* IG. The name of the group may be related to *kômos*.

¹¹³ Cf. the use of *oikiê* in Hdt. 6. 125 for the Alkmeonidai, and Bourriot 1976, 380–7. The technical use of the term *genos* for office-holding groups may not have become established until the 4th c. (cf. ch. 20 nn. 1–2).

Nikodemos by a fellow phrater for falsely claiming the right to citizenship, in which he allegedly got off by only four votes, probably belongs to this period and may have been part of a general or at least large-scale process of rescrutiny like that of the Demotionidai.¹¹⁴

PAIANIA

Further evidence comes from a phratry based in Paiania. A stone containing a list of twenty names, headed ‘Zeus Phratrion and Athena Phratra. These are phrateres’,¹¹⁵ dated by its lettering to the early years of the fourth century, was found at Kapsospiti, south of Liopesi (*IG* ii² 2344). The Liopesi area has also produced a later phratry decree (*SEG* 3. 121), and it is natural to suppose that the two texts came from the same phratry.¹¹⁶ The names in the list can be grouped into three lineages of varying size, with one odd man out, Philodemos son of Philodemos. The names were all cut on one occasion; room was left for additions, but no names were added. The list seems to be arranged by age and was probably therefore taken from a phratry register (see Table 19.1).¹¹⁷

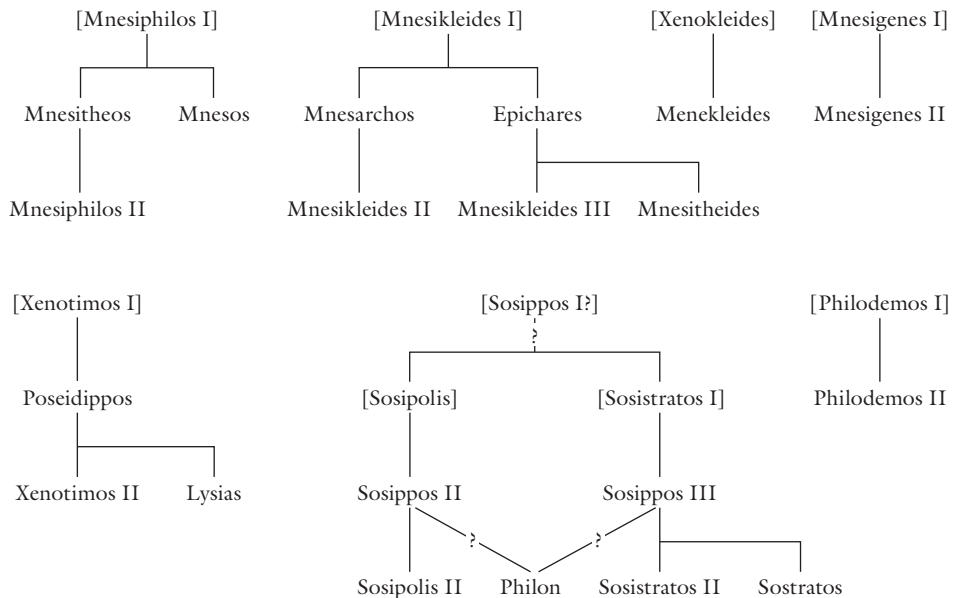
If all the members of the group belonged to the deme Paiania, which seems likely, they were not among its wealthiest and most distinguished members. Sostratos son of Sosippos may perhaps be linked to Sostratos son of Teisandros; one of the two may be the father of —doros, who served as councillor for Upper

¹¹⁴ Is. 3. 37; the speech probably belongs to the 360s (Diophantos of Sphetos and Dorotheos of Eleusis, mentioned in § 22, were both active early in the decade, *IG* ii² 106–7, *APF* 4610), and about 30 years had elapsed since the betrothal of Nikodemos’ sister, which the speaker implies took place after the prosecution (*suggestio falsi* is possible). Cf. also F 9 *PCG* 4 of the *Cheiron* of the younger Krates: the speaker, returning from the war, has trouble finding phrateres and demotai (*sc.* who recognize him), but manages to ‘enrol in the drinks cupboard’, i.e. make his way into a group by contributing wine.

¹¹⁵ It is not clear whether the names of the deities, in the genitive case, depend on an understood ‘sacred to’ (Hedrick 1989) or on ‘phrateres’, which often takes the genitive (cf. Ar. *Eq.* 255, *ph. tou triobolou*; Dem. 57. 67, *Apollonos Patrōiou kai Dios Herkeiou gennētai*).

¹¹⁶ On *SEG* 3. 121 see also Peek and Kypris 1941, 219–21 no. 2; the exact provenience is unknown. The horos of the Demokleidai, *IG* i³ 1083, came from Katsoulierti, a small hill about 1 km SSW of Kantza (*KvA* VII Kadschu-liefert, Hatzesoteriou 1973, 175 Katsoulierti), perhaps the deme site (see Vanderpool 1967). Traill, however, locates the deme site west of Liopesi (1975a). Petropoulakou and Pentazos 1973 place Kapsospiti south of Liopesi, *AGC* 21 X7/Y4, no. 31, on a hill on the slopes of Hymettos, which seems possible for Upper Paiania. See also Kakavogianne 2010; chs. 20 n. 130, 25 n. 18.

¹¹⁷ Philodemos may have been linked affinally with the So- family, among whom the name Philon occurs, or with Xenophilos; see also ch. 25 n. 27). Hedrick 1989 remarks on the absence of three-generation lineages, but since men marry at over 30 (ch. 5, s. ‘Age of Marriage’) a father will be over 46 when his son joins the phratry, a grandfather (FF) over 76. Cf. Saller 1987, and note *IG* xii *Suppl.* 303 (n. 48) where a son cannot be introduced until his father is over 50, unless he is an orphan; *homopatrimon* here seems to mean a full son as opposed to a stepson. In *IG* ii² 1326, c.176/5, it seems to be exceptional that the priest’s family is allowed to introduce a second member to the group; ch. 12 n. 65). If the list of ii² 2344 is taken from a thiasos register, it would have been kept separately since c.450 at least.



Note: Only the provenance of the stone links these groups to Paiania; the only names that recur with that demotic are Sostratos and Epichares, both too common to be significant in a large deme.

TABLE 19.1 IG ii² 2344

Paiania in 348/7, and of Polykrates, buried in the Liopesi area.¹¹⁸ The family whose names are based on the root Mnesi- may be linked to Mnesiboulos son of Aristoteles, councillor for Upper Paiania c.360. There is thus a possibility that the stone records a list of (some?) phratry members who lived in Upper Paiania, who decided to assert their right to phratry membership at a time when relations between the small hamlet of Upper Paiania and the larger village in the plain were strained.¹¹⁹

The phratry contained at least one family that had some difficulties after the end of the war. One of the two honorands on SEG 3. 121¹²⁰ is a descendant of Rhinon, who was a member of the Committee of Ten responsible for negotiating the transition from oligarchy to democracy in 403. He was sufficiently trusted by the returning democrats to be elected general for 403/2 and appointed as one of the treasurers of Athena for 402/1, but he was a controversial figure. He seems to have been a member of the Sokratic circle (one of the dialogues of

¹¹⁸ IG ii³ 4. 29. 15; IG ii² 7080. The tombstone of Sostratos son of Teisandros, ii² 7090 (CAT 1. 825) may have come from Salamis (CAT; M. C. Taylor 1997, 306). Epichares son of Mnesikleides may have been named in recognition of a affinal tie with the Epichares of Paiania whose son Agonochares was buried in the deme about the middle of the 4th c. (ii² 7020), and whose grandson Epichares II served on the organizing board of the Amphiaraia in 329/8 (IG ii³ 355); below at n. 191.

¹¹⁹ A Philodemos served as councillor for Paiania in (?) 336/5 (Agora XV 42; Table 25.3); the list does not distinguish the Upper and Lower sections of the deme. A connection with the family of APF 14625 seems doubtful.

¹²⁰ On the date of this text and identification of the honorands see below, n. 146.

Aischines the Sokratic is named *Rhinon*), and Archippos' comedy of the same name, produced in 402, has jokes about getting a 'wiggler's crown' for wrestling and 'giving back the chiton and getting off scot-free'; *A.P.* 38. 4 has a reference to honours granted to Rhinon, and its claim that there were two boards of ten, one pro-Spartan and the other more democratic, Rhinon being a member only of the second, seems to come from a defence of his career.¹²¹ The phratry thus contained at least one wealthy family that could be considered contaminated by its involvement with oligarchy. It seem quite possible that, as at Dekeleia, there was conflict when phratry members gathered again in Paiania after the war, which involved both accusations of profiting from oligarchy and questioning of some members' credentials.¹²² The men whose names are recorded on *IG* ii² 2344 are probably asserting, 'we are phrateres (and have now been recognized as such, despite the doubts cast on our claim)'.¹²³

RURAL PHRATRIES AND THE CITY

The question where members of rural phratries celebrated the Apatouria during the war years was clearly important. After 413, even hoplites and horse-owners, to say nothing of poorer and more defenceless members, would not risk a journey back to a rural phratry centre for the Apatouria; Aristophanes' choice of the Apatouria to symbolize peace implies that many phrateres had not travelled outside the city for the festival even in the first decade of the war. Whereas a deme, to admit new members, only had to hold an assembly, a phratry needed

¹²¹ *PCG* 2 pp. 552–3, F. 42 (Kock I 687–8, F 40). P. J. Rhodes 1981*a* suggests that *A.P.* may draw on a speech or decree of the period; Isokr. 18. 5–6 knows nothing of a second Board of Ten. The fact that Rhinon passed his euthynai does not imply that he had no enemies, as this Isokr. passage shows. See also *APF* 2254, Krentz 1982. Rhinon may have served as secretary of the hellenotamiai in 417/6 (*IG* i³ 370. 26); for his service in 402/1 see ii² 1370–1 + Add., with *SEG* 23. 81. The son of a Rhinon whose tombstone was found in the Agora excavations 'east of the civic offices' (*SEMA* 2366, 4th c.), may have belonged to Akamantis (i³ 1190. 163). The Arrheneides who served in 442/1 as secretary of the board supervising payments for the gold and ivory statue of Athena (i³ 457. 2) may be an older relative (but the name occurs in the early 4th c. in Kropidai).

¹²² There will also have been conflicts over land, accusations that boundary markers had been moved, etc.; phrateres who had spent the war years in the city and fleet will have been less willing to defer to local landed gentry than in the prewar period...

¹²³ The record had an unwritten context that was of crucial importance to those who made it; they could not imagine that this context would be forgotten, and the implications of the heading lost. This is a good example of a written record that depends on oral information for its interpretation (cf. R. Thomas 1992, 2005). Note the suggestion in Theophr. *Char.* 28 that a Sosias of (by implication) slave origin would change his name to Sosistratos and then Sosidemos: our inscription was set up by Sosippos son of Sosipolis. Cf. Dem. 18. 129–30.

an altar.¹²⁴ A variety of solutions to this problem can be imagined. A lineage or small set of lineages that had ties with members of a city-based phratry, either through their own affiliation to city demes or through affinal links, might be temporarily allowed to join the city group and use its altars at the Apatouria. A phratry might also, through the generosity of a rich, city-based member, acquire land on which to build an altar and a small room for storage and dining.¹²⁵ Some groups may have used the area on the west side of the Agora where temples of Apollo Patroios and of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratia were built in the fourth century, if there was already an open-air sanctuary and altar in this area in the fifth century.¹²⁶ The sacrifices to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratia at the Synoikia were carried out in the city, and this altar may have been used also for the Apatouria.

It is not surprising, therefore, that a relatively high proportion of phratry markers comes from the city, and that several of them cluster in the war period. The Medontidai, whose main base in the fourth century may have been at Kephale, set up a horos marking their [*?ago*]*ra* at some time in the second half of the fifth century, which was found near the entrance to the Akropolis.¹²⁷ Thymaitis, presumably based at Thymaitadai, which lay outside the Long Walls and may have seemed exposed in the later years of the war when Athenian seapower weakened, set a marker on an area sacred to its Zeus Xenios, perhaps near the Pnyx, about the turn of the century.¹²⁸ Gleontis set up a marker on the property of Kephisos, found in the Agora excavations, at about the same period.¹²⁹

The phratry with the strongest claim to have had its base in the city from early times is perhaps Therrikleidai, but the evidence is very problematic. *IG* i³ 243, a very fragmentary text of 480–450 found in the Agora, seems to refer to a

¹²⁴ On the view of N. F. Jones 1999 that phratry altars found in the city which do not name a specific group may have been provided by the state see n. 44.

¹²⁵ If Aischines' deme Kothokidai is correctly located in the plain of Eleusis, his phratry may have come to share the altars of the Eteoboutadai (an odd turn of phrase?) through some such arrangement. However, the location of Kothokidai is far from certain, and Aischines' ancestors may have moved at some date before Kleisthenes' reforms. *IG* ii² 2622, *horos oikias phraterôn*, has no provenance or date.

¹²⁶ Hedrick 1988*a* has doubts (see also Cromey 2006); the earlier history of the area is discussed by Francis and Vickers 1988. H. Thompson 1937 suggested that *IG* i³ 138 referred to a temenos in this area, but Jameson 1980 relates it to the Lykeion. The temple of Apollo Patroios is now dated after 313 (Lawall 2009): Demetrios of Phaleron, or restored democracy?

¹²⁷ *IG* i³ 1062; on ii² 1233 see below, n. 153. The (?) offering table *IG* i³ 1383 gives the Medontidai a connection with Prospalta or Kephale in the 5th c. (cf. ch. 27 n. 45). Achniadai was based at Kephale and it seems unlikely that two phratres were based in the same village (unless we assume fission, which I would hesitate to do).

¹²⁸ *IG* i³ 1057 = *Agora* XIX H 131. For *SEG* 38. 172 (quoted ad loc. in i³) see Hedrick 1988*a*; it is not clear whether this stone is a simple property marker or a mortgage horos on property against which the phratry had lent money. On Zeus Xenios see above, n. 29.

¹²⁹ *Agora* XIX H 9; on the cult of Kephisos see above, n. 47.

Ther[ik]leion, a shrine of an otherwise unattested hero, Ther(r)ikles;¹³⁰ we also have a sanctuary marker of the phratry Therrikleidai from the fourth century, for its sanctuary of Apollo Patroios, but its provenance is unknown. [Therrik]leidai can be restored in a phratry decree of the first half of the third century, found in the same part of the Agora as *IG* i³ 243, but other restorations are possible.¹³¹

An altar of Zeus Phratrrios and Athena Phratrria has been found *in situ* north of the Agora, in (?) the deme Skambonidai; it is dated to the late fourth or early third century.¹³²

The Demokleidai, perhaps a local genos based in Paiania, set up a marker on their shrine of Artemis Orthosia c.420, perhaps during the period of the short-lived peace of Nikias; Artemis Orthosia was also worshipped by a *patra* in Thasos, and in the Kerameikos and Piraeus.¹³³ The rural markers of the Achniadai at Kephale, one on their sanctuary of Apollo Hebdomaios, belong to the fourth century, or later.¹³⁴

DISPUTES

Between c.390 and 338 there is little evidence of anything other than routine activities in the phratries. It is worth noting that when demes were required in 346/5 to conduct a general scrutiny of their members, we hear nothing of a parallel scrutiny in the phratries; and the fourth-century law penalizing any citizen who married a foreign woman or gave a foreign woman in marriage to another citizen, and the women involved in such unions, seems to have focused on formal betrothal (*engûê*), rather than gamelia, as the decisive act.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ *Agora* XIX L A I 30. Kearns points out that we have no other evidence for a phratry with a hero cult, but our knowledge of phratry cults is poor, and some deme heroes may originally have been worshipped by phratries (cf. Lauter 1985*b* on Tourkovouni; below n. 167). Ther(r)ikles might have been etymologized as ‘famous in hunting’, which would make him a hero suitable for adolescents at the age of entry into the phratry; for what it is worth, Athen. 502*b* explains *khonnoi* as a kind of Cretan cup, like the *therrikleion*, which a lover gives to the boy he carries off, according to Hermonax.

¹³¹ *IG* ii² 4973; *SEG* 32. 150, discussed by Hedrick 1983 and Lambert 1993 T 12, and attributed by them to Therrikleidai. However, —leidais need not be restored as a phratry name; [Herak]leidais is an obvious possibility. We could also restore [Demok]leidais or envisage groups named after e.g. Dioklos/Diokles or Menelaos/Meneleos.

¹³² *Agora* Inv. I 6709; Hedrick 1991, Lambert 1993 T 22; cf. Kostake 2008, 154.

¹³³ *IG* i³ 1083 (above, n. 116). Thasos: Rolley 1965. The Kerameikos cult is known only from schol. Pind. *Ol.* 54*a*, that in Piraeus from a late dedication, *IG* ii² 5012. Cf. the better-known association of Artemis Orthia with the initiation of adolescents at Sparta. A 4th c. horos of Apollo Patroios of the Elaidai (phratry or genos?) was found near Kephisia, *IG* ii² 2602.

¹³⁴ *IG* ii² 4974, known only from a Fourmont sketch; ii² 2621, dated by Guarducci 1937 to the 3rd/2nd c.

¹³⁵ [Dem.] 59. 16, 52; if the order of events in this speech is accurate, Phrastor’s *graphê* against Stephanos under this law should probably belong to the 350s. Nikippos of Kephale (*APF* 10833) and

Evidence from the orators, however, provides information both about phratry procedure and about the microdynamics of phratry society. As in all Greek groups in which communal revenue barely sufficed to meet routine commitments, the rich were treated deferentially. When Euktemon of Kephisia tried to sacrifice the koureion for a boy whom his family did not recognize as his son, his legitimate son Philoktemon opposed the sacrifice; however, a compromise was agreed, and in the following year the sacrifice proceeded without objections. Evidently the other phrateres were unwilling to interfere.¹³⁶ Mantias of Thorikos introduced sons by two different women to his phratry, probably in successive years; there was gossip,¹³⁷ but both were accepted. Kallias III of Alopeke had brazened out genos objections to his sacrifice of the meion for a boy he had previously rejected, swearing an oath that contradicted his earlier oath; the sacrifice was accepted.¹³⁸ On the other hand, the genos Brytidai refused to accept Phrastor's child by the daughter of the well-known *hetaira* Neaira, after he had sent the girl away and repudiated the marriage; Phrastor took them to court, but dropped the case when challenged to take an oath.¹³⁹ Phrastor is not otherwise attested, and may not have had the resources or personality to stand up to social pressure.

Apollodoros of Leukonoion was able to persuade his phrateres to recognize his adoption of Thrasylos III, son of his matrilineal half-sister, at the Thargelia of 355, rather than waiting for the Apatouria. Apollodoros was a wealthy man, his only son had died six months earlier, and he himself was ill. The admission was carried out in due form, with a vote of the whole phratry after the sponsor had taken an oath on the sacrificial victim.¹⁴⁰

[Demosthenes] *Against Makartatos* (43. 14, 81) provides further information on procedure, again in the case of an adoption. The speaker presented his second

Eualkos of Phaleron (*IG* ii³ 324; the MS reading is Eualkes), who testified concerning the rejection of Phano's child by the Brytidai, were still active in 322. One would like to connect the law with the diapsephsis of 346/5, but I doubt if the history of Phano can be fitted into this chronology. Cf. ch. 20 at n. 113.

¹³⁶ Is. 6. 21–6. Possibly decisions in this phratry were taken in the thiasos, with no vote of the whole phratry?

¹³⁷ Dem. 39–40, with Humphreys 1989. The affair was *periboētos* (40. 11, a pun?).

¹³⁸ Andok. 1. 126–7; above, n. 80. Andok. may have invented the first oath. Kallias was acting as priest for the Kerykes, and perhaps for the phratry as a whole. Hedrick 1984 and Lambert 1993 both introduce unnecessary complications into the interpretation of this text (see *APF* 7826 XI–XII).

¹³⁹ [Dem.] 59. 50–61; cf. above, n. 135.

¹⁴⁰ Is. 7. 15–17 (*APF* 1395; cf. chs. 2 IV 1–2). It has been suggested that Apollodoros' phratry was Achniadai, which had a cult of Apollo Hebdomaios, but the meeting may have been held in the city, and we do not even know the location of his deme Leukonoion. It is not clear whether he sacrificed a koureion lamb for Thrasylos or took his oath on the victim(s) offered by the phratry for the Thargelia. The procedure apparently constituted admission to both genos and phratry, probably because the genos de facto operated like any other phratry thiasos.

son to the phratry of Hagnias, whose estate he was claiming on the boy's behalf, as posthumously adopted son of the boy's grandfather (MF) Euboulides II, whose daughter had married the speaker as an epikleros. He tries to make capital out of the fact that his opponent, Makartatos, had not 'led the lamb away from the altar',¹⁴¹ although he had 'asked the phrateres to violate their oath'; a vote had been taken while the gods' portion of the victim was burning on the altar, and had been favourable. Makartatos had even shared the meat of the sacrifice.

Makartatos may well have been in a difficult position. Even if we accept the speaker's claim that his son was introduced 'not to my phrateres but to those of his grandfather' (§ 81), it is quite likely that he belonged to another thiasos in the same phratry. In any case he was a kinsman of his wife and had support among her agnates. The boy undoubtedly met the criteria required for citizenship; the only objection that could be made was that the posthumous adoption may not have been supported by firm evidence that Euboulides II had requested it. It was, however, normal for an epikleros' son to be adopted by or to her father, and objections were liable to appear mean-spirited.¹⁴²

The law allowing an adopted son to return to his own oikos if he left a son in his place was particularly likely to lead to dubious manoeuvres. Whereas the requirement that phratries should only admit boys who were legitimately born of two Athenian parents was clearly laid down by law, it was much less clear whether they had any obligation to police adoptions. The speaker of [Demosthenes] 44 claims that his opponent, in his attempts to retain an estate acquired through the posthumous adoption of his father, had managed to get his son accepted by *d.c.*'s deme and had subsequently 'persuaded one of the phrateres' to inscribe him on the phratry register; this was again a case in which outsiders might well sympathize with the man whose family had held the estate, who had just lost one of his two sons, rather than with the remote kin who were challenging his claims.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ [Dem.] 43. 14; the phrase was evidently formulaic, cf. Is. 6. 22 The occasion (*pace* Lambert 1993, 173) is the koureion, sacrificed at the normal age; a demand for Hagnias' estate is made in the boy's name immediately afterwards (§ 15). A boy was admitted to a phratry when the koureion was sacrificed for him, and not before; he might change phratry later, if adopted, and phratry procedures for recognizing candidates adopted as adults may have varied.

¹⁴² See ch. 7 Case 5 and Humphreys 1986*a*. Is. 10. 8–9 claims that posthumous adoption is only allowed if specified in the will of the deceased, but it is unlikely that the law on adoption was clear on such procedural points.

¹⁴³ [Dem.] 44. 41; *APF* 5638; ch. 7 Case 12. The phratry register was presumably kept by the phratriarch or phratry priest, and the speaker probably exaggerates the irregularity of the procedure. A sacrifice may have been made, or promised for the next Apatouria.

FINANCES

Phratries got no funds from the state, and any phratry shrine that had succeeded in building up capital before Kleisthenes' reforms would be a tempting acquisition for the local deme, unless dedicated to deities specifically associated with the Apatouria.¹⁴⁴ Income came from fines, which probably were not set very high; from rents on phratry land, consisting of the *temenos* itself and any other parcels that might have been acquired through default on fines or loans; from interest on any capital available for loan, if interest was charged.¹⁴⁵ Since phrateres themselves provided most of the victims at the Apatouria, expenses were also low, but phratries would rely on their richer members for additional contributions to festivals and for meeting any extraordinary costs, such as building expenses.

SEG 3. 121, from Paiania, praises Euktemon (?) and an Arrheneides for contributing 200 drachmas for building work (repairs?) on the phratry temple of Zeus Phratrion and Athena Phratra.¹⁴⁶ *IG* ii² 2345 seems to be a list of contributions for some collective enterprise, perhaps again building work, set up by a phratry based in Alopeke; recorded sums range from 5 to 150 drachmas, and a norm of 10 drachmas may have been set.¹⁴⁷

Some mortgage *horoi* record loans from phratry groups, but these seem to have been made by *thiasoi* rather than by the phratry as a whole, and it is not clear whether the loans come from *thiasos* funds or from individual contributions made in a phratry context.¹⁴⁸ In *IG* ii² 2723, probably of the Lykourgan

¹⁴⁴ See ch. 31 at nn. 73–4 on the cult of Nemesis at Rhamnous.

¹⁴⁵ Fines of the Demotionidai range from 1000 dr. for unsuccessful appeal (see above), and 500 dr. for delinquent phratriarchs, to 100 and 50 dr. See the discussion of landholding by corporate bodies in Papazarkadas 2011. A god might 'own' property of two types: an inalienable *temenos*, and other (alienable) income-producing parcels, managed by an association of worshippers. In the latter case the capital value was inalienable, the property not.

¹⁴⁶ *SEG* 39. 150; Peek and Kyprisiss 1941, no. 2 suggested restoring [*oikodomian*] or [*kataskuēn*] in l. 9. To identify the second contributor with the wealthy and well-known Arrheneides son of Charikles (*APF* 2254) requires an aberrant spelling of his father's name (Charikleious instead of Charikleous), but this does not seem a major problem in a local inscription; I would therefore date the text to the Lykourgan period (cf. n. 192 below) rather than postulate an otherwise unattested Arrheneides II son of Kallikles (as suggested by Lambert 1993). There is no reason to suppose that (?) Eu[kt]e[mon] (for the possibilities see Peek and Kyprisiss loc. cit.), the other contributor, was son of an [Arrhene]ides; about 100 other Athenian names could be restored here, including that of Philippides II of Paiania, *APF* 14670 (note also the trierarch(s) from Paiania Euboulos and Eu... in 323/2 and 322/1, *APF* 5368). A son would not be named before his father in such a text, and it is not unknown for two donors to be thanked jointly in a text that does not specify the amount contributed by each to the total sum recorded (e.g. *IG* ii² 1177).

¹⁴⁷ Humphreys 1990*a*, Lambert 1999*a*. A standard subscription of 10 dr. (rejected by Lambert) would have produced more than 1000 dr. from the names we have, and the list is incomplete. This was a substantial operation. See further below, n. 174.

¹⁴⁸ A loose parallel for the management of collective funds by subgroups is perhaps provided by *IG* i³ 258 (Plotheia), where separate funds are managed by various officials; see ch. 24 at n. 47. For *eranos* loans raised by groups see ch. 12 n. 48. Cf. *IG* ii² 2730; Finley 1952 no. 43, where the creditor may be a

period, a *chôrion* is mortgaged to Kephisodoros of Leukonoion for 1500 dr., to ‘the phrateres with Eratostratos of Anaphlystos’ for 1200, to the Glaukidai for 600, to the Epikleidai for 150, and to ‘the phrateres with Nikon of Anaphlystos’ for 100. Probably we have here two phratry thiasoi named for their leading members and two local *genê* belonging to the same phratry.¹⁴⁹ In 367/6 Kichonides son of Diogeiton of Gargettos, acting perhaps in an official capacity as phratriarch of the Medontidai, put in a claim for 100 drachmas on a house in Alopeke that was being sold after confiscation from its current owner, the perhaps inaptly named Theosebes of Xypete. The phratry had lent this money to Theosebes’ father; another claim was made by Aischines of Melite on behalf of an association of orgeones, perhaps belonging to the same phratry, for 24 dr., also lent to Theosebes’ father, probably on the same occasion.¹⁵⁰

Calling in debts and collecting rent and fines cannot have been easy, and several texts thank men for representing phratries and similar bodies in court. *IG* ii² 1238 thanks the honorand [...]jeiton son of Eukles of Phaleron, for helping the phratry in a case that it had perhaps previously lost through failure of its representatives to appear.¹⁵¹ The Eikadeis of Myrrhinous, perhaps a group of phratry orgeones, praise Polyxenos son of Diodoros in 324/3 because he has denounced members of the group for bearing false witness against it in a suit concerning the collective property from which the group’s sacrifices are financed; three other members of the group are elected to support Polyxenos in the forthcoming perjury suit, and he is to receive a gold crown. These Eikadeis may well be a group of phratry orgeones, since Pollux 8. 107 explicitly associates orgeones who sacrifice on a fixed day of the month—in this case the twentieth—with rural centres. They had a sanctuary of Apollo Parnessios, in which the decree was to be set up, but also worshipped other gods; their eponymous hero Eikadeus was credited with a set of curses, no doubt recited annually by the incoming archons

phratry thiasos named for an Isodemos; however, we should possibly read *thiasotais[is] Demoto* (Lambert 1996). On *IG* ii² 2621 see Papazarkadas 2011, 163–4 n. 4.

¹⁴⁹ Eratostratos son of Nausikydes appears as councillor for Anaphlystos in 334/3 and 304/3; this is probably the same man, perhaps acting as phratriarch (the spelling *o* for *ou* does not require an early 4th c. date for such texts, *pace* Lambert 1993, cf. id. 1996). D. M. Robinson, who first published the stone (1907), was told that it was found near the Agora; this is not incompatible with a phratry base in Anaphlystos. See also n. 19 on similar horoi from Rhamnous. On the Glaukidai and Epikleidai see ch. 20, n. 125.

¹⁵⁰ *Agora* XIX P 5 (Lambert T 10).

¹⁵¹ *SEG* 38. 128 (Lambert T 16), with the textual revisions of Hedrick 1988c; M. Meyer 1989a, A 160, dates the relief to the second half of the 4th c. (c.330, Tracy 1995, 100). Note that restoration of a patronymic in line 2 is not mandatory, and that the text is technically probably a dedication rather than a phratry document. Part of the stone was found on the Akropolis, which may suggest that the honorand dedicated his gold crown there (with a relief showing him being crowned by a female figure, perhaps Athena Phratria) rather than in the phratry sanctuary, although presumably if he was a member (ch. 31 n. 18) the phratry would have preferred the gold to come home.

and/or on other occasions when members took oaths; they owned property near a temple of Artemis, perhaps that of Artemis Kolainis at Myrrhinous.¹⁵² A prominent member of the phratry Medontidai, perhaps praised for his *d[ik]a[iosynē]*, justice, may also have acted for the phratry in court, although the term can be used of anyone who handles public money.¹⁵³

Evidence of ownership of land by phratries, and perhaps of problems in administering it, is provided also by the *hekatostai* records and by a lease, *IG* ii² 1241. The *hekatostai* stelai record the sale of land by demes, phratries, and other groups, apparently on the state's initiative; a tax of 1% was collected. The sale dates to the

¹⁵² The term *archôn*, which can be used generically, does not prove that the Eikadeis are not a phratry, but we already have two phratries in this area (Dyaleis, Achniadai). Bishop Wordsworth (1836, 219–24) reports seeing this text, *IG* ii² 1258, at Markopoulo in the Mesogeia, and though Loeper 1892, 397–8, n. 3 made a strong argument for associating it with the Markopoulo in Oropian territory, the Mesogeia location is supported by two horoi found at Markopoulo-Mesogeia and at Koropi, both in the same hand, marking land of the Eikadeis which is not to be used as security (*IG* ii² 2631–2) and by reference to the Eikadeis in *Agora* XIX P 26. 384, 395 (c. 340), in a context that may belong to the Hagnous-Myrrhinous area (*SEG* 60. 197; ch. 25 n. 44) and certainly cannot be Oropian. The hero Eikadeus is missing from Kearns 1989; on curses see Jameson 1951 and ch. 20 n. 88. There are *dekadistai* on a *prasis epi lysei* horos from Spata (ii² 2701, Finley 1952 no. 32; cf. Theophr. *Char.* 27. 11), and *hebdomaistai* in Ikarion, on a dedication in the Pythion c.330–325 (*SEG* 32. 244). See below, n. 155, and Lambert 1997a, 199–201 (followed by Papazarkadas 2011, 183–6, who thinks that they may be a *genos*), on the Eikadeis of Salamis, probably in my view a different body (Epicurus' friends also called themselves Eikadistai, Athen. 298d). For the temple of Artemis Kolainis at Myrrhinous see *IG* ii² 1182 (which had presumably travelled from Merenda to Markopoulo) and Paus. 1. 31. 4. On the sale of the property of Philokrates son of Pythodoros of Hagnous (*Agora* XIX P 26) see ch. 27 n. 41. The proposer of ii² 1258, Epameinon son of Ameinias, may be related either to Ameinias son of Sokles of Hagnous, syntrierarch in some year before 325/4 (*APF* 676) or to Epameinon son of Kephisodoros of Myrrhinous (*SEG* 21. 893, late 4th c.); the absence of demotics suggests local men. Zeus Parnessios was worshipped in the city (*IG* i³ 1057 *bis*, 480–60, from the corner of Argous and Monastiriou).

¹⁵³ *IG* ii² 1233; recent discussions do not make it clear that this stone is a square or rectangular base reused in the corner wall of a church. It will probably have had crowns on at least three sides (cf. *IG* ii³ 4. 85, 89, and see K. Keil 1866, 249), and belongs to the common class of dedications that cite honorary decrees (ch. 12 n. 25). The name Medontidai and *ho dêmos* can hardly have been inscribed in the same crown. The spelling [*hipp*]ees suggests a date not too late in the 4th c.; the fashion of setting up monuments recording multiple crownings flourished into the 3rd c. (*IG* ii² 3201–14). The best parallel to ii² 1233 is ii² 3202 (*Agora* XV 33), found on the western slopes of Hymettos and therefore perhaps set up in the deme which (together with the council of 344/3, fellow prytaneis, the cavalry, fellow-tribesmen on two occasions, and others whose names are lost) had honoured the dedicant with at least 12 crowns (surely awarded to an individual and not to a whole board of prytaneis as assumed in *Agora* XV). The obvious candidate from the demes of the area is Diotimos III of Euonymon (*APF* 4386, Table 16.1, ch. 23 n. 8), though Pythokles of Kedoi (*APF* 12444, n. 35) may be another possibility if Kedoi is to be located in this area (Traill 1986). Cf. R. G. Osborne 1990a on similar instances of reference in a local context to honours awarded elsewhere, and *Agora* XVI 68 (Inv. I 5212), on which see Whitehead 1986a, 383 no. 71; ch. 24 n. 89, 25 n. 10. *IG* ii² 1233 was found at Kypsele, which also produced ii² 1215, a decree of the deme Erikeia (the area may have been a collecting point for stones?). Since the Medontidai had a connection with Kephale (above, n. 127), it is perhaps worth noting that one of the rich Athenians of the period whose name could be restored here is Are[sias son of Aresippos of Kephale], *APF* 1598.

330s or 320s and perhaps indicates that the Lykourgan administration, aware that such bodies acquired odd pieces of land in piecemeal fashion and did not always collect rents regularly, had decided to offer them an occasion for disburdening themselves of unwanted plots and acquiring instead cash that could be lent out at interest.¹⁵⁴ A phratry whose name is lost sold an *eschatía*, a hill plot or piece of otherwise marginal land; the other sellers in this section of the record are —akinidai, Apheidantidai, Dipoliastai, Eikadeis, Melaineis, and Oikatai. The Apheidantidai and Dipoliastai were probably *genê*; the Eikadeis of this text were based on Salamis and were probably, in my view, not connected with those of Myrrhinous.¹⁵⁵ The Melaineis were the inhabitants of the hamlet Melainai (above, n. 27), or perhaps a cult group based there. There is no evidence in these texts for a phratry Miltieis.¹⁵⁶

The lease, *IG ii*² 1241, from Myrrhinous, was granted by the phratry Dyaleis in 300/299, for ten years. The land leased was planted with vines and had a building on it; the tenant is to tend the vines, keep the building in repair, and sow wheat on half the plot, leaving the other half fallow or sowing pulses on it. The lessee has the right, up to the period of expiry of the lease, to purchase the land outright for 5000 drachmas, which makes the rent of 600 drachmas per year a little less than 12% of capital value.¹⁵⁷ The Dyaleis are responsible for taxes on the property; the tenant sells the crops, and pays rent in two instalments, in Elaphebolion (March–April) and Boedromion (August–September), perhaps from the proceeds of the new wine in the first case and the sale of grain and pulses in the second (but see Papazarkadas 2011, 167).

The Dyaleis have two phratriarchs, but it is uncertain that their name implies that the phratry is split into two parts or is a union of two previously independent

¹⁵⁴ Lambert 1997*a*; see Humphreys 2004, 125–6; Faraguna 1992; ch. 22 at n. 82. The regular prices, mostly multiples of 12½ dr., are in my view due to the calculation of fair prices at 12½ times annual rent; many of the purchasers are officials or members of the selling body, very possibly the men who had previously leased the land, who were under some pressure, given the public character of the sale, to make fair bids; Appendix 2.

¹⁵⁵ Plut. *Camillus* 19. 6 dates the battle of Salamis to Boedromion 20. Their official might possibly have been titled *boul[utês]*, or some other name derived from sacrifice, rather than *boul[archos]* (Lambert 1997*a* suggests *boul[eutês]*).

¹⁵⁶ In Lambert 1997*a* F 13 A 1–4 Miltieis may be the name of a hamlet in the territory of Alopeke (so also Lambert, 198 no. 40), perhaps named because it had red earth or produced *miltos*, red lead (cf. the personal name Miltiades). The entry comes in the section of the record concerned with the demes and komai.

¹⁵⁷ See Behrend 1970; Lambert 1993; Papazarkadas 2011, 166–9. The expectation is perhaps that the lessee will have some difficulty in raising cash for an outright purchase, and will prefer to work his lease nearly to the end, gaining in the process a reliable estimate of the returns that can be expected from the land in a variety of climatic conditions. The concern of the Dyaleis is that he should make up his mind before the lease expires; the question whether it would be more rational for him in monetary terms to purchase earlier may not have occurred to them.

bodies. Both phratriarchs come from the same deme, Myrrhinous, and the office may have been duplicated in order to lessen its financial burdens or guard against misconduct in office.¹⁵⁸

THE LYKOURGAN PERIOD AND LATER

The revival of the *genê* in the Lykourgan period does not seem to have had much impact on the phratries; our evidence comes from records of independent action by *genê*. However, the Philieis mentioned in speeches written for the dispute between the *genê* Krokonidai and Koironidai, over an Eleusinian priesthood, may be the phratry to which the Koironidai belonged; *oinoptai* were mentioned in the speech for the Krokonidai.¹⁵⁹

There was also legislation in the Lykourgan period restricting the phratries to which foreigners granted honorary citizenship could be admitted. We do not know the purpose of the legislation, which is regularly mentioned in citizenship grants between 334 and 304, sporadically thereafter until 229. The main possibilities seem to be either that some phratries were considered too traditionally Athenian to accept foreigners, or that phratry numbers had become very unequal and new citizens were being directed away from large phratries towards smaller ones. Neither of these explanations is really satisfactory.¹⁶⁰ A restriction to (or

¹⁵⁸ ‘Dyaleis’ is not Greek for ‘members of a dual group’, although this etymology might have occurred to some Greek speakers once the name was in existence. Philologists consider the epithet of Dionysos Dyalos to be Illyrian (Chantraine 1968, s.v.), which leaves the phratry name unexplained. Possibly only one of the two phratriarchs was required to live locally (cf. Humphreys 2004; ch. 24 n. 70, on the Erchian demarches). If there was a major division within the phratry one would expect revenues to be divided, as in the Salaminioi (ch. 20).

¹⁵⁹ Lyk. fr. VII 2, 5 Conomis 1970 (51, 54 Blass 1880); above nn. 13, 69.

¹⁶⁰ M. J. Osborne 1981–3 vol. 4, 176–81, cf. id. 2013; cf. A. S. Henry 1983, 72–3; Lambert 1993, 50–3; Ismard 2010, 132–3; Walbank 2010. See also *Agora XVI* 163 = *IG* ii³ 846. We do not really have any evidence that some phratries had special religious functions that would make it inappropriate to admit foreigners to them (such functions were normally the monopoly of *genê*; no restriction to specific *triakas* and *pentekostys* on Kos, *IG* xii 4. 1. 26, 40, *pace* N. F. Jones 1987, 238). Dow 1963*b* suggested that too many new citizens had thronged into some phratries; cf. J. and L. Robert 1983, 213 no. 26. 7–8 (Amyzon, Caria, late Hellenistic), new citizens to be assigned by lot to the three smallest tribes; *Milet* I 3. 33 d 5, 2nd c. (mass enrollment of Cretans). Note that when Athens made mass grants of citizenship to the Plataians and Samians they were allocated to demes by lot (but apparently left to make their own arrangements, if they wished, with phratries; cf. Vial 1984, 40 no. 84, Andros): Osborne op. cit. In Osborne D 2 (410/9, *IG* i³ 102. 16–17) institutional logic requires the reading [*dêmon te k*]ai *phratrias* rather than [*phylês*], since deme membership presupposes tribe membership, while the reverse is not the case, but the space is too long for the expected spelling *dêmo*; in D 8 reference to a phratry may have been accidentally omitted, or procedure was not yet fixed. Foreigners to whom citizenship was granted en bloc in the late 5th c. were perhaps distributed only among demes and tribes (refugee Plataians) or among tribes alone (Samians, participants in the Phyle campaign of 403), although if they established residence in Athens they should have acquired demotics (see R/O no. 4 comm.). The scheme of *A.P.* fr. 3 (ch. 18

even exclusion from) twelve phratries considered to be originally created by Ion (*A.P.* fr. 3) is just conceivable.

Phratries continued to produce records in the early part of the third century; they thus remained active (epigraphically) as long as most demes.¹⁶¹ Apart from the lease of the Dyaleis, discussed above, we have the end of an honorary decree from Charvati, of the end of the fourth century, and a decree of the first half of the third century found in the Agora, possibly set up by the [Therrik]leidai, which seems to deal with the procedure for admitting new phratry members, since it refers to oaths, voting, and the main meeting of the year (*kyria* [*agora*]).¹⁶²

PHRATRY SUBDIVISIONS

It seems possible that there was a drift towards the coalescence of those phratry members interested in cult into smaller groups—*genê*, *orgeones*, *thiasoi*—which took over responsibility for those cults that had not been transferred to demes, and popularized the use of the terms *orgeones* and *thiasos* for small cult groups of all kinds.¹⁶³ However, this usage makes it difficult for us to distinguish the *orgeones* and *thiasoi* of phratries from other associations of the same name. In some texts worship of recently introduced deities, or the presence of women and/or non-Greeks in lists of members, makes it clear that the group is not part

n. 40) indicates an interest in phratry numbers in the Lykourgan period, but grants of honorary citizenship were too few to have any significant impact. Plat. *Laws* 785a–b uses phratries as units of civic registration. It is not impossible that by this time some metic groups had unofficial ‘phratries’ in Athens: cf. Seyfarth 1955.

¹⁶¹ See ch. 22 at n. 35 on depopulation of the countryside. Only ‘garrison demes’ (Whitehead 1986a) continue to pass decrees after c.250.

¹⁶² Charvati: *IG* ii² 1239 (cf. Goette 1997). On the basis of Lambert’s report of Velsen’s notes (1993, T 19) the patronymic of the honorand may have been S[a]t[y]ro[s] rather than the rare Strombylion suggested by Köhler. It seems unlikely that the phratriarch is ordered both to have the decree inscribed and to pay for it; we should perhaps read [*g*]ramm[ateā] in line 25. [Therrik]leidai (above, n. 131): *SEG* 32. 150, Lambert T 17, 3rd c.? In line 6 *me[n]* is not particularly likely; we need a verb, and punctuation after *kata[d]eétai* in line 7; a new sentence begins with *tôn phratriarchôn*. This may be a ‘split’ phratry with more than one phratriarch. Fission might have become more common in the 3rd c.; for a suggestion that *SEG* 3. 121 (Paiania) is to be dated to the 3rd c. see above, n. 146.

¹⁶³ On the term *orgeones* see ch. 12 at nn. 42–3; Herda 2006, 35–7. In the Hom. *Hymn to Apollo* *orgiōnes* acquire hereditary cultic responsibilities, 388–93. *IG* ii² 1316 calls members of the same group both *orgeones* and *thiasotai* (as does ii² 1246 +, Dow and Gill 1965, text 1). It does not seem to be a decree of the *orgeones* of the Magna Mater, since it is passed in Hekatombaion and their preserved decrees are dated in Mounichion; the Magna Mater *orgeones* give crowns of olive, whereas this text awards a gold crown; the *orgeones* of this text (who worship a goddess, in Piraeus) are divided into 4 *thiasoi*, whereas there is no evidence for such a division among the Magna Mater *orgeones*; the latter’s decrees provide for the announcement of honours at festivals, whereas this text does not.

of a phratry; but many cases are doubtful, and we should remember that phratry groups might acquire new cultic interests.¹⁶⁴

In Isaios 2. 14–16 it is not really clear whether the orgeones to whose association Menekles is introduced by his adoptive father are a segment of his phratry or an independent body. In §14 he speaks of introduction to the phratry and registration in the deme and with orgeones; in §16, however, he announces that he will produce phrateres, orgeones, and demesmen as witnesses of his adoption.¹⁶⁵ It is also possible that in Isaios 9. 30 the thiasos of Herakles to which Astyphilos was introduced by his stepfather—certainly a member of the same phratry—was a phratry thiasos. The reference follows mention of festivals to which Astyphilos was taken as a child, and the speaker's insistence that Astyphilos never associated or shared meat with Kreon and his other agnates at festivals (§§ 21, 33) may include reference to the Apatouria.¹⁶⁶

On the evidence for orgeones and thiasoi, which cannot be systematically reviewed here, see Arnaoutoglou 2003.¹⁶⁷

Inscriptions, which provide the bulk of our evidence, probably give an inadequate picture of phratry activities, representing the periods of assembly business—often probably short and formal, occasionally heated and controversial—in which the procedures of the city, the tribes, and the demes were imitated, rather than the festivities that gave phratries their specific character. We have no phratry decree earlier than 396/5, whereas there are several earlier texts from the demes. We do not know when phratries began to elect phratriarchs and vote formally on candidates for admission,¹⁶⁸ and they evidently moved only slowly towards developing quasi-judicial procedures for settling disputes about admission. The traditional method of settling such disputes seems to have been to require an oath from the sponsor; before the influence of deme procedure began to make itself felt,

¹⁶⁴ New cult groups of kleruchs on Lemnos call themselves *orgeōnes*, presumably cutting across phratry and deme affiliations; see ch. 12 n. 43; Culasso Gastaldi 2010, 358; they also use the term *homochytroi* (n. 3; ch. 12 n. 45, cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 201–2).

¹⁶⁵ The terms used are *eisagei*, *engraphēi* (§ 14); did the subgroups in this phratry keep separate registers? Orgeones who held to the legal privileges granted to them by Solon (n. 3) might well do so. Cf. ch. 12 n. 46.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. chs. 7 Case 8; 22 at n. 58 on cults of Herakles; *APF* 7252; n. 174.

¹⁶⁷ Decrees are grouped in *IG* ii² 1249–1355 (add *SEG* 21. 530), lists in 2343–61 (add *SEG* 24. 223, 54. 235), leases 2499, 2501 (add *SEG* 24. 205). On *IG* ii² 1242 (Lambert 1993, T 4) see n. 111). On ii² 1294 see Langdon 1973; *APF* 4810; since the shrine of Zeus Epakrios on Hymettos was in use in the early archaic period (Langdon 1976), these could well be phratry orgeones. On ii² 2343 see Dow 1969; Golden 1979; Welsh 1983; Storey 1989; D. Gill 1991. On heroes worshipped by orgeones see Kearns 1989. The Tourkovouni shrine (Lauter 1985*b*), used in the 7th c., neglected in the 6th, sporadically visited in the 5th and revived in the 4th, may have belonged to such a group. The question of local cults of Herakles needs rethinking. (On *IG* ii² 2355 see Humphreys 2007.)

¹⁶⁸ Cf. above, n. 79. We do not in fact know when demes began to vote formally on candidates for admission.

sacrifice of the koureion without objection being raised was probably all that was required for entry. There is no evidence that a vote was ever taken in connection with the gamelia or meion.

Phratry organization had perhaps always had strong acephalous tendencies, because members contributed their own sacrificial victims and divided into relatively small feasting groups to consume them. A phratry festival thus resembled an *eranos*, a potluck dinner; discrepancies in wealth between thiasoi would be to some extent concealed if thiasos recruitment did not cross class lines.¹⁶⁹ If, as suggested above, the protenthai were phratry liturgists who made additional contributions to the festival, the restriction of their activities to the first day (before the sacrifices) may be significant.

Recognizing that division into subgroups is inherent in the character of the Apatouria, we should ask more questions about the degree of independence enjoyed by thiasoi, as well as *genê*. It was suggested above that in many phratries, at least until the fourth century, acceptance of the koureion sacrifice by the sponsor's thiasos may have been sufficient to ensure a boy phratry membership. Emphasis in orators' speeches on the importance of sharing or not sharing sacrificial meat¹⁷⁰ perhaps suggests that to many Athenians the authority of the phratry as a whole was only vaguely conceived. The Demotionidai may not have voted as a phratry before the crisis that produced the decrees of 396/5, and Nikodemos' revision of the procedure introduced in that year restored a measure of privilege to the thiasos. Rather than asking whether individual phratries had undergone fission or fusion at some point in their history,¹⁷¹ it might be more productive to think of the phratry as an institution with a built-in tendency to dissolve into smaller groupings, against which centralizing influences—the village pattern of settlement, Solon's laws on citizenship, the political ambitions of

¹⁶⁹ Compare the tendency of early Christian communities (and contemporary pagan groups) to split into separate tables for eating, at which the rich ate better than the poor: Theissen 1974; Meeks 1983, 67–9, 159. For *eranos* meals see *Ar. Pol.* 1281 a 42–b 3, cf. 1286a 29–30; Theophr. *Char.* 30. 18; ch. 12 n. 48. Possibly in some phratries or groups of *orgeones* officials and their friends ate in a building equipped for dining? cf. *IG ii²* 2499; Lambert 1993, s.v. *oikos*.

¹⁷⁰ *Is.* 9. 33, [Dem.] 43. 82. Cf. *Ar. Peace* 1111–15.

¹⁷¹ See Lambert 1993, 106–12; in my view the position of the *oikos* of Dekelos in the Demotionidai (above, n. 90) and the plural phratriarchs of the Dyaleis and *SEG* 32. 150 are to be explained otherwise. The split between the *orgeones* of Echelos and those of the shrine near Kalliphanes' property (*SEG* 21. 530) may have been a temporary affair; the publication of a consolidated list of debtors and *archaia psêphismata* suggests reconciliation after conflict (ch. 12 n. 60). The fission of the Salaminioi (ch. 20) is accompanied by division of property, of which there is no sign in the case of the Dyaleis. The author of the scheme of *A.P. F* 3 may have assumed, if he thought about the question, that 12 initial phratries had undergone fission since the time of Ion (ch. 18 n. 29), but this does not imply that the process could be observed in the 4th c.

dominant families, the influence of deme organization and procedures—made only partial and intermittent headway.¹⁷²

The subdivision of phratry into thiasoi also offers us some insights into the dynamics of kinship at phratry level. As noted above (nn. 116–17) *IG ii² 2344* is a list of phratry members, belonging probably to a single thiasos and possibly to the small subdeme of Upper Paiania, who can be grouped in three lineages (Table 19.1). More precisely: Mnesikleides I, Mnesiphilos I, and Mnesigenes I, ancestors of nine members of the group, are likely to have been related, given the repeated use of the root *Mnesi-* in their names and those of their descendants; they were perhaps brothers. Sosippos son of Sosipolis and Sosippos son Sosistratos, who with their sons account for another five members, were probably cousins (FBS), descended from and named after a common grandfather (FF). Menekleides son of Xenokleides may well have been affinally related either to the descendants of Mnesikleides I (use of the ending *-kleides*), or, less probably, to the third lineage, consisting of Poseidippos son of Xenotimos and his two sons Xenotimos and Lysias. Philodemos son of Philodemos, the last member of the group may have had an affinal link with the Sosippos lineage, in which the name *Philon* occurs.

IG ii² 2345

IG ii² 2345 (*SEG* 49. 188), a list of names subdivided into thiasoi ranging from thirteen to at least twenty-five members in size, does not divide so neatly into lineages, but nevertheless contains some groupings clearly based on kinship, and signs also of the influence of affinity.¹⁷³ This list, if it is indeed a phratry list,¹⁷⁴ was

¹⁷² It is therefore still an open question whether loans made by phratry subgroups to individuals are *eranos* loans organized in a phratry context and given additional protection by the assertion of a corporate identity, or loans of collective funds, secured on land, to provide income for the subgroup (cf. above, n. 148).

¹⁷³ The case for a phratry origin is argued in Humphreys 1990*a* (n. 4, read ‘phratry centre’ for ‘deme centre’, p. 245 line 4, read *Nautes* for *Nantes*). Lambert 1999*a* (*SEG* 47. 187) came round to the view that the majority of those listed belong to *Alopeke*. He points out that the name *[Ak]ryptos* (8) is known otherwise only in *Anagyrous*, but it might derive from the prominence of the pregnancy; arguments from the distribution of joking names may be rash, and it is not certain that all three of the other occurrences of the name come from the same family and deme. I repeat here that the *Kaineus* son of *Hierokles* whose *loutrophoros* from the *Kerameikos* was published by Willemssen 1970 (*SEMA* 1998) is carefully distinguished by Willemssen (102, no. 4) from the family of *Halai* (*Araphenides*?) whose monuments were subsequently published in Peppas-Delmousou 1975. I would now date *ii² 2345* between *c.*359 (*Demophilos*’ father *Leostratos* was still active) and *c.*350, but the lower date depends on the absence of younger brothers (n. 176). Lambert 1999*a* says *c.*365–330, with a preference for the earlier end.

¹⁷⁴ Lambert’s argument that the common factor linking the thiasoi was worship of *Herakles* does not persuade me (on connections with the *Salaminioi* and (?) *Praxiergidai*). He suggests a total of *c.*150 names distributed among 7 or 8 thiasoi containing around 10 to 30 members each. This would be a small total for a complete phratry, but not for an *epidosis* list. Lambert thinks that the absence of numerals

set up by the phratry itself rather than any subgroup, and it probably records financial contributions to a phratry enterprise.¹⁷⁵ Thus, whereas *IG* ii² 2344 seems to be a complete listing of a subgroup produced in a moment of strong cohesion, ii² 2345 may well omit dependent sons and younger brothers in some families.¹⁷⁶ The division into thiasoi may suggest that the business of fundraising was delegated to them, but even if that was the case, the lists represent an image of the thiasos presented to an outside body rather than one produced for internal consumption, with the emphasis on generosity, a class-inflected field of behaviour, rather than inclusion and membership.¹⁷⁷ If dependent young (adult) males are under-represented in these lists, the thiasoi will have been larger than the two we have previously considered.

The first names we can read in Thiasos I belong to two pairs of brothers: [– ope?]ithes and [Kephi]sodoros sons of Antigenes, and —opeithes and Kephisophon sons of Kephisodotos. The two families may have been kin or affines. Sixth and seventh on the list of this thiasos are another pair of brothers, Pythokles and Theodotos sons of Ameinichos.

Hagnotheos' thiasos (II) is led by Hagnotheos, his son Hagnon, and his brother Ε[u]xithe[o]s. The eleventh member listed, Phainippides may be linked to nos. 20–2, [D]ipphilos, Anti[?]ates, and Phainippides, sons of Dionides; he may be their maternal grandfather. Two other groups, Kteson son of Kallistratos and his sons [K]allistratos II and [K]tesikleides (15–17), and Ktesikleides and Kephisodoros sons of Kephisophon (13–14), may be affinally linked. In Antiphanes' thiasos (III), Antiphanes son of Aresias and Antiphanes of Euo[nymon] (Lambert 1999*a*), may be cousins (FZS/MBS), with whom Aresias II is associated. Antiphilos (line 52) may well be the father of Pantaretos (line 57), and may be related to Antiphon son of Nautes (line 51). In Diogenes' thiasos, Euphranor son of Euphranor and the son/boy of Euphronios may be brothers or other kin of Kephisios Euphro<niou?>, added late to the list.

Demareteos of Agryle, line 83, is probably the father of Demon (line 79).¹⁷⁸ In Thiasos V, from which few names are preserved, the fourth and fifth members, Philocha[re?] and Euchar[es], may be related.

against many of the names implies a complete listing of members; in my view either a standard contribution (10 dr.?) was requested (n. 147) and only larger or smaller sums were recorded, or some men made contributions in kind.

¹⁷⁵ For new readings of the sums contributed see Lambert, *op. cit.*

¹⁷⁶ Missing brothers (who might just conceivably have appeared in other thiasoi): Kleochaes brother of Glauketes of Kephisia (l. 36, *APF* 2952) may have been a younger brother still at this time sharing undivided property; Pos[ei]d[o]nios, ? brother of Diogenes (l. 59), may have been dead (see n. 198 below).

¹⁷⁷ See ch. 15 for examples of the sporadic inclusion of dependants in epidosis lists.

¹⁷⁸ Humphreys 1990*a*; ch. 23 n. 7.

Patronymics are not consistently recorded on this list, and this no doubt deprives us of some further possibilities of identification. Only the evidence elsewhere that a Pantaretos (I) son of Antiphilos (I) of Alopeke served as amphiktyon on Delos in 390/89–389/8 allows us to link the Pantaretos and Antiphilos in Thiasos III.¹⁷⁹ The postulated relationship between Demaretos (?) and Demon of Agryle is based on additional information from *Agora XIX L 4a*, a text of the genos Salaminioi (ch. 20 n. 107).

There are, nevertheless, some disconcerting possibilities of linkage between members of different thiasoi. We have a Eucharides in Thiasos I (l. 12), Euchar— and Philocha[r]— in IV (ll. 88–9),¹⁸⁰ Klesikleides, Kteson, and their kin in II, but a Ktesias in IV (ll. 31–5, 69); —opeithes son of Kephisodotos in I and Theopeithes in IV (ll. 6, 70); names formed from Kephisos, admittedly a common root, occur in I, II, and IV; Glaukippos, again a common name, in I, II, and V; Diphilos son of Dionides in II, Diphilos son of Diokles in IV, and a Diokles in III; Leptines son of Olympiodoros (ch. 32 n. 26) in II, and an Olympiod[oros] in V (ll. 22, 90). We may even add that Archestratos son of Spoudides, *ex hypothesi* a member of Alopeke, belongs to Thiasos II, Archestratos of Agryle to IV. Some of these recurrences may be due to pure chance, others perhaps to affinal connections that were not strong enough to detach either of two families linked by marriage from an earlier thiasos allegiance; some may even be due to quarrels that had driven a sublineage to change thiasos. If a woman married twice within the same phratry, her son might join the thiasos of his stepfather rather than that of his patrikin, as seems to have happened in the case of Astyphilos of Araphen (Isaios 9).¹⁸¹

In any case, kinship and affinity were not the only possible bases of thiasos affiliation, even though the interest of kin and matrikin in questions of legitimacy and inheritance gave them a motive for maintaining close association. Thiasos IV has a cluster of members all of whom belonged to the nearby deme Agryle, and at least three of these belonged to the genos Salaminioi. Theaios¹⁸² and [Eu]phrosynos (ll. 13–14) seem to be demesmen of Paiania. Membership of a deme other than that in which the phratry centre was located would clearly provide a basis of common experience, as well as more specific jural interests, that could encourage continued association in the phratry context. If however the Salaminioi all belonged to this phratry, which seems likely, it is improbable that they were all grouped in the same thiasos. Thiasos IV would have been very large if it had contained every member of a genos whose two subdivisions were each represented

¹⁷⁹ *ID 97. 3, IG ii² 1634. 3*; Pantaretos II, the man of our text, may appear as leader of an *cranos* in *IG ii² 2743* = Finley 1952, no. 70.

¹⁸⁰ The names in ll. 85–91 are separated by a blank line from those of Diogenes' thiasos, but there is no new heading.

¹⁸¹ Men without brothers or cousins are more likely to have changed thiasos than those attached to a sibling group or lineage.

¹⁸² See Lambert 1999*n*.

by seven oasttakers in 363/2. We might perhaps guess that the Salaminioi of Sounion, none of whom can be recognized in *IG* ii² 2345, were solidly grouped in one or more thiasoi that may not have contributed to the epidosis recorded in this text, while the Salaminioi of the Seven Tribes were perhaps more scattered in clusters corresponding to their deme affiliation. Apparently the genos did not insist on conducting its own vote on admissions, or else it voted before the Apatouria.¹⁸³

The linkage between this text and the records of the Salaminioi raises the question whether phratry meetings provided members with opportunities to interact with a wide range of Athenians from demes other than their own. The Medontidai seem to have had a broad range of recruitment: in the poletai record for 367/6 (*Agora* XIX P 5) the phratry is represented by Kichonides son of Diogeiton of Gargettos, and a group of orgeones that probably belonged to it was represented by Aischines of Melite; both claimed debts secured on the property of Theophilos of Xypete, situated in the deme Alopeke. The phratry seems also to have had associations with a sanctuary in Kephale.¹⁸⁴ Phratries based in or close to the city may have had a rather different pattern of relationship to demes from phratries based in remoter rural areas. A phratry in the city area would have a core of members based in the home deme and neighbouring demes, with a more random scatter of members whose ancestors had moved out into various parts of the countryside, the move into mining demes in the period between Solon's and Kleisthenes' reforms perhaps accounting for most of the larger migrant groups; a rural phratry would have a substantial component of members whose ancestors had emigrated before Kleisthenes' reforms to the city area, as well as members of neighbouring local demes. The Demotionidai clearly had many city-based members in addition to those resident in Dekeleia and Oion Dekeleikon.

The thiasoi of *IG* ii² 2345 take their names from their current leaders, and we should assume that thiasoi were relatively fluid groups. There would be no formal impediment to a change of membership, although the need for sponsors and witnesses who could attest the legitimacy of candidates for membership with authority would favour continuity. It would not in any case be problematic for an over-large thiasos to divide, or for two small groups whose members had common ties to unite.

Whether we should assume that whole phratries divided or fused seems more doubtful. The name Dyaleis provides no solid justification for claiming that this

¹⁸³ If, as suggested above at n. 55, the Oschophoria had once been celebrated immediately before the Apatouria, the two festivals had been separated for more than a century by the time of this text. Demesmen who lived in their deme and belonged to a phratry centred elsewhere would have travelled and perhaps camped together for the Apatouria.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. above, nn. 127, 153 on the Medontidai.

phratry had been created by fusion of two others, and the appointment of two phratriarchs to serve simultaneously can be otherwise explained. There is no other certain case of a phratry with more than one phratriarch (nn. 162, 171). As long as the status of citizen continued to matter to the great majority of those entitled to claim it, celebration of the Apatouria in the traditional manner and place will have exerted a considerable compulsion. The years of the Peloponnesian War probably represented the greatest threat in the classical period to phratry cohesion, and it is possible that some phratries split or moved to a base in the city area at that time. However, the grant to the Council and other state officials of a five-day holiday for the Apatouria in 323/2 (if that is the correct date; n. 63) indicates that a substantial proportion of Athenians still left the city to celebrate the festival. It is only after the disenfranchisement and emigration of many citizens in 322 and subsequent years (ch. 22 at n. 35) that we can perhaps see a gradual drift away from phratry allegiance towards attachment to smaller cult groups, *genê*, *orgeones*, and *thiasoi*, some of which perhaps detached themselves from phratries, while others were formed, for non-citizens as well as citizens, by extension of a model that had first come into existence under the umbrella of the phratry.¹⁸⁵ Because processes of phratry subdivision were negotiated around the boundaries of social, residential, civic, and sacred geography—kinship, neighbourhood, deme affiliation, cooperation in cult, all these themselves interrelated—the privileging of the Apatouria and of shared sanctuaries of phratry deities, while citizenship remained significant, would provide a centripetal attraction tending to keep phratry subgroups in a loose union round each sanctuary. It is quite possible, however, that such loose unions were accompanied by diverging attachments to other cults and by separate management of at least some funds, which would prepare the way for eventual dissolution.

PRACTICES AND PROSOPOGRAPHY

References to phratry ‘laws’, *nomoi*, in orators’ speeches indicate that litigants were concerned to present the practices by which their status and relationships had been legitimized as those of a body with a recognized position in the structure of the state, the phratry, sometimes linked to subgroups, *gennetai* or *orgeones*, whose names seemed to imply an additional degree of legitimacy. One phratry might have different *nomoi* from another, but the concept *nomos* belonged to the level of the phratry rather than the *thiasos*, as did the practice of publishing decrees. The Demotionidai had passed a *nomos* concerning the

¹⁸⁵ In some parts of the Greek world the term phratry is used for such groups in the Hellenistic period: Seyfarth 1955.

scrutiny of candidates for membership; the phratry of Pyrrhos had a *nomos* requiring *gamelia*, and sacrifice of the *meion* for girls as well as boys;¹⁸⁶ in the phratry of Apollodoros of Leukonoion it was *nomos* for the sponsor of a candidate for admission to swear on a sacrificial victim that the boy was the legitimate son of citizen parents, and for this oath to be followed by a vote of the whole phratry; in the phratry of the speaker of Isaios 8 *nomoi* required bridegrooms to celebrate their weddings with an offering of *gamelia* in the phratry.¹⁸⁷ The term *nomos* belongs, of course, to the rhetoric of the courts; but the phratry too had its place in the world of law, though perhaps a marginal place. It was important to assert that phratries had *nomoi*, something which in the case of *demes* went without saying.

Further prosopographical information about named phratry members, where it is available, does not tell us very much. We know the names of five phratriarchs. Kallikles son of Aristeides of Myrrhinous had an earlier kinsman, Aristeides son of Autokles, commemorated by a *loutrophoros* in the early fourth century (*IG* ii² 6886, no provenance); Kichonides son of Diogeiton of Gargettos served as a *dikast* or had a homonymous kinsman who did so;¹⁸⁸ Pantakles of Oion Dekeleikon is not otherwise attested. Diopeithes II son of Diophantos of Myrrhinous, co-phratriarch of the *Dyaleis* with Kallikles in 300/299, belonged to a trierarchic family (*APF* 4435) already wealthy in the 370s. His father was presumably Diophantos III, son of Diopeithes I, who undertook the *eutaxia* liturgy *c.*330, and made a dedication to Eubouleus at Eleusis towards the end of the century with Baukideus son of Apollodoros of Kerameis, who also belonged to a trierarchic family. It is not clear whether this dedication to a minor Eleusinian figure, rather seldom honoured on his own, implies membership of an Eleusinian *genos*; at least it seems to imply an enthusiasm for the Mysteries and/or detailed knowledge about the sanctuary and its traditions.¹⁸⁹ Diopeithes II's older cousin (FFBS) Diophantos II, son of Phrasikleides, was more prominent in city politics; he was one of the guarantors of the ships sent to Chalkis in 341/0, served as councillor in 337/6 proposing three Council decrees dealing with naval matters, was still active in naval affairs in 325/4, and proposed further decrees in 322/1

¹⁸⁶ Is. 3. 76; *nomos* appears to be applied to both practices (*tauta*) although *suggestio falsi* may be involved.

¹⁸⁷ Is. 7. 16–17; 8. 18 (in 19 the *nomoi* may be those of the city). Note the emphasis in both passages on the legalism (*akribeia*) of phratry proceedings. The verb used for *gamelia* is *eispherein*, which does not necessarily imply sacrifice (cf. above, n. 67). On sacrifice of the *meion* for girls see n. 48 above. The sacrifice may have been more often made if the girl was the couple's first child.

¹⁸⁸ Kroll 1972, no. 96e.

¹⁸⁹ *LGN* has Diopeithes II as son of Diophantos II, but Diophantos III (son of Diopeithes I) seems more likely. *APF*'s text has a misprint, Diophantos I for Diophantos III. Baukideus, *APF* 1419; the dedication, *IG* ii² 4615, was a statue, possibly by Praxiteles (*LIMC* s.v. *Eubouleus*).

and 320/19. Evidently both Diophantoi were supporters of Lykourgos' policies, Diophantos II more concerned with reestablishing Athenian seapower and Diophantos III more attracted to questions of morale and religion. The lease of phratry land arranged during Diopeithes II's year of office, with its provision for purchase of the land by the lessee if he is willing to commit himself before the lease expires, perhaps shows the influence of the Lykourgan scheme for encouraging demes, phratries, and similar bodies to sell land.¹⁹⁰

Euxitheos of Halimous had also served as phratriarch. He was a wealthy man, sufficiently unpopular in his deme to be denied membership in the scrutiny of 346/5; in the deme he had been a candidate for the office of priest of Herakles, selected by lot from 'the best-born', which may be connected with his claim to be a *gennêtês* (Demosthenes 57. 67). He seems to have been a man who sought importance at the local level, in phratry and deme, but did not leave any trace of activity in city affairs.

The lessee of the Dyaleis, Diodoros son of Kantharos, who like the phratriarchs belonged to the deme Myrrhinous, is not otherwise known, and lists of phratry members and of orgeones—*gennêtai* are treated in ch. 20—do not add a great deal (cf. ch. 12 n. 70). The Paianian (?) phrateres of *IG ii² 2344* may perhaps be linked to membership of the Council of 500, but not to higher office, except for a possible affinal connection with Epichares II son of Agonochares of Paiania, who served on the board set up to organize the *Amphiaraiia* in 329/8.¹⁹¹

Decrees honouring benefactors and, to some extent, the 'epidosis' list *IG ii² 2345*, take us into higher social strata. Arrheneides of Paiania, honoured with another member of the phratry for his contribution to building work on its temple in *SEG 3. 121*, came as we have seen from a family prominent in the political struggles of the late fifth century. He is recorded as trierarch in 357 and as one of the guarantors of the ships sent to Chalkis in 341/0, in which year he also served as choregos; he contributed 2300 drachmas to the cornfund in the early 320s, and this contribution was credited towards the payment of the trierarchic debts of Konon III and others in 326/5. He leased publicly owned land in (?) 333, and received a payment of 12½ dr. for transporting stone to Eleusis in 329/8. His son Kallikles is also attested as a trierarch, with partial responsibility for two triremes in 322; in 324 he was living as a newly-married man in a part of the city in which a house-to-house search was made for recipients of the Persian gold brought by Harpalos. This seems to be a family of wealthy, conservative

¹⁹⁰ Schwenk 1985, no. 88 suggests that in proposing that decree (*IG ii³ 324b*) in 322/1 Diophantos was upholding the sovereignty of the assembly, though the content was routine. On the sale of land owned by corporate groups, see n. 154 above.

¹⁹¹ *IG ii³ 355*; cf. *ii² 7020*, the tombstone of his father; *IG ii³ 1155. 75*, probably his grandson (SS).

patriots like that of Diopeithes II of Myrrhinous, with landed interests that may well have included property in the deme.¹⁹²

The ‘epidosis’ list *IG* ii² 2345 perhaps leads to a more representative range of supplementary information about the contributors. Seven of them came from families for which office-holding is attested. Diokles may be the Diokles of Alopeke who served as general in 357/6;¹⁹³ Hagnotheos, eponym of a thiasos, served as secretary to the epistatai in charge at Eleusis from 336/3 to 333/2; Euphrosynos of Paiania was sent as envoy to Keos in the 350s. Leo[stratos], father of Demophilos, was one of the epimeletai of the dockyard in 360/59, and left a debt of 101 drachmas paid by his son in the late 340s. Sosidemos (contributing 55 dr.) is probably the father of Pytheas, commissioner for waterworks in 333/2; Glauketes of Kephisia is probably the brother of Kleochares, who took part in the sacred embassy to Delphi (Pythais) of 330/29 or 326/5. The grandfather of Pantaretos probably served as amphiktyon on Delos in 390/88.¹⁹⁴

Names on this list can be linked to three trierarchic families: those of Diokles (*APF* 3990) and Glauketes (*APF* 2952), already mentioned, and perhaps that of Sokrates’ friend Kriton of Alopeke (*APF* 8823), to whom Archestratos son of Spoudides may have been related.¹⁹⁵ Two names can be linked to records of cavalry service: Aristides son of Phoryskides will be an ancestor of the third-century cavalryman [Aristomenes?] son of Ph[o]ryskid[es], and Chion, whose father and son were both called Lysiades, will belong to the same family as Thebaios son of Lysiades of Alopeke, who made a dedication to Hermes as hipparch in the third century.¹⁹⁶

Ten men in this list can be identified as, or related to, councillors or Council officials. Hippon of Agryle served in (?) 336/5 (*Agora* XV 42. 21), Diogenes and Euxitheos in 334/5 (*IG* ii³ 4. 81. 5, 53), Theopompos c.330 (*Agora* XV 46. 56), Demophilos c.321 (55. 39). Antiphon son of Nautes may have been a kinsman

¹⁹² See n. 146 above; *APF* 2254. Lease: *Agora* XIX L 10. 42–3 (on the date see A. Williams 2011). Arrheneides seems to have been an associate of Konon III (*APF* 13700): *IG* ii² 1623. 175–7, 1628. 410, 1629. 930. He was alive in 325/4 but may perhaps have died shortly afterwards. The transport of stone was probably undertaken as a service by a landowner who had draft animals rather than as a regular business (cf. Burford 1960, 1965; *Eleus* II, 158–62). Kallikles: Theop. *FGH* 115 F 330.

¹⁹³ *APF* 3990 (erroneously 3099 in *LGPN*); a connection with Diokles son of Themistokles, adopted into Alopeke, is possible (*APF* 6669 VII). However, as Lambert 1999*a* observes, the name is very common.

¹⁹⁴ See Humphreys 1990*a*, Lambert 1999*a*. Hagnotheos: *IG* ii² 1543–4. Euphrosynos: ii² 1128. 39f. Leostratos: ii² 1622. 558–63. Sosidemos and Pytheas: cf. Habicht 1989. Kleochares (cf. n. 176): D. M. Lewis 1955, *AO* 330/29 on the date. Pantaretos: n. 179 above. Glaukippos son of Glaukon of Alopeke (I. 15?) made a dedication found in the theatre with four other men, apparently relating to their service on a board of 4 officials and a secretary (*IG* ii³ 4. 64).

¹⁹⁵ Archestratos son of Kriton of Alopeke (*APF* 8823) was alive in 342/1 and should have appeared somewhere on this list. See however Lambert 1999*a*.

¹⁹⁶ *SEG* 47. 197. See Bugh 1988; both Bugh and *LGPN* miss Thebaios. The name Phoryskides is also attested in Lamptraí (*City* 2000, no. 137) and Leukonoion (M. J. Osborne 2009*b*; ch. 26 s.v.).

of Antiphon son of Solon, councillor in 334/3 (*IG ii³ 4. 81. 56*); Gnathios should be the father of —sos Gnathiou, councillor in 303/2 (*Agora XV 62. 303*); —phon son of Kephisos, councillor in the same year (62. 305), may be related to the family in Thiasos I that used the Kephiso- root in its names; [Kalli]stratos and [K]t[esi]kleides, sons of Kteson, served as councillors.¹⁹⁷

Other evidence indicates at least a moderate level of wealth, as we would expect from donors. Leptines son of Olympiodoros of Alopeke was choregos for boys' dithyramb in 331/0 (*APF 9045*) and might be, or be related to, the tribal priest Leptines of *SEG 3. 117 = ISE 8* (303/2; no demotic, and the name is attested in Pallene in the 3rd c.). A Theodosios of Alopeke, perhaps to be identified with, or a kinsman of, the donor in Thiasos I, freed a slave in the 330s–320s, as did Lysiades II, son of Chion (line 85). Demon of Agryle appears as lessee of a mine for 20 drachmas in the poletai records of 367/6 (*Agora XIX P 5. 56*). The Glaukippos of Thiasos I may be the son of Glaukon, who dedicated *IG ii³ 4. 64* with colleagues in the middle of the fourth century. The tombstones of Kaineus, of Lysis the father of Lysandros of Euonymon, and of the daughter of Aresias I,¹⁹⁸ also indicate wealth. Pantaretos II (line 57) probably appears as leader of an eranos responsible for a loan of 1800 dr. secured on a house in Mounichia (*IG ii² 2743 = Finley 1952, no. 70*).

This scatter of prosopographical information, even if for the moment we ignore the doubts attached to conjectural identifications and problems of dating, does not settle into any very clear pattern. It does not contradict conclusions that could have been deduced a priori and will be supported by the analysis of prosopographical data related to demes (chs. 23–32); the management of phratry affairs was likely to be left to men whose ambitions did not rise above the local level, wealthy quietists or village busybodies. Those with serious political ambitions would seldom become deeply engaged in phratry affairs, although they might occasionally be persuaded to contribute funds or forensic skills in an emergency.

¹⁹⁷ [Kalli]stratos *SEG 39. 204*; [K]t[esi]kleides *Agora XV 55. 37* (Lambert 1999*a*, 122 n. 51 suggests dating this list earlier; Appendix 1). The fact that these records of Council service come from the 330s and later is due to the scarcity of earlier lists; see ch. 17 n. 15 for evidence of men serving as councillors late in life. On the date of *Ag. XV 42* see *AO 336/5*.

¹⁹⁸ Kaineus: above, n. 173. Lysandros: *IG ii² 6180*, found on the Akropolis (stele). *SEMA 88*, Pheidylla daughter of Aresias (I?) of Alopeke, a relief monument of the mid 4th c. found in Odos Demetrakopoulou (NE of Kallithea, in an area not far W of Alopeke though perhaps hardly inside the deme) probably commemorates the sister of Antiphanes son of Aresias, l. 45. The monument of Pos[ei]d[o]nios son of Diog[eito]n of Alopeke (*ii² 5575*) may belong to a brother of Diogenes, the leader of Thiasos III (cf. n. 176); Diogeiton, their father, probably appears as *klētēr* in a denunciation of property in Alopeke on *Agora XIX P 5. 15–16*. I would now withdraw the suggestion made in Humphreys 1990*a* that this is the family of Lysias 32.

HISTORICAL SUMMARY

A clearer idea of the historical curve of phratry activities might nevertheless be revealing. We can at least identify a series of especially problematic periods. Kleisthenes' reforms must have set up tension between the phratries (and their subgroups) and the new deme organization. Tribe and trittys boundaries may in some cases have been designed to cut across those of phratries; more often, perhaps, the failure to designate deme centres or define deme boundaries (chs. 21–22) will have allowed hamlets and smaller villages to make their own decisions about deme affiliation; some of these decisions will have been based on, and will then have accentuated, boundaries of kinship and residence that divided phratries internally. The Kleisthenic scheme also strengthened existing divisions within phratries between those who resided in or near the phratry centre and those who had migrated elsewhere, principally to the city/Piraeus area, who would now be registered in the deme where they lived. Discrepancies between deme and phratry boundaries, and in some cases correspondences between the boundaries of subgroups within the two systems,¹⁹⁹ provided a permanently available basis in social and spatial experience for the crystallization of factions.

In the period from 507 to 431, relation between phratries and demes are likely to have been determined mainly by correspondences or discrepancies between their boundaries and by the effect of Kleisthenes' scheme on leading families. Phratries whose dominant families were still locally resident and affiliated to local demes will have differed in their history from those whose leading families had moved to the city and were registered in city demes. In the latter case, again, families now separated from the phratry base will have reacted in varying ways, some concentrating on creating a new power base in city and deme,²⁰⁰ others expending more energy on maintaining their position in the phratry. In those phratries where the former elite turned its attention elsewhere, new leaders might arise who had ambitions to control both deme and phratry. We cannot, therefore, predict *a priori* whether the move of a dominant family to the city would favour fusion of deme and phratry interests, both being controlled by the same new, locally resident leaders, or a separation, because elite families resident in the city still controlled phratry affairs. In this period, therefore, there may have been a rather rapid takeover of phratry cults and sanctuaries by demes in some places, while phratries continued to dominate local cult in others (cf. ch. 22 at n. 73).

¹⁹⁹ Cf. above, at nn. 119–23 on Upper and Lower Paiania, and the division of the Salaminioi into Sounians and others (ch. 20 at nn. 105–7).

²⁰⁰ Cf. ch. 20 at n. 69 on Kimon's relations with Lakiadai.

The Peloponnesian War, as we have seen, affected both rural demes and rural phratries, but presented more serious problems for the latter for three reasons: phratry business required access to a sanctuary and altar, whereas deme business could be conducted in any public space; the deme was required to carry out a wider range of functions, more closely linked to state business, than the phratry; finally, the split between locally resident and non-resident families had been a feature of phratry structure since 507, whereas the rate of definitive migration from rural demes to the city area between 507 and 431 may not have been high.²⁰¹

During these two periods the distinction between public and private spheres hardened in Athenian social experience and culture, and the phratry had features that associated it with the private sphere: the informal character of its festivals, and its association with family life, including marriage and the birth of children. Like rural demes, rural phratry centres and their festivals became foci of nostalgic longings for peace and a golden-age traditional way of life; country opposed to city, peace to war, cult to politics.²⁰²

The reality of the postwar decades shattered these dreams. Athenians who had moved into the city initially as a temporary measure, but had during the thirty years of war developed a new way of life there based on service in army and fleet and on the opportunities of the urban market, were faced with the choice of struggling for existence in a depressed economy or trying to recover and revitalize farms they had abandoned.²⁰³ Class hostility sharpened, both in response to the economic situation and in retaliation for the offences committed by the oligarchic juntas of 411–10 and 404–3. Since oligarchy had appealed to land-owners, many members of local landowning elites will have found their traditional authority threatened.²⁰⁴ Some, as in Dekeleia, managed to re-establish control, but elsewhere this may well have been a period in which responsibility for phratry cults and sanctuaries were abandoned to demes.

Over the period *c.* 378–322, class relations in Attika gradually stabilized. The position of Athens as the major seapower of the Aegean was re-established, but she could no longer draw on large payments of tribute to support it. A higher proportion of the cost was borne by the rich; on the other hand, irregularity in the payment of troops and crews made military and naval service less attractive

²⁰¹ The opportunities for service in the fleet and for acquiring land in *kleruchies* during the period 480–431 may have slowed down the rate of deliberate migration to the city, although rowers will have increased the population of the city–Piraeus area when not at sea.

²⁰² Humphreys 1983*a*/1993, chs. 1–2, 1986*a*, 104–5; cf. the discussion of *Ar. Peace* above, and *Ar. Ach.*

²⁰³ Humphreys 1978, chs. 6–7; Strauss 1986; V. D. Hanson 1983, P. Harvey 1986, Pritchett 1991 on the effects of invasion on the agricultural economy (note Boulay 1974, 32 on the collapse of mudbrick houses after about 5 years of neglect).

²⁰⁴ Loening 1987; ch. 14 at n. 39, 15 s. ‘The Thirty’.

to many citizens. Young men, in many cases, sought mercenary service overseas;²⁰⁵ married men were more likely to return to the land or find urban occupations that demanded attention throughout the year. Phratry and deme boundaries could once again play their part in the local microdynamics of village politics, if a phratry had retained sufficient control over cult centres and resources to function as more than the framework for a simple annual gathering at the Apatouria.²⁰⁶ Those phratries that have left evidence of their activities did so by imitating and adopting the procedures and language of the public sphere: marking their property, holding assemblies, electing officials, passing and inscribing decrees.²⁰⁷ They became, with and like the demes, local centres of public life. After 322 they declined, like the demes, because local settlements were abandoned and the character of public life changed. The surviving demes were those that served as forts, though some of them retained or later recovered an identity as tourist centres;²⁰⁸ the phratries survived only as cult groups of orgeones and thiasoi.

In these alternatives we can perhaps see a new adaptation of the distinction between public and private life. A minority of demes retained their identity in a new kind of public policy, in which Athens played a defensive role both in military and in cultural terms, guarding her boundaries against attack, trying to free her territory from foreign garrisons, making claims on the attention of the great powers based on her past and her cultural achievements. Athenians who were not wholeheartedly involved in these struggles will have reintegrated their purposes and the meaning of their lives in a variety of ways; for some, membership in a groups of orgeones or a thiasos provided a kind of public life, which included a place for family relationships, a set of rituals that enriched the rhythms of the calendar, supernatural patrons and temporal friends on whom they could call for help. The rollicking, country-fair milieu of the phratry began to drift in the direction of the sect or chapel.²⁰⁹

This chapter, clearly, has not entirely escaped the influence of traditional conceptions of the phratry. I still see it, like Fustel, as an early institution; like Gernet,

²⁰⁵ Humphreys 1978, chs. 6–7; Marinovič 1988 on mercenaries.

²⁰⁶ A phratry that met more frequently and controlled more sanctuaries would be more ‘real’ to members than one that met only for the Apatouria: above, n. 32.

²⁰⁷ We have less evidence for phratry officials than for deme officials, but the Demotionidai had hieropoioi (*IG* ii² 1242 = *SEG* 21. 528); the phratry of *SEG* 32. 150 had a commission of epimeletai; *IG* ii² 1239 may have had a [grammateus] (n. 162 above). On protenthai and oinoptai see above, n. 69. A new phratry priest at Myrrhinous (Dyaleis?), *SEG* 53. 210/57. 201; ch. 25 n. 44. The egalitarian basis and atmosphere of phratry festivals in the 5th c. may have discouraged multiplication of formal offices; the rarity of references to phratry temples (only *SEG* 3. 121) may be a parallel phenomenon, although phratry relations with genè and demes must be taken into account.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Lauter 1993, Alcock 1993; ch. 22 at n. 35.

²⁰⁹ Hellenistic thiasoi and groups of orgeones, in addition to giving rights to members’ wives and daughters (*SEG* 21. 530) took on funerary responsibilities which are so far not attested for the classical period (ch. 12 n. 69).

as tied to the village and its festivals.²¹⁰ I have tried, however, as they did not, to ask how Athenians themselves thought about phratries in each period, how association with the past and countryside interacted with other factors (war, politics, settlement patterns) to shape the phratries' histories. At every period there was both continuity and restructuring, invention based on 'realities' rooted in experience.

²¹⁰ Gernet 1928, cf. 1951; Humphreys 1978, ch. 3. D. Roussel 1976 (cf. Bourriot 1976) stressed the artificiality of the tribe/phratry system (going so far as to accept J. H. Oliver's 1972 interpretation of *A.P.* fr. 3); I have tried to reconcile what is obviously valid in this constructivist view with the (to my mind) equally obvious antiquity and centrality of the phratry as a social group by separating the question of phratry origins from that of the incorporation of phratries into tribal systems (cf. ch. 18).

The *Genê*

Genos is used here in a technical sense that did not become common in Attika until the fourth century BCE: to denote a named corporate group owning rights to office, the members of which were called *gennêtai*. These groups, in early times, seem to have been referred to by name rather than by any established use of a collective noun: the Eumolpidai, the Kerykes, the Praxiergidai. However, the expression ‘the *genos* of the Kerykes’ occurs in a law quoted from the *kyrbeis*, in which the dual is used: the law must be early but we cannot be sure that the quotation has not been edited.¹

When lexicographers use *genos* in the technical sense they usually add *itha-genôn*, ‘of direct descendants’ (Herodotus 2. 17 uses this term in distinguishing natural mouths of the Nile from man-made channels). The term *gennêtai* is first attested in the fourth century, in forensic speeches (Isaios 7. 13 and elsewhere; Demosthenes 57. 67; [Demosthenes] 59. 55, 59, 61), in a decree of the Krokonidai (*IG ii*² 1229; c.330, Tracy 1995), and probably in *A.P.* fr. 3.² It derives, like *gennaios* (‘well-bred’) from *genna*, descent—not from *genos*—and may well have meant something like *eupatridês* (‘of good ancestry’) before becoming more specifically associated with the *genê*. In the third century Philochoros (*FGH* 328 F 35) uses it to gloss *homogalaktes* in a probably Solonian law (ch. 19 n. 3).

As we have already seen (ch. 18 n. 29), this stress on purity of descent did not deter a theorist of the late fourth century from proposing that *gennetai* had been assigned to their *genê*: thirty *genê* per phratry. Most of the sources that describe this arrangement clearly derive from the *Athenaion Politeia*, but the statement in Proklos’ scholia to Hesiod that Attika had 360 *leschai* (clubhouses, meeting places) seems to preserve a variation of the same scheme, and may possibly suggest that the first writer to put it forward supported it with some reference to

¹ Athen. 234 c–f, Polemon F 78 Preller 1838: *kai tô kêruke ek tou genous tôn Kêrukôn tês mystêriôtidos*.

² *Ithagênês* is used to distinguish legitimate sons from *nothoi* in Od. 14. 200; cf. also Hdt. 6. 53. In Plat. *Laws* 878d *gennêtai* appears to mean ‘parents’. It is not entirely certain from citations of *A.P.* fr. 3 (on which see ch. 18 pp. 546–50) that the equivalence of *genos*-members and *gennêtai* appeared in the original text, but it is probable. For further discussions of terminology see Bourriot 1976; W. Thompson 1983; Bresson and Debord 1985.

evidence for widespread distribution of local *genê* in Attika.³ The suffix *-idai* was widely used to form both *genos* names and place names, and in ancient as in modern times it was often thought of as a patronymic form, a view reinforced by its use to form patronymics in Homer. As with the ‘patronymic adjective’ suffix *-ios*, the use of *-ides* and *-idai* was not confined to patronymics, and some of the Attic place names ending in *-idai* are likely to derive from nicknames, not always complimentary: Skambonidai for a city district, from *skambos*, crooked; Boutadai and Pambotadai perhaps for farming communities, Keiriadai for shepherds? Auridai perhaps prided itself on its breezes. Halai Aixonides and Halai Araphenides were the salt pans of Aixone and Araphen. Hamlets as well as larger villages bore such names, which also occur as toponyms of locations where there may never have been settlement (a mine *em Philomêlidôn*, *Agora XIX* P 26. 238). Some of these place names correspond to the names of attested *genê* or phratries (Boutadai, Philaidai, Thymaitadai, Titakidai, Thyrgonidai, Semachidai), others—like many place names without the *-idai* suffix—were believed to be named for heroes and hence might be thought to have once housed the hero’s descendants.⁴ An antiquarian who systematically collected Attic place names of appropriate form and added them to the list of *genê* active in the fourth century might well conclude that 360 was not an exaggerated estimate for the original number of *genê*.

He might also be encouraged to think of the *genos* as the smallest unit of the citizen body in the earliest Attic tribal system by the use of *genos* and the equivalent term *patra* for such units in other cities (N. F. Jones 1987, Index I no. 16) and—if sufficiently tolerant of inconsistency—by the evolutionary scheme deriving human society from the combination of households into extended families, and thence into phratries, tribes, and cities, which was becoming popular among philosophers. Plato makes the family the first social unit in the *Laws* (680d–e); Aristotle (*Politics* 1252b 9–18) traces an evolution from the household to a wider group variously known as *homokapoi*, *homosipues*, or *homogalaktes*, and thence to village and city; Dikaiarchos (F 52 Wehrli 1967 = Fortenbaugh and Schütrumpf

³ Schol. Hes. *WD* 493–5. On *leschai* see Dragoumes 1892; *RE* s.v.; Wycherley 1970; Fisher 2001, 359; *IG* i³ 1102, ii² 2492; cf. perhaps the Piraeus building reported *AR* 1985–6, 13, and the *klision* of the Lykomidai, Paus. 4. 1. 7. As several commentators have noted, *A.P.*’s idea that priesthoods were distributed among the *genê* by lot may be influenced by practices of (intra-*genos*) appointment in his own day (n. 17).

⁴ Duploux 2010. Cf. also Keurentjes 1997. Cromey 1978 notes that *-(i)dai* can be added to a place name to form a term denoting the inhabitants: Hdt. 5. 62 has *Paioniê* for the deme later known as Paionidai, while a 5th c. demesman of Kollytos calls himself *Kollytides* rather than Kollyteus (*DAA* 184, *IG* i³ 779; cf. ch. 22 n. 39). Nicknames formed with *-ides* are discussed by Wilamowitz 1893 II 181–2; Diels 1902; Mras 1937; cf. Erbse and Latte 1965, pp. 261–2, 264; ch. 8 n. 42. As we shall see, detailed examination shows that the relationship between *genê*, heroes, and place names formed with *-idai* was untidy.

2001 F 1) suggests that two *patrai* exchanged women and subsequently united to form a phratry.⁵

Nevertheless, whatever scholars might believe about the days of Ion, in fourth-century Attika (and earlier) not everyone was a *gennetes* and not every family was a *genos* in the technical sense defined here. *Genos* was of course a term with a broad range of meanings (cf. Vartsos 1978). In the non-technical sense the term could be used to refer even to the descent of a slave: in the lists of property confiscated in 415–13 from the Hermokopidai and those who parodied the Mysteries, slaves are described as Karian, Thracian, etc., by *genos* (IG i³ 427 a 3–12). Aristotle uses the term *kata genos* to refer to divisions of the citizen body by occupation (*Politics* 1329a 41–b 2). *Genos* had no special association with the upper classes; *oikos* or *oikia* are more commonly used of aristocratic lineage.⁶ Nor was the term *genos* restricted to patrilineal descent. Grants of citizenship to the recipient and his *genos* probably qualified female descendants to bear legitimate children to citizen husbands as well as assuring the rights of male descendants.⁷ Demosthenes (23. 213) describes Charidemus as contributing half the *genos* required for citizenship in Oreos, since his mother came from that city, yet nevertheless being treated as a *nothos* and not entitled to citizenship.⁸ One could be *anchista genous*, next of kin, by cognatic as well as agnatic reckoning (ch. 1 n. 90), and Isaïos probably uses the expression ‘return to the *genos*’ to explain that if there are no kin within the prescribed limits (up to second cousins) on the father’s side of the family, the search for an heir recommences on the mother’s side.⁹ *Genos* here would refer to *d.c.*’s lineal ascendants, specifically his mother. When the *Iliad* (3. 354f.) says that Zeus and Poseidon have the same *genos*, full siblingship is meant.

⁵ Earlier philosophers had used the herd as a model of early human society (T. W. Cole 1967). Dikaiarchos came from Samos, and may have known the Ionian use of *phrétēr* to mean ‘brother’ reported by Hsch. (s.v.).

⁶ *Oikos/oikia*: e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 2; Hdt. 5. 31, 6. 9, 125; Thuc. 1. 137. On the *oikos* of the Dekeleians (IG ii² 1237) see ch. 19 nn. 85–7. Cf. Bourriot 1976, Lambert 2004a. In Aristotle’s statement (*Pol.* 1252a 33–5) that in Crete the *kosmoi* are elected from certain *gené* only, it is not clear whether he was misled by the custom of appointing a whole board of *kosmoi* from the *startos* (equivalent to Roman *classis*, the hoplites?) of the same tribe, or had some more detailed information (cf. De Sanctis 1901; Bourriot 1976, 560–4; N. F. Jones 1987, 219–31).

⁷ Women’s rights were not clearly defined (Whitehead 1986b), and in the classical period the number of honorary citizens who took up residence in Athens was presumably small.

⁸ Note the equivalence of *nothos* status with lack of citizen rights (ch. 22 n. 45).

⁹ MS reading in Is. 11. 2 *ean de kai tout’ eklipe, eis to genos palin epanerchetai*, kept by Thalheim 1903. Schoemann (1831) and P. Roussel (1922) delete *eis* and punctuate after *genos*, which does not seem necessary; Reiske’s *eis to <prōton> genos* does not help. Cf. Is. 8. 32, where FFF is described as ‘the beginning of the *genos*’, i.e. of the set of *oikoi* in terms of which closeness of kinship is reckoned (on the father’s side in this case); Table 1.1. Is. 2. 10, 45 may have used *agenēs* to mean ‘childless’ (Blass 1874).

The use of *genos* to denote named groups of *gennētai* derives from these untechnical uses of *genos* for the descent of any individual, and probably developed in the Lykourgan era, perhaps encouraged by the number of lawsuits over *genos* privileges brought at that time (below, at nn. 119–23). When Apollodoros of Acharnai describes the hierophant Archias as *ek genous onta tôn Eumolpidôn* ([Demosthenes] 59. 117), the usage is still borderline: he is a Eumolpid by descent. But by 330 Aischines (3. 18) can refer to the Eumolpidai and Kerykes as ‘the *genē*’, and it is at this period that decrees start to refer to the body that passes them as ‘the *genos* of the x’. In 363/2, the Salaminioi in their *genos* decree (*Agora* XIX L 4) use the term *genos* only once, at the end, in specifying that anyone who proposes to change the agreement which has been made, or spend collective funds other than as specified, is to be liable to the whole *genos*. Elsewhere in the text they refer to themselves only as ‘the Salaminioi’. However, by c.306/5 they have adopted the expression ‘the *genos* of the Salaminioi’ (*IG* ii² 1232).

This change in terminology does not mean that ‘the *genos*’, in the technical sense, was a new phenomenon in the fourth century. François Bourriot (1976) was undoubtedly right to reject the nineteenth-century model of the *genos* as primordial social unit, based mainly on evidence for the Roman *gens*, but he did not demonstrate that named aristocratic descent groups played no role in archaic and fifth-century Attic society. Moreover, his division of the few early *genē* he was prepared to recognize into two groups, priestly *genē* and those based on local communities, does not seem either valid or useful (cf. Kearns 1989; R. Parker 1996, 61). The two best attested *genē* with ‘local’ names, the Eteoboutadai and the Salaminioi, both had significant non-local cult responsibilities, and the ties of the latter with Salamis may well have been remote (Humphreys 1990*a*; below, at nn. 103–11). The decision of Duplouy 2006 (following Bourriot) to omit sacrifice and priesthoods from his discussion of elite prestige in early Greece seems perverse.

Proto-*genē*—lineages of shallow depth that cite pedigrees in support of their status and lay claim to hereditary office or specialized skills—can be seen in the Homeric poems and in many Greek cities. Although the Priamidai seem to be in firm control of Troy in the *Iliad*, even the Greeks know that Aineias too is of royal lineage, and that he nurses hopes that his line may rule again one day. The two Spartan kings traced back their descent to the eponymous ancestors of the Agiad and Eurypontid lines, but despite the depth of these pedigrees (the founders were placed 12 to 14 generations before the kings of the late eighth century) Sparta was not full of men claiming royal descent. Cadet lines evidently merged back rapidly into the ranks of commoners. Seers traced their pedigree to famous ancestors, poets claimed descent from Homer, but seers and poets travelled and did not form corporate groups.¹⁰ The Aigeidai of Sparta were numerous enough for

¹⁰ Iamidai: Bourriot 1976; M. A. Flower 2008*a*, 2008*b*. Homeridai: Ritook 1970. The *poinikastas* Spensitheos who was given hereditary office in a small Cretan city c.500 BCE may have been an immigrant (*SEG* 27. 631; Bile 1988 no. 28); note the name advertising his religious expertise.

Herodotos to call them a *megalê phylê*, a 'great tribe' (4. 149), and claimed kinship with Thera, Kyrene, and Thebes; they may have been responsible for the cult of Kadmos, Oiolykos, and Aigeus, whose shrines were still visible in Pausanias' day (3. 15. 8), and they may have stressed their foreign connections in order to claim a status almost equal to that of the kings, but despite the tradition that they commanded the centre of the army in the First Messenian War in the late eighth century (Pausanias 4. 7. 8) they do not seem to have had any major institutionalized position.¹¹

Pride in pedigree may have encouraged some interest in old burials archaeologically attested from the eighth century (Whitley 1988), but we cannot identify the monuments and tombs of *genos* eponymoi known to Pausanias (Erysichthon at Prasiai, Ion at Potamos, Pausanias 1. 31. 2) with any archaeologically known remains or preserved references to cult. The relation between *genê*, tombs, and hero cult is at best loose. The Eteoboutadai were responsible for the cult of Erechtheus on the Akropolis, and there was a tradition that he had been driven into the rock by Poseidon there, but they did not claim direct descent from him, though their eponymous ancestor Boutes, who had an altar on the Akropolis (Paus. 1. 26. 5, cf. *IG* ii² 5166), is sometimes said to be Erechtheus' brother. The connection of the Kephalaïdai with the hero Kephalos (who received sacrifices at Thorikos, *IG* i³ 256 *bis* = *SEG* 33. 147) is problematic, since the deme Kephale, where the myth of his accidental killing of his wife Prokris seems to be located, is like Thorikos in SE Attika, whereas the *genos* was associated with a sanctuary of Apollo Pythios, supposedly founded by his descendants, on Mt Aigaleos, between the Athenian and Eleusinian plains, probably at modern Dafni. Many heroes and heroines to whom local groups sacrificed were nameless; many named heroes are not associated with either a *genos* or a cult; the activity of the Attic *genê* in the late fourth century and in the Hellenistic and Roman periods did not produce any archaeologically traceable interest in Bronze Age tombs, although post-classical offerings at Bronze Age tombs are attested in Boiotia and the Peloponnese.¹²

¹¹ The view that Agiadai, Eurypontidai, and Aigeidai had once been the leaders of the three Spartan tribes is improbable, both because the two royal lines should both have belonged to Hylleis and because early Greek cities tended to avoid correspondence between tribes and offices (at Athens, 4 tribes with 3, then 9 archons; cf. ch. 18 n. 93). In Pind. *Py.* 5. 75–6 it is probably the Kyrenean choir and not the poet that claims Aigeid descent. Sparta had hereditary priests in the Roman period (Chrimes 1949; Cartledge and Spawforth 1989), but Huxley's claim (1962) that the Aigeidai were hereditary priests of Apollo Karneios is supported neither by Pind. *Py.* 5. 68ff. nor by Kallim. *H. Ap.* 71 ff.

¹² See Bourriot 1976; H. A. Thompson 1978; Whitley 1988; Kearns 1989, esp. ch. 4; Alcock 1991; Antonaccio 1995; ch. 18 n. 44. Offerings at BA tombs continued into the 6th c. at Menidi (Acharnai) and Thorikos, but elsewhere in Attika signs of cult seem to be confined to the 8th c. Several of the peak sanctuaries studied by Langdon (1976, 110–12) also had a short life, mainly in the 8th–7th c., and they do not seem to be associated with *genê*. Toepffer 1889, 301–7, does not establish that there was a sanctuary of Apollo Kynneios on Mt Hymettos.

Anthony Snodgrass's suggestion (1971, 190–7) that cult at Bronze Age tombs in Attika was connected with more intensive settlement in rural areas in the eighth century was a plausible one, but it should be recognized that the eighth century is likely to have been a period of considerable instability in cult, both because of population movements and because of the impact of the poetic elaboration of myth and theology. Centripetal and centrifugal tendencies were always in tension with each other in Greek religion, and the factors that promoted the development of new local cults—among which we can count the discovery of past tombs—were not necessarily sufficient to ensure them a long life. The cultural interests of the aristocracy, and the contacts of villagers with the city, with villages elsewhere in Attika, or with communities elsewhere visited for trading purposes, stimulated identification of local deities with gods or heroes recognized elsewhere and reconfigurations of the local pantheon. The local cult calendars of the fifth and fourth centuries represent efforts at stabilization to which local communities earlier may not have aspired. The ambitions of aristocratic families, though they no doubt included interest in providing generously for local festivals in areas where they held land, also generated cultic competition, especially in the city; this greatly increased the richness and diversity of the festival calendar, but it may have taken some time for agreement to be reached on the periodicity of festivals and the list of those accepted as part of the whole community's relationship with its gods. Payment from public funds, as we shall see, is likely to have developed even more slowly.

The Athenian calendar of festivals, as we have seen (ch. 18 n. 56), is rather strikingly characterized by reduplication: a cluster of midsummer new year celebrations (Plynteria, Skira, Synoikia, Panathenaia), a cluster of fruit-harvest festivals associated with incorporation of the new year's crop of young men (Pyanopsia, Oschophoria, Apatouria). A leading man or family claimed a place on the cultic map by introducing or expanding a festival that conformed to established patterns. A successful innovation turned a manifestation of elite ambition into an expression of communal solidarity. In the eighth and seventh centuries the rhythm of the cultic year may have shifted over the decades rather as it shifted over the centuries in Egypt or Mesopotamia, the rise and fall of cults dominated by the various leading families corresponding to the rise and fall of the various city gods of the great river-valley states.

Bourriot, then, was right to argue that the Attic *genos* does not represent any survival of primordial social groupings; it was a product of history. Nor does its history parallel that of the Roman *gens*, to which Fustel de Coulanges (1864) and Maine (1861) assimilated it. The situation in Italy in the eighth century may indeed have been similar to what we see in the Homeric poems, with sporadic use of adjectival name forms to denote descent from, or other

forms of association with, a few especially well known individuals, living or dead; but, for reasons that are still far from clear, the use of the gentilic as part of every man's name was generalized in Latium and other parts of Italy at a much earlier stage than the incorporation of the demotic into the citizen's name in Attika. In combination with the systematization of inheritance in Roman law, which gave it a strong agnatic bias, this incorporation of an indication of group affiliation into the naming system favoured the attribution of residual inheritance rights to the Roman *gens*, and over the centuries moulded what may well in early times have been a conglomeration of named groups varying widely in size and function—from quasi-colonial migrant populations taking the name of their leaders (Claudii?) to, perhaps, roving military bands of *suodales*, or old city families whose exclusiveness eventually led to the disappearance of their names (Gegani? *RE* s.v.)—into a more homogeneous system of corporate descent groups. The recent study by C. J. Smith (2006), which includes a valuable survey of the history of ideas about *gens* and *genos*, should be read by everyone concerned with the latter; there are interesting parallels. Smith stresses historical change both in the functions of the *gens* and in Roman conceptions of it: 'The way to understand the *gens* is through the history of an argument about the patriciate' (p. 302); the *gentes* were at least partly 'designed to provide for distribution of privilege and office' (311; cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 2011 on Attika).¹³

In Greece, the crystallization of small lineages into named, corporate *genê* seems to be associated essentially with hereditary rights to office, and the form and history of the *genê* in different parts of Greece, and in different periods, can be seen to relate to the way in which these rights were distributed—although, especially where a system of *genê* established itself, as in Attika, they predictably acquired additional functions that had an influence on their development. Historical reality never conforms precisely to models, but a model of variation between the poles of an egalitarian, strongly bounded group in which rights to compete for office are equally distributed among members and a sharply ranked group in which an office held for life is normally inherited in the dominant lineage provides a useful guide to the varieties of the aristocratic *genos* in Greece. The Bakchiadai of Corinth, who at least in the later decades of their rule seem to have monopolized the right to stand for election to annual office, would represent the egalitarian, strongly bounded end of the spectrum, a characterization supported by the tradition that they insisted on group endogamy (Herodotus 5. 92); the Spartan royal lineages,

¹³ Smith also relates the development of the *gens* to control of new territory acquired in the early Republic; resemblances and differences between Rome and Attika on this point are harder to assess, despite the use of the term *pelatai* in Attika. See also Rix 1972 on gentilics in Italy; A. D. Momigliano 1989.

in which life monarchy was passed on from father to son and junior branches rapidly ceased to assert claims to membership, would represent the opposite pole.

In Attika the situation was more complex. If there is any validity in the tradition that the Medontidai had once occupied a position in Athens like the Bakchiadai at Corinth, monopolizing rights first to a 'life archonship' and then to an archonship held for ten years, it would be appropriate that we find the Medontidai existing later as a phratry rather than a *genos*;¹⁴ at least the example of the Bakchiadai shows that a bid for power resting on numbers, and on offering several competing lines a chance of sharing power, was a possible strategy. The Eumolpidai and Kerykes of Eleusis maintained group cohesion over the centuries by allowing all members a share in the kudos and profits of initiation to the Mysteries; the Eumolpidai at least may also have opened the office of hierophant to all members, though the equivalent position of Torchbearer (*daidouchos*) among the Kerykes was held for three generations by the Kallias/Hipponikos family of Alopeke (below, p. 675).

However, if the Medontidai had ever had a monopoly on office, they had lost it by 683, when competition for annual office was open to any member of a group of families recognizing each other as nobles, the Eupatridai. Their decision need not have been, and probably was not, as formal as the agreement in the second half of the third century BCE in Thessaly of the Basaidai and the four families (*genê*; Table 20.1) that were to share the office of tagos in (?) the city of Metropolis (*ISE II* 97);¹⁵ but the introduction of annual office—perhaps of three annual positions, archon, polemarch and basileus, and probably with some restriction on iteration¹⁶—inevitably meant that if a candidate's suitability was

¹⁴ Ch. 19 n. 153. The name Medontidai seems to be formed from a title (LSJ s.v. *medô*) rather than from a personal name. According to legend, the kingship passed from Thymoites, eponym of the phratry Thymaitis (and deme Thymaitadai), to the Medontidai. On the ten-year archonship see Jacoby 1902*b*; *FGH* III B *Suppl.* on 323a F 23. The idea must respond in part to chronological preoccupations, and seems to have been introduced between Hellanikos and *A.P.* (3. 1), perhaps by Kleidemos. On early kingship cf. Lenz 1993, Carlier 2005. The views of Herda 2006, 229–37, on the Neileidai and the *basileus* at Miletos are heavily influenced by his conception of Athens.

¹⁵ *SEG* 36. 584/60. 597; see now R. Parker 2010*d*; Mili 2015, 64–8. The frequency of father–son pairs among the representatives of the 4 *genê* suggests that the agreement to share power is recent, but it is not clear how the 6 mini-lineages that can be identified were grouped into 4 *genê*, nor whether there were other Basaidai who did not belong to this privileged group. I am not convinced by the argument of Duploux 2003 that the Athenian Eupatridai were opponents of tyranny.

¹⁶ *A.P.*'s idea that the polemarch served under the kings, the basileus replaced them, and the office of eponymous archon was added later (3. 2–3), is pure speculation and clashes with the commoner assumption that kings were replaced by archons (cf. Mitchell 2013). On the thesmothetai see Humphreys 1983*b*, 234. Forrest and Stockton 1987 point out that there was probably no bar in the archaic period to successive election to differently titled posts (this has important implications for the size of the Areiopagos), and perhaps no bar to re-election to the same post after an interval (cf. M/L 2, Bile 1988 no. 2, Dreros). The name Miltiades appears twice in the list of 7th c. archons (Cadoux 1948: 664/3, 659/8). Solon, in opening candidacy to a wider group, may have introduced additional restrictions.

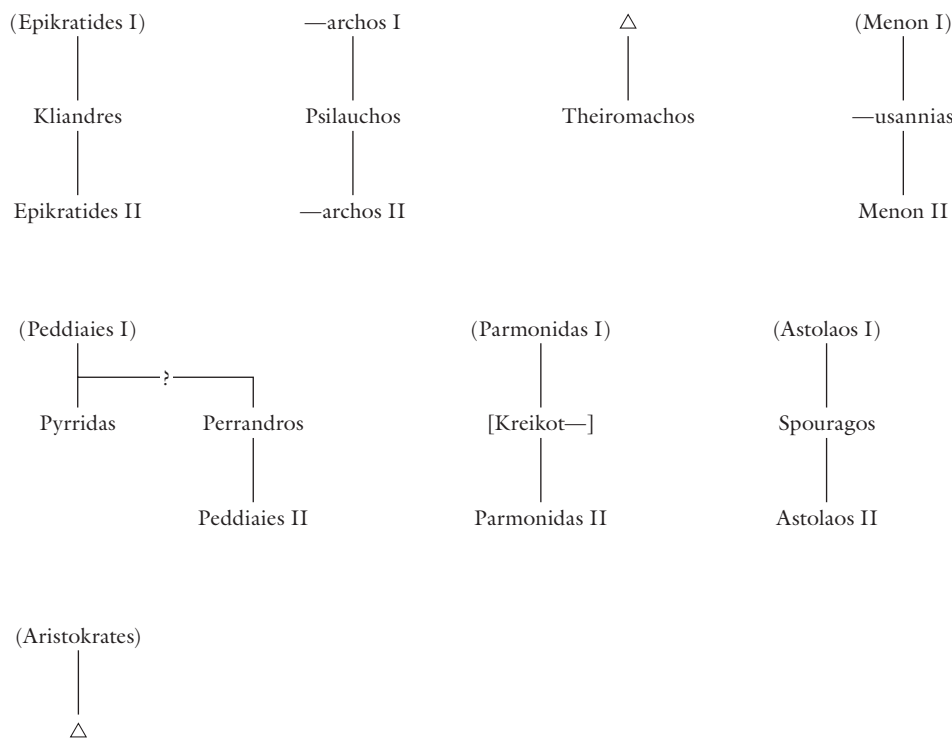


TABLE 20.1. SEG 36.548: The ‘four families’

questioned, the status and office-holding record of his forebears would be discussed. It seems that by the time of Solon (594) some ambitious men were being refused the right to stand for office because they were not Eupatridai, and this implies that a measure of consensus on the boundaries of the ‘order’ (*Stand*) had been reached. The impulse towards the crystallization of *gené* and the development of corporate cultic activity probably came not so much from the most powerful families—who could no doubt still make their way into the inner circle, even if newcomers, with some manipulation of pedigrees, and who could maintain their position, if it was of long standing, without recourse to arguments—but from the less successful branches of once noble lines who clung to descent as their proof of status.

The problem with this model, of course, is that though logical and (I hope) plausible, it describes a state of affairs that only lasted from *c.*683 to 594, after which the situation changed. Solon put an end to the Eupatrid monopoly of office, and after his reforms named *gené* retained their cohesion—to varying degrees and for varying lengths of time—from the combination of rights to priestly office and the privileged position given to them in the *phratries*, where Solon allowed them to retain control of their own procedures for scrutinizing and admitting new members (ch. 1 at nn. 52–8; 19 n. 3). It is my view that

genos control of priesthoods was a significant phenomenon in archaic Attika, and that this situation is unlikely to have arisen after Solon's laws, or without the stimulus to the crystallization of named *genê* supplied by the 'Eupatrid' monopoly of elective office.¹⁷ Before proceeding to consider the impact of Solon's reforms, therefore, we must examine the evidence for the association of *genê* with cults that are likely to have existed already in the eighth or seventh century.

All too often modern, culturally conditioned assumptions about what is likely to be 'early' in cult will play a part in this argument, but we may start with a case in which there is some documentary evidence. The list of Eleusinian leaders in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* (153–5) is so close to the list of heroes honoured in the sacrifices ascribed to the Eumolpidai in the Athenian sacrificial calendar of 410–399 that the poet must surely have known the festival or derived his names from a Eumolpid source. The *Hymn's* list of Eleusinian leaders is Triptolemos, Dioklos, Polyxeinos, Eumolpos, Dolichos, and Keleus: Keleus, in the narrative, is the most important, and the order of names may be influenced by metrical constraints. The calendar (*SEG* 52. 48, face A, fr. 3, col. III) lists Eumolpos, Melichos, Archegetes, Polyxenos, Threptos, Dioklos, and Keleus. I take it that the poet of the *Hymn*, or his Eleusinian informant, interpreted Archegetes as a name for Triptolemos and Threptos as a reference to Demophon, the son of Keleus nursed by Demeter, who of course had no place in his list of Keleus' fellow *basileis*. The replacement of the generic title Archegetes with a proper name suggests that the poet depends on the list of sacrifices and not vice versa.

The only problem of correspondence is that of Melichos in the calendar with Dolichos in the poem; here the *Hymn*—where the reading in our texts is supported by Hesiod F 227 M.-W.—may have been influenced by the occurrence of Dolichos in another list of Eleusinian sacrifices, and perhaps by the difficulty of interpreting the clearly euphemistic term Melichos (usually, in the form Meilichios, an epithet of Zeus) as the name of a human leader. *D[oli]chôî* has

¹⁷ On priests and the polis see the important paper of Sourvinou-Inwood (1988*b*); Aleshire 1994*b*; Blok and Lambert 2009; Blok 2014; Lambert 2010*b*, 2012*b*; Rasmussen 2011 (hypercritical). One should not try to distinguish too sharply between inheritance and sortition, since the lot would be used to decide between candidates who volunteered themselves, and they may have been few (R. Parker 1996, 291–3). It would be useful to have a collection of the evidence for archaic *genos* priesthoods from other parts of Greece (e.g. Hdt. 3. 142–3, 7. 153; Paus. 3. 13. 3); it was a widespread but not universal phenomenon. Theano (*Il.* 6. 300) has been given her position as priestess of Athena by the Trojans. She is a foreigner, wife of Antenor, who to some extent represents the authority of the community vis-à-vis that of the royal lineage. Sourvinou-Inwood (262; cf. eadem 2011) suggests that with the formalization of Eupatrid rights to political office rights to priestly office had also been divided among the privileged *genê*; I would prefer to think of a systematization by Solon of a pattern of overlapping rituals elaborated in competition among leaders, a pattern that continued even after the publication of Solon's written calendar (Panathenaia, Kimon). New developments were often grafted onto rituals that went back to the Dark Ages or earlier (since they gave their names to months), and that continued to be celebrated in simpler forms by villages, phratries, or households.

been restored in *IG* i³ 5 (*IEleus* 13), a list of sacrifices made by *hieropoioi* c.460, and it is possible that he had a shrine at Eleusis in the fourth century (*IEleus* 177. 25; Mylonas 1961, 170).¹⁸

Dates for the *Hymn* have too often been influenced by the assumption that it must have been written at a time when Eleusis was an independent state, which is neither necessary nor plausible. The *Hymn* can hardly, linguistically, be earlier than the late seventh century (N. Richardson 1974; Janko 1982),¹⁹ and it is hard to imagine the incorporation of such a large district into the Attic system of tribes and phratries so late. The *Hymn* makes its acknowledgement of ties with Attika by bringing Demeter to Eleusis via Thorikos (cf. ch. 27 n. 68). Traditions of war between Athens and Eleusis, and the frontier-marking rituals carried out on either side of Mt Aigaleos, to be discussed below at n. 33, should not be taken as evidence for political conflict between independent states, but as expressions of the ambition of Eleusis to be a power centre of a different kind: not the capital of a territorial state, but a magnet for periodic visitors to its festival, developing an organization for ensuring peace for pilgrims rather than an army.²⁰ From this perspective it is significant that Dioklos, who appears both in the *Hymn* and in the Eumolpid sacrifice list, was a Megarian hero (Richardson 1974, 196), while the Eumolpid cult of Melichos may be related to the importance of Zeus

¹⁸ N. Richardson 1974 thinks that Threptos was Triptolemos, and notes that Polyxe(i)nos is an epithet of Hades. Healey 1984 agrees that the *Hymn* and sacrifice list are closely related, but identifies Melichos with Eubouleus and Archegetes with Eleusis or Hippothoon. He suggests that the Eumolpid list in *SEG* 52. 48 was followed by a similar list (for which the Kerykes were responsible? but see n. 75), from which the names Triptolemos and Dolichos were taken. R. Parker 2005*a*, 328–9 connects Dolichos with races at the Eleusinia; cf. Rzepka 2014, 151. Clinton (comm.) connects *IEleus* 13 with the Mysteries and not the Eleusinia (the hieropoioi would be ‘hieropoioi of the Eleusinians’), and is doubtful about Dolichos. Clinton 1986 argued that the author of the *Hymn* was not Athenian, but revised this view in 1992, 28–37 (see Richardson op. cit. on Atticisms in the poem). There seems to be deliberate vagueness in the *Hymn* on the way the Mysteries are to be organized, and perhaps on other matters too (J. S. Clay 1989, 23, 205–6; cf., perhaps, avoidance of detail on contemporary institutions in Homer). The Phytalidai had an altar of Zeus Melichos on the Eleusis side of the Kephisos, near their sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Lakiadai (Paus. 1. 37. 3; below, n. 33). I am not entirely sure that *dolichos* in *IEleus* 177. 25 refers to a shrine (cf. *AD* 33 B 28–9).

¹⁹ The story of Triptolemos’ mission to teach the secrets given him by Demeter, which seems to spread only in the second half of the 6th c. (Raubitschek 1982; Schwarz 1987; *LIMC* s.v.), and as it develops draws on a mixture of Orphic and sophistic interests (Graf 1974*b*, 163, 176–81), seems to be unknown in the *Hymn*; but the name may be older.

²⁰ See R. Parker 1987*a*, 204; 1996, 13, 25; 2005*a*, 198 n. 24; so also N. Richardson 1974, Clinton 1986. The question is not when Eleusis became part of the Athenian state, but in what contexts and for what purposes assertions of past independence were made. We should, however, think more carefully about the frontier between Dorians and Ionians (cf. below, n. 52, on Eleutherai). The discussion of territory-making rituals in Polignac 1984 has been somewhat modified by later discussions (Polignac 1994, 1995; 2009). The *Hymn to Apollo* shows awareness that some major cult centres (Delphi, Delos) had grown up in territories that could not support a polis (ch. 18 n. 10).

Meilichios in Megara (Hanell 1934, 177–80; cf. Wycherley 1964, Graf 1974*a*). Eleusis needed to maintain friendly relations with both her neighbours.

Full incorporation of Eleusis into the Athenian state from an early date is suggested by the appearance of Eumolpid and Keryx families in demes of the city and the Athenian plain, implying residence in these areas at the time of Kleisthenes' reforms in 507. Eumolpidai are found in Paiania, Perithoidai, and probably Kydathenaion and Halai Aixonides. The Paiania family, recognizable by its use of the Doric name Lakrateides in place of the Attic Leokratides, had risen to the eponymous archonship at some time during the reign of Darius I (522–486; *FGH* 328 F 202); the deme produced two hierophants in the fourth century. There was a prominent family of Kerykes in Alopeke, and other lines in Koile and Xypete.²¹

On the interpretation of Solon's reforms which will be advanced below at n. 43—in which the extension of the right to stand for office to *demiourgoi* is taken to refer to groups that provided minor cultic officials—we would not expect a reference to an eponymous ancestor of the Kerykes in the *Hymn*; nor would we expect the Eumolpidai to recognize the Kerykes in their sacrifices. Even at a later period we find them claiming that Keryx was a son of Eumolpos, whereas the Kerykes preferred to assert that he was the child of Hermes by one of the daughters of Kekrops.²² Nevertheless, the Kerykes seem to have acquired at an early date a privileged position beside the Eumolpidai at Eleusis that was not shared by any other *genos*. Only Eumolpidai and Kerykes could introduce candidates to the final stages of initiation, and for this service they were entitled to a fee. The priestess of Demeter also received a fee for each initiate (*IG* i³ 6 = *IEleus* 19), but although this was (at least in the fourth century and later) a *genos* priesthood, the *genos* Philleidai as such did not receive any perquisites.²³ Discussion of the other Eleusinian *genê* is best reserved for later sections of this chapter, dealing with the periods in which they are attested.

The Kerykes presumably acquired their privileges by taking on the role of ambassadors for the sanctuary, announcing the dates of festivals and asking for

²¹ Below, n. 57. Koile, Table 20.2. Clinton 1986 suggests that even the Eumolpidai did not originate in Eleusis.

²² Cf. *FGH* 10 F 13, 324 F 1; Henrichs 1983 n. 49, 1985, 1987; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 320–3. N. D. Robertson 1983*a* suggests that the Eleusinian Kerykes may have played a role in the ritual of the Arrhephoroi (if only to announce the basileus' choice, Suda s.v. *epiôpsato*), and that their claim to descend from Hermes and one of the daughters of Kekrops may derive from this function.

²³ Philleidai is the spelling of Phot. s.v. and *IEleus* 379, but *IG* i³ 251 = *IEleus* 22, from Eleusis, seems to record regulations of a body named *laidai* or *līdai*, and I wonder whether Phillidai was an alternative earlier spelling (cf. Toepffer 1889 s.v. Phyllidai; Blok and Lambert 2009). In *IEleus* 379 (1st c. CE) the right to appoint the priestess is possibly shared by another *genos*, whose name is lost (but see R. Parker 1996, 317; comm. *IEleus* 379, suggesting the Eumolpidai). List of priestesses in Blok and Lambert 2009.

unhampered passage for pilgrims. Such embassies must have grown in importance during the archaic period, as sanctuaries competed in advertising their games, and the heralds who travelled to make the announcements would acquire valuable guest-friendships and knowledge of the distribution of power in other states.²⁴ It is not surprising that we find a family of Kerykes in Alopeke, which by 490 had acquired control of the office of Torchbearer (and may have increased its importance), emerging in the sixth century as successful chariot-racers, thoroughly at home among the Panhellenic aristocracy that assembled at Olympia and other centres. Kallias I won two Olympic horse races in 564 and had earlier won at Delphi, while the name of his father Phainippos suggests that the family had already competed in the seventh century (*APF* 7826).

There seems to be no strong reason to accept the earlier view (e.g. Feaver 1957) that this family was of Athenian origin and acquired its rights in Eleusis as the result of Athenian conquest, now that this 'conquest' has itself been called into question. A move from Eleusis to a base closer to the centre of political power, at some time during the seventh or sixth century, seems much more likely. Indeed, the rather persistent traditions that the family had acquired its wealth discredibly—by taking advantage of Solon's cancellation of debts, by buying up property confiscated from the Peisistratidai, by appropriating a deposit made by Diomnestos of Eretria in 490, by discovering hidden Persian treasure—may have derived some of their impetus from a sense that it was new to the city aristocracy not only in terms of status (as part of a 'demiurgic' *genos*) but also in terms of residence.²⁵

Families of Eumolpidai or Kerykes who moved away from Eleusis into other parts of Attika would have every reason to remember and maintain their *genos* allegiance, since it gave them not only the right to hold religious office—which at least in the case of the Eumolpid hierophant may well have required residence in Eleusis²⁶—but also the right to initiate and to collect fees. In terms of the model put forward earlier, we would expect these two *gené* to maintain a strong corporate identity, even if there was also ranking at the *genos* core among those families in a position to compete for priestly office.

²⁴ By 367 (R/O 35, n. 100) *spondophoroi* were appointed from both the Eumolpidai and the Kerykes, but heralds must have been employed on these missions from early times, even if they did not travel alone. Giovannini 1969 argues that Delphi was already sending out messengers to announce its festivals in the 7th c. (but see Visser 1997). Cf. the *genos* of heralds at Sparta, the Talthybiadai, *Hdt.* 7. 134.

²⁵ *APF* 7826 I–II, VII C; *Plut. Sol.* 15. 7, *Hdt.* 6. 121. 2, Herakleides F 58 Wehrli (42 Schütrumpf 2008), *Plut. Aristid.* 5. 7–8, etc. The story about Solon's debt law may belong to the late 5th or the 4th c., but the others seem to have been current in the 480s. *Hdt.* 6. 121. 2 may have mistaken a reference to sale of Peisistratid property after 510 for an earlier confiscation. Another great horse-racing *oikos*, that of the Alkmeonidai, was the target of equally far-fetched stories about the origins of its wealth (*Hdt.* 6. 125).

²⁶ A hierophant (Archias?) owned a house in Athens in the 370s, but possibly mortgaged it and gave up control to his creditor (*Is.* 6. 33) because he was not living there (below, n. 98).

If it is accepted that the Kerykes of Alopeke were of Eleusinian origin, we have to ask whether Athens had in early times had its own *genos* or *genê* of heralds. There is some evidence that it did. The early law quoted from the *kyrbeis*, already mentioned (above, n. 1) specifies that two heralds from the *genos* of Kerykes of the Mysteries are to receive meals (*parasitein*) in the shrine of Delian Apollo every year. While this text indicates that the Eleusinian Kerykes were acquiring additional privileges, unconnected with their role at Eleusis, at a relatively early date, perhaps under the Peisistratid tyranny, it also suggests that at that date it was still necessary to distinguish the Eleusinian Kerykes from other herald *genê*.

The Eleusinian Kerykes may have acquired a role in the Athenian ceremonial embassy (*theôria*) to Delos as a result of their specialization in foreign relations. It is more surprising to find the Eleusinian Torchbearer playing a role in the Athenian Lenaia, a feast in honour of Dionysos. Since this festival was one of the responsibilities of the *basileus*, it might be thought to be one of the city's earlier cults.²⁷

However, the view that the *basileus*' religious responsibilities continued in an unbroken tradition from a period when Athens was ruled by kings can no longer be accepted without serious scrutiny. Even in the Bronze Age, religion was not centred on the palace in Greece, and in post-Mycenaean times the term *basileus* was often used to denote members of a group of nobles. Nor was it the case that the *basileus* of Athens in the historical period was responsible for all the city's major rituals. The cult of Athena Polias and Poseidon Erechtheus, with the associated new year ritual of the Skira, was the responsibility of the Eteoboutadai, who never claimed descent from Attic kings, while two other rituals associated with purification and renewal, the expulsion of scapegoats (*pharmakoi*) at the Thargelia and the sacred embassy to Delos, which may have brought back new fire for the city hearth, were the responsibility of the archon (*A.P.* 56. 3–5). Attic historical tradition firmly indicated the archon as successor to the kings; the question of the relation between archon, polemarch, and *basileus*, and the theory that the office of archon was created later than the other two, seems to be the product of institutional research and speculation in the school of Aristotle, represented for us by the *Athenaion Politeia* (above, n. 16).

A new look at the functions of the archon *basileus* suggests that his function may have been to represent the city in its dealings with priesthood-holding

²⁷ Schol. Ar. *Frogs* 479. By c.329 the epimeletai of the Mysteries assisted the *basileus* in organizing the Lenaia, *A.P.* 57. 1; cf. *IG* ii² 1496 A a 74; *IEleus* 177. 182; Deubner 1932, 125–6. A calendar from Mykonos of c.200 BCE, *LS* 96, has sacrifices on Lenaion 10 to Demeter, Kore, and Zeus Bouleus (cf. Eubouleus at Eleusis), on Lenaion 11 to Dionysos and (?) Demeter, and on Lenaion 12 to Dionysos Lenaios, Zeus Chthonios, and Ge Chthonia (cf. Jeanmaire 1951, 47). On the argument of Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 333–5 that Hipponikos II son of Kallias II of Alopeke served as priest of Dionysos Eleuthereus see p. 675).

genê, rather than to act as leader of the whole community in its religious aspect. He is Athens' Pontifex Maximus: president of her priests, and as such responsible for settling disputes about rights to priesthoods and proclaiming the exclusion of offenders from all rites and sacred ground. Hence he presided over the four tribal kings, the *phylobasileis*, and the *ephetai* in homicide cases; he also selected the *gerairai*, the fourteen women of noble birth who accompanied his wife, the Basilinna, when she went to spend the night with the god Dionysos in the Boukoleion at the Anthesteria. This rite of union with the god may well have been a symbolic expression of the charisma of office, rather than a survival from a period of monarchy.

The *gerairai* had Eleusinian associations and may in the fourth century have been appointed from two Eleusinian genê, the Krokonidai and Koironidai (below, at n. 120). The basileus' Dionysos was a mystic Dionysos, hailed as Iakchos by the Eleusinian Torchbearer at the Lenaia and visiting the basileus' official home for secret rites at the Anthesteria. These cults have an Orphic tinge, and the basileus may have acquired his responsibilities at a time when Orphic teachings provided the Eleusinians with a basis for extending their influence. Once the pattern of distribution of cultic responsibilities between competing genê had settled down—a process which must have been well under way by the time of Solon, if not earlier—the basileus tended to be given responsibility for major cultic innovations, unless they obviously belonged to the sphere of another official, as in the case of the polemarch's responsibility for festivals associated with war. But conceptions of the division of labour between archon and basileus may well have changed over time. A role for the basileus is no guarantee that a cult is early in date.

The chief argument for positing the existence of non-Eleusinian Heralds in Athens comes from the Dipolieia, a ritual in which the basileus was involved only peripherally. A passage in the part of the re-edited Athenian calendar of sacrifices inscribed before 403 refers to 'the Kerykes who ... at the Dipolieia' (*IG* i³ 241 = *LS* 17 A, *SEG* 52. 48), and we can perhaps connect with it Kleidemos' statement (*FGH* 323 F 5) that at Athens heralds had the role (*taxis*) of Mageiroi and Boutypoi. *Mageiros* was a general term for the assistant who helped to slaughter, carve, and cook sacrificial victims (Berthiaume 1982), but the title Boutypos (Ox-feller) was especially used at the Dipolieia, where genê called Boutypoi, Kentriadai, Daitroi, and (?) Thaulonidai were responsible for appointing the Ox-feller, Goader, Carver, and (perhaps) Slaughterer who carried out the roles corresponding to their names. Photius' entry *Kentriadai: patria Kerykôn* may support Kleidemos' statement with the information that the role of Goader traditionally belonged to the (or a) genos of Kerykes, or might be interpreted as an assertion that the genos Kentriadai was a branch (*patria* or *patra*) of the Kerykes. There seem therefore to be some grounds for suggesting that in early times the four

genê associated with the Dipolieia could collectively be called Kerykes (could they have been the Heralds of the four pre-Kleisthenic tribes?). By the 330s–320s they seem to have owned property collectively under the name Dipoliastai (Lambert 1997*a* F 11A 5–9), which again suggests that despite their separate names these genê acted and were perceived as a single unit.²⁸

The Dipolieia was the festival of Zeus Polieus, Zeus of the Akropolis, and the myth associated with the cult stressed the involvement of the whole community in the sacrifice, which supposedly commemorated the killing for the first time of a plough ox in sacrifice, a heinous deed for which no individual wished to take responsibility (Porphry, *On Abstinence* 2. 29–30; Durand 1986; R. Parker 2005*a*, 187–91). In a similar ritual in honour of Zeus and Hestia in Kos (*IG* xii 4. 1. 278, *LS* 151, R/O 62 A, ch. 18 n. 9), each section of the citizen body contributed a victim, and the oxen thus selected were paraded in front of the assembled community by heralds: a vote determined the final choice of the beast to be sacrificed. In Athens the victim was selected from a group of beasts by its own act: the ox which ate grains scattered on the altar was killed to punish it for its sacrilege. In both cases there seems to be an underlying idea that if a victim is to be offered by the whole community it must be selected by some process which eliminates individual decision or the acquisition of special credit by its erstwhile owner. But while Kos elaborated the idea of collective responsibility by giving every tribal group a share in its festival, Athens built on early speculations about the practice of sacrifice (visible also in Hesiod's accounts of the myth of Prometheus, *Theogony* 535–616, *Works and Days* 47–105; cf. Vernant 1965, 1974*b*) to develop a story of collective guilt for the slaughter of a domestic animal. Blame, in the ritual, was finally attributed to the knife with which the victim's throat had been cut; it was solemnly condemned by the basileus and phylobasileis in the Prytaneion, and thrown into the sea.

This last refinement may have been introduced only in the period after Drakon's publication of the law concerning non-intentional homicide, when there seems to have been considerable discussion of procedure for dealing with homicide and bloodguilt, and a new elaboration of myths in which Athens is presented as a centre of expertise in such matters (Humphreys 1991). But in any case the ritual is

²⁸ See the discussion in R. Parker 2005*a*, 187–191. N. D. Robertson 1980, 19–22 suggests that there was a *genos* Thaulonidai, responsible for sharpening the axe (R. Parker 1996, 299). *IG* ii³ 551 (*LS* 179), a fragmentary *lex sacra* of the 4th c., may contain regulations for the Dipolieia (Skrophorion? 14); if so, at this time *hieropoioi* were at least partly responsible for the festival. The occurrence of the name Dipoliastai in the late 4th c. (below, n. 126) seems to indicate that even at this time the Eleusinian Kerykes had not taken over responsibility for the Dipolieia, though they may have done so later. (Porph. *Abst.* 2. 30. 5 claims that the ritual was still performed in his day, cf. Paus. 1. 24. 4). Zeus Polieus (R. Parker 2005*a*, 397) was also worshipped at Erchia (*LS* 18) and Thorikos (*SEG* 33. 147; *IG* i³ 256 *bis*); cf. *IG* i³ 232 (*LSS* 2), ii² 4626. His priest's theatre seat, *IG* ii² 5024, is dated to the 2nd c. BCE by Maass 1972.

likely to belong to the seventh century, if not earlier. It represents—together with other myths of sacrifice, in which the animal victim is said to have been introduced as a substitute for a human victim, and other stories in which ritual is prescribed by the deity as payment for an original transgression—a feeling of unease about the procedure of sacrifice which is absent from Homer's view of the world (though not necessarily from that of his contemporaries); in the case of the Dipolieia this unease is associated with a ritual in which sacrifice is an act of the whole community and not that of a rich man exercising his traditional role of host by inviting both the gods and human guests to share the meat of an animal bred on his estate. Sacrifice is democratized, becomes a communal act in which the officiants are Heralds of the community and not associates of a wealthy individual.²⁹

Such speculations apart, we know that by the 420s the Dipolieia could be singled out by modernists as a ritual so archaic that only a diehard traditionalist would take it seriously (Aristophanes, *Clouds* 984–50). In comparison with the Panathenaia, introduced in 566, or the City Dionysia, elaborated later in the sixth century, it must indeed have seemed strange.

My argument that the Eleusinian Kerykes can hardly have played a role in Athens' sacrifice to Zeus Polieus can perhaps be supported by reference to two further Akropolis cults with strong claims to antiquity, both of which recognize a ritual frontier between Athens and Eleusis. One was the prerogative of the Bouzygai, the other of the Eteoboutadai.

The Bouzyges was Athens' ritual Ploughman. The office seems to have been held for life: Demostratos and Demainetos, who may have been kin (FB/BS? below, n. 88), are both colloquially called 'the Bouzyges', and it seems unlikely that holders of an annual office would carry it out in such a striking fashion that the title would stick to them as a nickname. From the late first century BCE onwards we meet the title Bouzyges attached to priesthoods held by the genos Gephyraioi (*SEG* 30. 85, cf. *IG* ii² 3177, 5055); it seems unlikely—though it is not impossible—that the Gephyraioi, recognized as an immigrant group, held the office in the archaic period, and more likely that an early genos that had rights to the office (not necessarily called Bouzygai) had died out by the late first century.³⁰ The marriage of a man who may have come from the family of

²⁹ For parallels to the competition of the Kos sacrifice see *LSAM* 9 (Ilion; tribe's name written on cow) and *SEG* 45. 1508 A–B (Bargylia); but in the latter case the competitors are liturgists. On Miletos, see Herda 2006, 189–200. We do not need hunter-gatherer parallels for the stuffed ox skin, a symbol which might easily be reinvented (cf. Humphreys 1986*b*); the Dipolieia seem to me firmly anchored in the world of Hesiod and the early polis. There seems to be a development from the idea of collective responsibility (still visible in Porph. *Abst.* 2. 29. 4–5) to a story about attempts to escape guilt and pollution, associated with the role of the basileus and Prytaneion court in the ritual (cf. Humphreys 1991).

³⁰ Cf. R. Parker 1996, 286–7. Burkert 1970*a* argues that the association of the Bouzyges with the cult of Zeus *epi Palladiōi*, for which the Gephyraioi were responsible in the late 1st c. BCE (*SEG* 30. 85), is early (cf. Parker 1983); but the tradition that Demophon gave the Palladion to 'a man named Bouzyges'

Demostratos and Demainetos to a priestess of Aglauros in the third century BCE (*IG* ii³ 1002, *APF* 3276) may possibly support the attribution of gennetic status to them, since there is some evidence that families from the old genê liked to intermarry. The *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. *Bouzygia*, for which we should probably read *Bouzygai*) calls them a *genos*.

The Bouzyges was responsible for a ritual ploughing, marking the beginning of a new season, carried out in fields close to the Akropolis. The crops produced were used in sacrifices to Athena. On this occasion he also pronounced a series of curses which, like the curses pronounced in Teos and elsewhere by public officials at the beginning of the civic year (M/L 30, *SEG* 31. 984–5; *Nomima* I 104, Arnaoutoglou 1998, 70), defined norms of conduct for the community. The Bouzyges cursed the man who refuses to give fire or water, misdirects a traveller, fails to bury a corpse which he discovers, or urges another to do something he would be ashamed to do himself. As in the Dipoleicia, we seem to be close to the world of Hesiod; indeed, the Ploughman seems to be rather firmly restricted to precepts appropriate to his role, and the ‘*genos*’ (if it ever was one) may not originally have had Eupatrid status.³¹

Plutarch (*Moralia* 144a) notes two other sacred ploughings in Attika. One was carried out in the Rarian plain, the easternmost part of the territory of Eleusis, and was associated with Triptolemos. The other took place at Skiron, on the Athenian side of Mt Aigaleos, which divided the plain of Eleusis from that of Athens. This was, at least in its ritual and mythical associations, dry, chalky, infer-

to take to Athens is only attested by Polyainos (*Strat.* 1. 5), earlier versions of the story being more interested in linking the Palladion with the law court *epi Palladiôi*, which was at Phaleron (Humphreys 1991, n. 17). Like the story that the Palladion fell from the sky onto a bridge, which gave rise to a cult of Athena Gephyritis (Schol. Veron. Verg. *Aen.* 2. 165; Lydus *Mens.* 4. 15; cf. *FGH* III B *Suppl.* I p. 617, II p. 499 n. 6, on 33 F 4), it may well have arisen to explain an association developed only in the Hellenistic period. (On cult statues that fall from the sky see Bettinetti 2001.) The cult of Zeus *epi Palladiôi* is not attested in classical sources, which have only Athena *epi Palladiôi* (*Dérioncôî*), *IG* i³ 379. 73, 90; and we cannot certainly identify the gennetai who accompanied the epheboi when they escorted the ‘Pallas’ to the sea and back in 107/6 (*IG* ii² 1011. 10–11; Gephyraioi in Burkert 1970a, Praxiergidai in Sourvinou-Inwood 2011). They may even be representatives of various genê, like those who at the same period took part in the Pythais to Delphi (below, p. 716). The record of the ritual duties of the epheboi (admittedly fragmentary) mentions this Palladion procession also in 123/2 and 119/8 (*IG* ii² 1006. 11–12, 1008. 9–10), but without the gennetai; by 100/99 it is no longer part of the ephebes’ programme, or is no longer considered worth recording (*IG* ii² 1028). Sourvinou-Inwood 2011 argues that it was the statue of Athena, not a Palladion, that was bathed. Mitsos’ reasons (1965b) for locating a shrine *epi Palladiôi* in Kallithea (Xypete?) do not seem to me compelling; on the view that the sanctuary from which the Palladion went to the sea was located east of the city, near the Ilissos, see Travlos 1971, 412–16; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 246–62, below at nn. 143–5.

³¹ On the Bouzyges’ curses see Bernays 1885, 277–82 (1876); Toepffer 1889, 139; Durand 1986, 175–9. They are referred to by the 6th c. poet Lasos of Hermione (G. Privitera 1965 F 4 = *POxy* 1367). The Eikadeis, a ritual group located in the area of Markopoulo, recited the curses of their eponymous hero, *IG* ii² 1258 (324/3; ch. 19 n. 152). On curses in early law, Latte 1920, 68–82.

tile land, but the Bouzyges perhaps ploughed it to mark the limits of his ritual responsibility for Athenian agriculture.³²

This suggestion is reinforced by the appearance of Skiron as the ritual boundary of the *chôra* associated with the Akropolis in the festival of the Skira. On this occasion in midsummer (Skirophorion 12) the priestess of Athena Polias and the priest of Poseidon Erechtheus, both appointed by the Eteoboutadai, solemnly processed under a canopy from the Akropolis to Skiron. In that area they sacrificed to Athena, Poseidon, Demeter, and Kore, i.e., to the deities of their own Akropolis and those of Eleusis. While they were absent the women of Athens seem to have celebrated secret rites in honour of Demeter in the city; there is probably some confusion in the sources between Skira and Thesmophoria, but it seems that in both cases a period of disorder—symbolized by performance of roles of authority by women in the absence of the usual personnel, and in the case of the Skira perhaps by the use by men in the procession of white plaster masks, associated with femininity—preceded the re-establishment of normal life, marking a change of season.³³

The Eteoboutadai certainly had strong claims to ancient status as a *genos* of Eupatridai. Fragments of the sixth-century Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* mention their eponymous ancestor Boutes, son of Poseidon, and his sons, the Boutidai Polykoon and Polykreion (223, 251 M-W = 169, 189a Most 2007; cf. F 46 Bout—). Lykourgos I, from the family that may have provided the priests

³² Marathon had a hero called Echetaios (Plough-handle) who may have performed a ritual ploughing in the Tetrapolis (Toepffer 1889, 140; Jameson 1951; C. L. Gray 2006). Pausanias (1. 32. 5) was told that his cult was instituted, with the approval of Delphi, after the battle of Marathon (he was portrayed in the painting of the battle in the Stoa Poikile, Paus. 1. 15. 3). Cf. ch. 31 n. 50. On Skiron and Skira see Jacoby on *FGH* 328 F 14–16 (Brumfield 1981, 168–9 demolishes Gjerstad's view, 1929, that the ritual ploughing took place at the Skira; she doubts whether the Bouzyges ploughed at Skiron, but no one has yet suggested a convincing alternative). The Bouzyges perhaps eventually became responsible for the ploughing on the Rarian plain, since he receives a share of sacrifices at Eleusis in *IEleus* 489 (cf. Toepffer 1889, 138, and Schol. Arist. 3. 473, but this text is very confused). The Salaminioi had a 'sacred field' at Sounion, *Agora* XIX L 4a 43–4. Triptolemos' ploughing may have been the basis of the story of his agricultural mission, Spahn 1980a; a possible representation, BArch 300384. Cf. *LIMC* s.v., and below, n. 88.

³³ Ch. 18 n. 18; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 172–5; R. Parker 2005a, 173–7; Jacoby, *loc. cit.*; on masks and parasols, Ellinger 1978 and the cautionary discussion of M. C. Miller 1992 (cf. eadem 1999). New year festivals: cf. Brumfield 1981, 88–95 on the Thesmophoria; Burkert 1966 (Prometheia); ch. 18 n. 56. According to Paus. 1. 37. 2 the sanctuary of the Phytalidai in Lakiadai contained altars of Athena and Poseidon as well as Demeter and Kore (cf. Brumfield 1981, 167); it does not seem possible, however, to fit descriptions of Skiron to this area, and I wonder whether the terminus of the Skira procession was moved in post-classical times. The idea that piglets were thrown into pits at the Skira and recovered at the Thesmophoria should be abandoned (the associations of both Skira and Thesmophoria with secrecy and female control of the city, attested by Ar. *Thesm.* and *Eccl.*, are enough to account for the tendency of e.g. Clem Al. *Protr.* 2. 17. 1 to link them); but I am not convinced by the new suggestions of either Brumfield 1981 or Clinton 1988b. Foxhall 1995b suggests that the Skira was associated with the replastering of threshing floors (cf. N. D. Robertson 1996b); but see R. Parker 2005a, 176.

of Poseidon Erechtheus in the fifth and fourth centuries, led the faction of the Plain of Athens in the conflicts of the 560s (Herodotus 1. 59. 3; *A.P.* 13. 4; *APF* 9251); the family was resident in the deme Boutadai at the time of Kleisthenes' reforms in 507, and the name Eteoboutadai—the true Boutadai—was adopted at some subsequent date to distinguish members of the *genos* from members of the deme.³⁴ As in Troy, where the priestess of Athena was supplied by the house of Antenor and not by the royal dynasty, the highest priestly honours were held by a *genos* that did not claim to have held the kingship. The position of the Eumolpidai in Eleusis may be analogous, except that the name of the Eumolpidai associates them with a specific priestly service function as singers, whereas the Eteoboutadai appear always as aristocrats of conventional type.

By the time of Kleisthenes, the family that provided the priestess of Athena Polias in the fifth century and later was based in Bate (ch. 24 n. 13). Like Boutadai, this was a deme in the plain, close to the city, but to the north of it, whereas Boutadai lay to the west. Davies (*APF* p. 349) took the view that the two cults were originally separate and that the *genos* Eteoboutadai known in historical times was created by the fusion of two earlier distinct groups. This view does not seem to me to cast any useful light on the complex of relations to Athena expressed by the figures of Erechtheus, Erichthonios, and Poseidon (cf. Brulé 1987), in which Erechtheus is linked both to Athena's protégé and to her defeated rival. This configuration may well imply that the two deities had been closely associated in cult for a long time, and it seems to me more likely that the possession of two *genos* priesthoods led to dual leadership in the *genos* than that two originally separate *genê* would have merged. The tendency over time, in the period for which we have evidence, was for Athena to grow in importance at the expense of Poseidon, rather than for the two to become more closely associated.³⁵ On the other hand, the increasing prominence of Athena was counterbalanced in the classical period by the opportunities for the priests of

³⁴ R. Parker 1996, 290–3. On *Eteo*-compounds in Homer (*Eteokrétês*, *Od.* 19. 176; *eteodmôôn*? *Od.* 16. 305) see Levet 1976, 180. The name Eteoboutadai is perhaps attested already in the 5th c.; the evidence for the priesthood of Poseidon Erechtheus before Lykourgos IV is unsatisfactory (n. 79). The mythographic traditions are hard to unravel, but may go back to relatively early (7th c.?) attempts to integrate Attic stories with those of other areas, quite often through links between the east coast of Attika and the area round Thessaly. The Boutidai marry the daughters of Hyllos (cf. cults of the Herakleidai in Attika), and take them to the house of Keyx in Trachis; in *D. S.* 5. 50 Boutes is the son of Boreas, and a younger patrilateral half-brother of the Thracian Lykourgos, who settles on Naxos and seizes the nymph Koronis (n. 51) in a raid on Achaia Phthiotis, for which he is killed by Dionysos. Versions in which Boutes is brother or son of Erechtheus may be later (Kearns 1989, *LMC* s.v.). Thrones for priests of Hephaistos (*IG* ii² 4982) and Boutes (5166), perhaps Lykourgan, see N. D. Robertson 1985. The origin of the proverbial expression 'faster than Boutes' (*Zenobios* 4. 28 and lexika s.v. *thattôn*) is irrecoverable, but the tradition tells us that he appeared on a wall of the Stoa Poikile.

³⁵ The reference to worship of Erechtheus in *Il.* 2. 550–1 should perhaps be earlier than any Peisistratid tampering with the text, since Athena was already more prominent in the 6th c. However, Mikalson's

Poseidon Erechtheus to play a greater part in public life than was available to the priestesses from the other branch of the *genos*. It was not until the Hellenistic period—by which time there is no sign of collective *genos* activity—that the position of priestess of Athena Polias clearly became the more important role of the two, and by this period it is held by women claiming descent from the line of Lykourgos, though by tenuous links (below, n. 132).

Early cults on the Akropolis may also have included worship of Kekrops and his daughters. The Praxiergidai were responsible for washing the wooden statue of Athena Polias and perhaps for generally cleaning the sacred area.³⁶ The festival Plynteria took place, in the classical period, at the end of Thargelion; it seems possible that a spring-cleaning rite (or rather, midsummer cleaning), originally closely associated perhaps with the Skira, when the principal Akropolis priests left the citadel to others, was displaced to an earlier date when a comprehensive calendar of sacrifices was drawn up, partly in obedience to the logic of calendar-making and partly, perhaps, because the closing of the sacred area for the Plynteria acquired sinister connotations incompatible with the more light-hearted character of the Skira, with its elements of reversal and revelry (cf. ch. 18 at nn. 64–70).

The cult of Kekrops in the Roman period was the responsibility of the Amynandridai (*IG* ii² 2338 = *SEG* 30. 120), and since the priest of the tribe Kekropidai does not seem to have been appointed by the tribe (Schlaifer 1940) this responsibility may go back to an early date. The *genos* has not so far appeared in sources of the classical period, but there may be an indirect reference in Plato's *Timaios* (21c), where a fellow phrater of Kritias I, ancestor of Plato's cousin (MFBS) Kritias IV, is named Amynandros. Kritias came from a family of Eupatrid status, since the family names Kritias and Dropides appear in the archon list in the pre-Solonian period (Dropides 645/4, Kritias 600/599), and it seems possible that Plato here is discreetly hinting at their *genos* affiliation.³⁷

suggestion (1976) that a festival of Erechtheus was transformed into the Panathenaia rests on flimsy grounds.

³⁶ *IG* i³ 7; R. Parker 1996, 307–8; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011; below, n. 78. Associations between *gené* and other statues considered ancient (*xoana*: not necessarily wooden, Donohue 1988; see also Romano 1988, Bettinetti 2001) are problematic. The Erysichthonidai, whose eponym supposedly brought a xoanon of Eileithyia from Delos to Prasiai, are not so far attested before the Hellenistic period (Pythais of 97/6, Jacquemin a.o. 2012, 201; cf. N. D. Robertson 1984; Shapiro 1990), although Erysichthon was mentioned by Phanodemos (*FGH* 325 F 2); the Gephyraioi may have acquired their association with the Palladion at a late date (n. 30). We have no trace of a *genos* descended from Kolainos son of Hermes, who founded the cult of Artemis Kolainis at Myrrhinous (Hellanikos *FGH* 323a F 13; Paus. 1. 30. 3).

³⁷ R. Parker 1996, 285–6; cf. Baslez 2004, 107–8; Blok 2009. It is rather uncommon for *genos* eponyms to have names that remain in general use, but Amynandros (formed from two common elements) occurs in 4 demes in the 4th c. Lambert 2008a (cf. 2015a) points out that Plato gives the name Euenor (eponym of the *genos* Euenoridai, cf. Malouchou 2008 = *SEG* 58. 145; n. 108) to the original inhabitants of Atlantis in *Krit.* 113c–d.

On the whole the preserved names of archons of the pre-Solonian period (Cadoux 1948) do not help us in identifying the *genê* of the archaic city. The only names we can attach with certainty to families that survived into classical times—apart from Damasias I (639/8), whose descendant Damasias II made a bid for tyranny in 582–579³⁸—are those of ancestors of Peisistratos (669/8), Miltiades (664/3, 659/8), and the Alkmeonidai (Megakles I, 632/1). It is unlikely that a list was kept up year by year from 683/2, the year in which the list available to authors of the classical period seems to have begun; I shall argue below at n. 42) that this list may have been constructed under the Peisistratid tyranny.

It is of course likely that Peisistratos, Miltiades, and Megakles II, leader of the Coast faction in the 560s, all came from Eupatrid families; this is certain in the case of Megakles I, whose tenure of the archonship in the year of Kylon's attempted coup provided the basis for accusations that his descendants were under a hereditary curse because he had killed suppliants who had been promised that their lives would be spared. We cannot, however, attribute either the Peisistratids or the Alkmeonidai to any known *genos*. Both families claimed to descend from Pylia immigrants, a claim that may have been felt to explain their lack of cultic responsibilities in Attika, while it also fitted in with Athenian claims that the founders of the cities of Ionia had passed through Athens on their way east. The claim that Athens was 'the oldest land of Ionia' was already made by Solon (F 4a West), and Athenians may have been meeting Ionians on Delos at the festivals of Apollo from the eighth century, or even earlier; they were aware of resemblances in dialect, calendar, and festivals, and the theory of migration to Ionia from or via Athens was one means of explaining these (cf. ch. 18). But we are hardly in a position to say whether the choice by Peisistratids and Alkmaionids of a pedigree that stressed international ties rather than local roots is a sign that they made their way into the core of the aristocracy at a relatively late date, or that they had always been so secure of their status in Attika that they were able to concentrate their interests on relations with leading families elsewhere. Our information about them in the sixth century could support either view. On the one hand they are represented as leading peripheral areas against a central group headed by the Eteoboutad Lykourgos, the Diakrioi/Epakrioi of the north (see below, p. 654–7) and the Paralioi of the east against the Pedieis of the central plain; on the other hand both families clearly already have widespread alliances.

³⁸ The name recurs with Damasias the bandy-legged, linked with the general Laispodias in Eupolis' *Demoi* (PCG 5 F 107), perhaps the D. of Hippothontis killed in action c.410 (IG i³ 1186. 55, cf. Damasos in i³ 1190 and the Damasidas of i³ 585), and D. of Prasiai, whose son Naukrates was involved in a *diadikasia* c.380 (APF 10535). These seem to be Boiotian names.

It is salutary to remember that our knowledge of the existence of the *genos* Philaidai, to which Miltiades belonged, depends only on a genealogy recorded by Pherekydes (*FGH* 3 F 2) and a notice in Diogenes Laertios (10. 1) that Epikouros also came from this *genos*. The Philaidai claimed descent from a son of Ajax, but there is no evidence that they had a cult either of Ajax or of their eponym Philaios; the Kleisthenic tribe Aiantis met at the shrine of Ajax' other son Eurysakes, also used by the *genos* Salaminioi, though the decision to do so may have been influenced by the location of the Eurysakeion in the city deme Melite (ch. 29 n. 2). Nor is there much evidence of a special interest of Miltiades' descendants in the cult of Artemis Brauronia, whose sanctuary lay in the deme named after the *genos*. By about the middle of the sixth century Miltiades' family must already have been settled in Lakiadai, west of the city (Herodotus 6. 34–5); ambitious families of the periphery had to acquire a base in or near the city if they were to compete in city politics.

It is therefore perhaps likely that the majority of families of securely recognized Eupatrid status came from the plain of Athens, the coastal settlements that looked towards Phaleron (Halimous, Cape Kolias, Cape Zoster, Aixone), and Eleusis, whose claims to antiquity could not be denied. Among the early Eupatrid *gené* of the plain we should probably include the Lykomidai, whose cult centre at Phlya, by Pausanias' day, contained temples and altars of Apollo 'gift of Dionysos' (Dionysodotos), Artemis Selasphoros, the 'Great goddess' Earth (Gê), Demeter Anesidora, Zeus Ktesios, Athena Tithrone, Kore Protogone, and the Semnai (Eumenides). They perhaps also honoured Apollo Daphnephoros (Pausanias 1. 31. 4, 4. 1. 5, Plutarch *Themistokles* 15). The history of the *genos* and its cults evidently came to include close associations with Orphism—Pausanias claimed to have been shown, by an Eleusinian Torchbearer, a hymn of the Lykomidai attributed to Mousaios (9. 27. 2)—and associations with the mysteries of Andania, probably developed only in the Roman period (Deshours 2006, 216–17). The Lykomidai seem during the classical period to have maintained the independence of their own mystery cult from that of Eleusis, while other centres where Demeter was worshipped (Agrai, Paiania, Marathon, Phaleron) were willing to affiliate themselves to the more prestigious sanctuary; this may explain their enthusiasm for Orphism (though Eleusis was also influenced: Graf 1974*b*), their interest in Andania, and perhaps associations with Delphi (Apollo Daphnephoros). However, *IEleus* 435 is a joint dedication of the Roman period by Eumolpidai and Lykomidai. Earlier independence from Eleusis perhaps suggests that the *genos* and its cult had established their own authority at an early date; this conclusion is supported by the appearance of two powerful *genos* families in different demes in the late sixth century, those of Lykomedes of Phlya and Themistokles of Phrearrhioi (*APF* 9238, 6669), both of which will be further discussed below at n. 74).

A fuller consideration of the *genê* of the Attic countryside is best postponed until we come to consider Solon's reforms and their effects; but first we should look at a *genos* which may have been created in the late seventh century, the Hesychidai, responsible for the cult of the Semnai or Eumenides on the Areiopagos, and apparently also at Kolonos. The Areiopagos cult was associated with the story of the impious killing of the followers of Kylon. Thucydides (1. 126) says that they were killed at the altars of the Semnai, whereas other sources say that the Cretan seer Epimenides, called in to advise on means of freeing the city from pollution, created or reorganized the cult. This association might explain the exclusion of Eupatridai from the rituals of the *genos*, attested by a fragment of the Hellenistic antiquarian Polemon;³⁹ on this interpretation (Humphreys 1991) the Hesychidai may have derived their name from their freedom from involvement in the major conflict between Eupatrid families which developed out of the Kylonian conspiracy and subsequent accusations of impiety and homicide. The name was later explained by the silence observed at rituals in honour of the Semnai, whose offerings were also wineless. *Hieropoioi* appointed by the state are attested for this cult in the fourth century (Demosthenes 21. 115, Deinarchos F VIII 2 Conomis 1975); it is not clear whether they already existed at the time of Aeschylus' reference to the Areiopagos cult in the *Eumenides*, which seems to provide evidence of a procession, and Sophokles' reference to the cult at Kolonos in the *Oedipus at Colonus* (ch. 24 n. 10).

594–507: SOLON, THE TYRANTS, KLEISTHENES

Athenian accounts associate Solon's measures and the end of Eupatrid monopoly of the right to stand for office with the system of census classes, which probably restricted office to members of the two upper classes, *pentakosiomedimnoi* and *hippeis*, though only members of the wealthiest class could act as treasurers of Athena and supervise the Akropolis and its cults and treasures. This distinction encouraged the richest Athenians to lavish resources on the city's cult centre, and loosened the grip on it of the priest-appointing *genê*, while at the same time allowing all those families capable of maintaining horses a share in power.

In connection with this reform Solon must have either introduced or revised the questions put to candidates for election. Besides being asked to name their

³⁹ Epimenides: *FGH* 457 T. 1. 112; cf. 2, 4; Polemon F 49 Preller 1838; G. Herrmann's correction of *ou metechei* to *ho metechei* (1835, 118) is arbitrary, but is accepted by N. D. Robertson 2010, 114–16. On the Semnai at Kolonos see Büttner 1911; Kearns 1989, 208–9; *SEG* 38. 265; Robertson *op. cit.*, p. 110, rejecting restoration in *SEG* 52. 48 (Lambert 2002*b*); ch. 24 n. 10. See also R. Parker 1996, 298–9. Robertson dates the festival in late Anthesterion. Myron of Phlya, also associated with the story of the Kylonian pollution (Plut. *Sol.* 12. 3–4, *A.P.* 1), perhaps belonged to the Lykomidai (ch. 29 n. 84).

fathers and grandfathers, they were also asked whether they had a cult of Zeus Herkeios and Apollo Patroios, and where they worshipped; whether they were responsible for tombs (*éria*), and if so, where; whether they took care of their parents and took part in the city's military campaigns; and what their census class was. This list of questions may well have been modified over time; indeed, *A.P.* 55. 3, from which we derive it, reports that candidates were asked whether they paid their taxes (*ta telê ei telei*) rather than their census class (*ti telos telei*), which must surely have been the original query.⁴⁰ However, the question about military service may be related to the requirement that archons should be physically unimpaired (cf. *Lysias* 24. 13), the question about care for parents is paralleled by other indications in Solon's legislation of concern that young men who acquired control of family land did not neglect the fathers who ceded it to them (ch. 1 n. 134), the term *éria* was by the classical period an archaism, and the references to Zeus Herkeios and Apollo Patroios seem to be early.

It has been suggested that these were *genos* cults to which members of the phratry to which the *genos* belonged had access (Andrewes 1961, 7–8), but the evidence hardly supports this view. The only *genos* with an attested cult of Zeus Herkeios is the Eumolpidai (*SEG* 52. 48, Face A F 3 col. III), though the Eteoboutadai or Praxiergidai may have been responsible for the cult of Zeus Herkeios on the Akropolis (*FGH* 328 F 67); the only *genos* with an attested cult of Apollo Patroios is the Salaminioi. The way to ask an Athenian if he belonged to a phratry would have been to ask if he had a cult of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratia. My impression is that these questions are posed at the individual level rather than that of group affiliation. Zeus Herkeios was in most contexts a god of the household and its encircling fence; a man who had a cult of Zeus Herkeios would belong to a substantial establishment. It is not clear whether a young man still included in his father's household could give a satisfactory answer to this question or not; possibly in Solon's time a candidate for office had to be a household head, which might lend additional point to the questions about care of elderly parents and of tombs.⁴¹ The question about tombs should be taken to refer to tombs of recently

⁴⁰ The question was already taken to refer to tax-paying by the younger Kratinos (*PCG* 4 F 9), but by this time we are well into the 4th c.; cf. Dein. 2 *Aristog.* 17–18. Pollux 8. 86 preserves a reference to census class (P. J. Rhodes 1981a, 618).

⁴¹ Cf. Sjövall 1931; Wycherley 1964, 175–9; Travlos 1971, s.v. *Zeus Herkeios*; Jameson 1990, 105; R. Parker 2005a, 16–17, 22 n. 64. N. D. Robertson 2005, 82 suggests that the priestess in *SEG* 52. 48 served Themis and not Demeter. The deme Thorikos may have taken over its sacrifice to Zeus Herkeios (*IG* i³ 256 bis; *SEG* 33. 147. 22) from a *genos* or phratry. There was an altar of Zeus Herkeios, Hermes, and Akamas on the inner side of the Dipylon gate; Akamas may appear here as the tribal eponym of the deme Kerameis, but the *akamantes* are linked with the Tritopatreis in the Tetrapolis calendar (*SEG* 50. 168 B 32) and at Kyrene (N. D. Robertson 2010, ch. 19; ch. 10 n. 124–6), and seem like them to be elemental powers (Wilamowitz 1893 II, 407; cf. below, n. 83); all are liminal figures. Brunel 1984 is doubtless right in principle in disconnecting Akamas from the Akamantes, but in this context there may be some interference. The Elasedai had a sanctuary of Apollo Patroios (*IG* ii² 2602), but we do not know if they were a *genos* or phratry (ch. 19 n. 133); so did the phratry Therrikleidai (ii² 4973; above, ch. 19 nn. 130–1), and in the 2nd c. CE the Gephyraioi (ii² 3629–30).

deceased kin, not ‘*genos* tombs’, for the existence of which there is as yet no solid evidence (above, ch. 11 n. 3; Bourriot 1976). Apollo Patroios is more problematic; it seems unlikely that it was felt necessary to ask every Athenian whether he was of Ionian origin. A possible explanation, even though there is no evidence to support it, is that the four pre-Kleisthenic tribes worshipped Apollo Patroios, perhaps in association with their eponyms. After Kleisthenes’ reforms it was perhaps open to any Athenian who could not cite a local cult of Apollo Patroios to refer to the cult in the Agora.

The questions asked of candidates for office, therefore, do not tell us anything about the prevalence of *genê* in Solon’s day. My conviction that *genos* organization was widespread, and that Solon had to respect it, even though he weakened it by destroying the Eupatrid monopoly of office, is based partly on the law cited by Philochoros (*FGH* 328 F 35), compelling phratries to respect the admission decisions of *gennêtai* (*homogalaktes*) and *orgeônes*, which I ascribe to Solon (above, chs. 1 n. 134; 19 n. 3), and partly on the statement of *A.P.* 13. 2 that in 582/1, after Damasias (II) had held on to the office of archon for two years and two months, a commission of ten men was appointed to hold office for the rest of the year, composed of five Eupatridai, three *agroikoi* and two *dêmiourgoi*.

I take it that this statement was derived from a list of eponymous archons, though the idea of Damasias’ extra two months may well be the result of speculative interpretation (with influence from memories of the Four Hundred?); and there seem to me to be good reasons for ascribing the construction of the archon list to the time of the Peisistratid tyranny, at which date the events of the 580s would still be more or less within living memory. The archon list included, as we have seen, an early Peisistratos and an early Miltiades as well as the notorious Megakles I; it included the names of men who after the end of the tyranny did not wish it to be remembered that they had held office in the 520s (or whose descendants preferred to forget the fact), Kleisthenes and Miltiades IV, so it was not published in the early years of the new constitution; and we are told by Thucydides that the Peisistratids allowed elections to take place normally, except that they made sure they always had one of their own supporters in office (6. 54. 6). This may only mean that (as we now know from epigraphic evidence, *M/L* 6, *IG* i³ 1031) Thucydides had access to a list of names stretching without break from the late fifth century to 683/2, and made his own deduction, perhaps somewhat maliciously, from the presence of Peisistratid names in the list; but the lack of any break during the period of tyranny is significant. Athenians were forced to accept that the archonship had been filled during the period of Peisistratid rule, and it is doubtful whether a list composed at any later period would have provided this evidence of constitutionality.⁴²

What, then, is the explanation of the commission of 582/1? My suggestion is inspired by A. D. Momigliano’s observation (1967), that in the early years of the Roman republic we seem to have a number of ways of classifying status in terms of paired categories—

⁴² See R. Thomas 1989, 288 on the re-presentation of memories of the period of tyranny. I date Solon’s reforms in his own archonship, 594/3: ch. 1 n. 43; on archon lists see ch. 1 n. 70.

patres/conscripti, patrons/clients, *populus/plebs*, *classis/infra classem*—out of which the major opposition between patricians and plebeians crystallizes only gradually. On this model, the categories Eupatridai, *agroikoi*, and *dēmiourgoi* need not represent a firmly established division of the population of Attika into three occupational groups (an interpretation that had some appeal in the fifth and fourth centuries, when philosophers began to discuss the capacity of the working classes to govern responsibly, but seems inappropriate for the early sixth century),⁴³ and might instead reflect the terms in which pre-Solonian Eupatridai had rebuffed candidates for office whose claims they were unwilling to recognize: groups responsible for minor cults in rural areas were *agroikoi* and not true Eupatridai, groups responsible for minor functions in city cults were *dēmiourgoi*, specialists serving the community, and not true Eupatridai. *Dēmiourgoi* were dependants of Eupatridai, *agroikoi* were independent minor (or new) landowners.

‘Demiourgic’ *genē* might have included the Kerykes of the Dipoleia; the Euneidai, who are said to have provided musicians, heralds, and dancers for processions, and may have become prominent later in the sixth century (below, n. 53); and possibly some of the other *genē* known only from the lexicographers: the Aigeirotomoi (poplar cutters), the Phreôruchoi (well diggers), possibly the Pamphides, women who sang the hymns of Pamphos, the Poimenidai (shepherds), who provided a priestess of Demeter, the Chimaridai (goatherds?), the Zeuxantidai (ploughmen?), or the Phrasidai, who may have been seers. The line between noble and ‘service’ *genē* must have been drawn on a practical rather than an ideological basis, since the Eumolpidai, despite their demiourgic name which identified them as singers, had clearly established Eupatrid status at an early date (cf. the Molpoi of Miletos), and the Eleusinian Kerykes may have done the same; but it was a useful distinction to draw when Eupatridai were faced with groups which on the basis of skills passed down from father to son and hereditary roles in ritual had adopted a *genos*-like form of organization.⁴⁴

If *genos* organization was associated with Eupatrid status, which seems to me to be suggested both by the model of links between descent-group formation and rights to office put forward above, and by the interpretation of Philochoros’

⁴³ This reasoning led Gernet 1938 to argue that the archon list was constructed only in the late 5th c. He was at least clear that what we have to explain is an entry in the list; Cavaignac’s theory, accepted by Wade-Gery and P. J. Rhodes (1981a, *ad. loc.*), that each tribe was to put forward 10 *prokritoi*, 5 Eupatridai and 5 commoners, does not solve the problem (nor does Figueira 1984). On the view advanced here, *agroikoi* (cf. Borgeaud 1995) would be the original term, *geōmoroi* (Plut. *Thes.* 25. 2) and *geōrgoi* substitutes introduced by rationalizing historians (cf. Wade-Gery 1931). For Momigliano’s model see ch. 18 n. 106. Duploux 2014 argues that labels used in common speech to classify others might become a basis for group identity.

⁴⁴ For this sense of *dēmiourgoi* see Berthiaume 1976; Descat 1986. Forsberg 1943, though inclined to overstate his case, has useful material on ‘service’ *genē*. On the Euneidai see below, n. 53; the other *genē* are known only from late sources (see Toepffer 1889; R. Parker 1996). The fragments of Philyllios’ comedy *Phreôruchoi* (PCG F 17–18) show no sign of connection with the *genos*; Lambert 2015a suggests that it, and perhaps the Aigeirotomoi, may be comic invention. The emendation of *hierôn orgeôn ē nautai* to *hierôn orgeôn gennētai* in *Dig.* XLVII 22. 4, Martina 1968, 342a (Gaius) is not very persuasive (ch. 19 n. 3). On the Milesian Molpoi (and Onitadai, a *genos* of *mageiroi*) see Herda 2006, 2011.

law as giving *genê* autonomy in admitting boys to their phratry, one would expect that those who wished to claim Eupatrid status would copy it, and that those who held hereditary rights to priesthoods or other roles in cult, since some prominent Eupatrid *genê* held such rights, would attempt to claim Eupatrid status. Hence there may well have been a tendency for ambitious families in the Attic countryside to expand local cults, award themselves hereditary priesthoods, and claim to be Eupatridai. In such circumstances Solon's introduction of a new criterion of eligibility for office may have been prompted as much by the increasing number of disputes over the status of candidates, and the difficulty of deciding who was Eupatrid and who was not, as by any strong feeling that those admitted to office by his reforms would represent new interests. The coalition between those refused the right to stand for office and the indebted *demos* would be merely a matter of conjunctural political tactics. It is indeed likely that the *agroikoi* included a substantial number of rural landowners, but cancellation of peasant debts was not in their interests. Possibly admission to office was a concession to soften the blow of debt cancellation, and encourage rich landowners to develop a relation with peasant neighbours based on need for support in their competition for office rather than on competition for wealth.

Several of the rural *genê* who may have benefited from Solon's reforms come from northern Attika, and have to be considered in connection with the question of the identification of the Diakrioi or Epakrioi from whom Peisistratos got much of his support. But there were probably others: the calendar of Erchia, in the Mesogeia plain (Spata), has references both to sacrifices carried out *es Sôtidôn*, which may be a reference to a sanctuary once owned by a *genos* whose responsibilities had passed to the deme, and to a still functioning group of Pythaištai (*LS* 18). The Phytalidai of the deme Lakiadai probably owed their prominence, as we shall see, to their fellow demesman Kimon, but may have been in existence already in Solon's day.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ The Marathonian Tetrapolis sent its own Pythaištai to Delphi when sacrificial omens were bad (*FGH* 328 F 75; below, nn. 49, 143; R. Parker 2005a, 83), and Ikarion and Erchia may have done the same. Such embassies were rare; the Athenian Pythais was sent 'when lightning is seen over the Harma' (a saddle of Mt Parnes), which came to mean 'once in a blue moon', and the Tetrapolis had to assure Delphi in 215 that the group had kept up its sacrifices, though evidently not its embassies (*Syll.*³ 541, *FD* III 2. 18). The *genos* was otherwise responsible for the local cult of Apollo. On the Phytalidai see below, n. 69. The 5th c. *horos* of Artemis Orthosia of the Demokleidai, set up near Paiania c.420 (to ward off Spartan depredations? *IG* i³ 1083; she was also worshipped in Piraeus, *IG* ii² 5012, and in the Kerameikos, Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 3. 54a; ch. 19 n. 116), may belong to a rural *genos*; the Komadai, however, who had a *hieron* (perhaps of Zeus) near Dekeleia, may be only villagers (*IG* i³ 1086 *bis*, second quarter of 5th c.; Lambert 1997a, 221 n. 15; ch. 19 n. 112). On the Eikadeis, considered to be a *genos* by Papazarkadas 2011, see ch. 19 n. 152. The E(e)tionidai (*IG* i³ 1016, c.500–480, Papagiannopoulos-Palaios 1929b), who worshipped Herakles, call themselves a *thiasos*. *IG* i³ 972 has only tenuous claims to be considered a list of *genos archontes* (Wiseman and Shaw 1970; Bourriot 1976, 335–9). 4th c. *horoi* marked the property of Apollo Patroios of the Elasedai (*IG* ii² 2602), of the (?) Arledai (ii² 2633, from a farmer's sketch of a lost

It is becoming increasingly clear that the Diakria or Epakria, the area which supposedly provided much of Peisistratos' support in his bid for tyranny, is to be located in northern Attika, in an area running approximately from Dekeleia (Tatoi) in the foothills north of the plain of Athens, through Aphidnai and the northern slopes of Mt Pendeli, to the plain of Marathon and the cult union of the four cities (Tetrapolis) of Marathon, Probalinthos, Oenoe, and Trikorynthos (Traill 1978*a*, 95–6; 1986, 99–100, 103–6). Both the terms Diakria and Epakria are associated with this area, which had its own cultic traditions and was probably considered to have formed one of the four kingdoms into which Attika had once been divided, in a tradition that may well belong to the period of conflict between local factions dated between Solon's reforms and the establishment of Peisistratos' tyranny (chs. 18 at nn. 48–9; 19 n. 16).

This area had its own stories about Theseus, noticeably separate from those of the coast and the city: after seizing Helen he had hidden her at Aphidnai, but when her brothers, the Dioskouroi, came to look for her the secret was revealed by Dekelos, eponym of the oikos and deme Dekeleieis (ch. 19 at n. 39–40), and Aphidnai was betrayed by Titakos, eponym of the nearby hamlet Titakidai (Herodotus 9. 73). The Etymologicum Magnum (s.v. *Titakidai*) says that Titakidai and Thyrgonidai were 'obscure *gené* and phratries attacked in comedy as penurious' (or easily bribed? *eis entelean*); it seems they claimed a status to

stone, near Liopesi), and of the Kolieis (Raubitschek 1974), who also appear as a *genos* in Hsch. (s.v.), and as sellers of property in the *hekatostai* inscriptions (with Oikatai, —akinidai, Apeidantidai, and Dipoliastai: below, n. 126). The Kolieis (also a *naukraria*, ch. 18 s. 'Naukrariai') were presumably responsible for the well-known sanctuary of Aphrodite and the Genetyllides at Cape Kolias (Paus. 1. 1. 5, Solders 1931), which became a popular place for outings from the city which were probably not all *genos*-related (Ar. *Lys.* 1–3, *Clouds* 51–2; Chabrias gave a notorious party there in 374, [Dem.] 59. 33–4; ch. 29 n. 119); in the late 5th and 4th centuries they may have played some role in the 'mysteries' celebrated at Halimous just before the Thesmophoria (Mikalson 1975, 71; Plut. *Sol.* 10. 3). Halimous may also have had a *genos* or *gené* responsible for the local cult of Herakles (Dem. 57. 46); Aixone had a *genos* whose ancestor had entertained him (Plat. *Lys.* 205c–d; below, n. 89). Glaukidai, Epikleidai, and .erkeidai lent money to members on the security of land (below, n. 125). On the Erysichthonidai of Prasiai (Paus. 1. 18. 5, 31. 2) see above, n. 36; on the Philaidai of Brauron (Eupatrid, since they appear in the archon list before Solon, *APF* 8429 V), below, n. 72. Hsch. lists the *genos* Kephisieiis, presumably based in the deme, and the Charidai, who had a priest of Kranaos (Paus. was shown his tomb in Lamptrai, 1. 31. 3). A new attestation of the Konnidai (or Koneidai, R. Parker 1996, 302; cf. Curbera 2013, 130–1), *SEG* 63. 52. We also have a *horos* of the Tritopatreis (see n. 83) of the Zakyadai (*IG* ii² 2615); but in *Agora* XIX H 20 (*SEG* 21. 650), *horos hierô Tritopatreôn Euergidôn* (beginning of 4th c.; re-used in *Agora*), Euergidai should be taken as another name for the Tritopatreis. We cannot be certain that all these groups were *gené*; some may have been *orgeônes*, or phratries. The —ntidai who set up *IG* i³ 247 may be the deme Kydantidai; see ch. 24 n. 89. The mine location *em Philomêlidôn* (*Agora* XIX P 26. 238) may well be Nightingale Wood (and the sacrifice there to Zeus Kataibates made by the deme Thorikos, *SEG* 33. 147. 25–6, offered at a spot where a tree was struck by lightning; the deme also sacrifices to him 'at the *sêkos* by the Delphinion'); and the location *Miltiôn* in Alopeke, in the *hekatostai* texts (Lambert 1997*a*, fr. 13A, 1–4; ch. 19 n. 156), may be a hamlet named for some association with red lead, *miltos* (Lambert, op. cit. 198, is undecided). Cf. the *lophos Bambide(i)os* in *Agora* XIX P 26. 224.

which the social position of their members did not seem adequate. Possibly these jokes belong to the early fifth century, when the groups were expressing resentment at being included in the deme Aphidnai rather than being given separate status as independent demes: a plausible emendation restores Titakidai as the name of a comedy by Magnes, who was probably writing by the 470s. The two hamlets were mentioned in the fourth century in a lost speech by Isaïos, and are sometimes classed as demes by late sources, although it is doubtful if they ever formally achieved this status.⁴⁶

Aphidnai was also the home of the Gephyraioi, who were believed to be immigrants from Tanagra in Boiotia or from Euboia; in Herodotus' day (5. 57–61) they preferred the latter version, claiming Eretrian origin, but after the battle of Tanagra in 457 it would have been impolitic to claim a connection with that city. Their *genos* cult of Demeter Achaia is well attested in Boiotia (Schachter 1981, 162–3). Herodotus says that they were excluded from a number of rights (or places?) not worth detailing; this is perhaps more likely to refer to cultic exclusions than to political rights. The *genos* owed its success and survival largely to the hereditary right of dining in the Prytaneion awarded to the families of two of its members, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, as a reward for assassinating Peisistratos' second son Hipparchos. Malicious versions of the assassination story claimed that Harmodios, the younger of the two, had had a lovers' quarrel with Hipparchos ([Plato], *Hipparchos* 224b), or was angry because his sister had been denied a place as a basket carrier (*kanêphoros*) in a religious procession (Thucydides 6. 54. 1–4, 56. 1–2). The import of these stories seems to be that the assassins had been associates of the tyrant family, which would fit the view that ambitious families of the northern area supported Peisistratos and established themselves in the city when he came to power.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ PCG 5 Magnes F 6; Isaïos F XXXIV Th.; Traill 1975*a* on the status of Titakidai and Thyrgonidai. These myths were no doubt used when the Spartans invaded Attika in the Peloponnesian War, but the story of the rape of Helen seems to have been known before the main period of development of the Theseus myth as a rival to the legend of Herakles (Ghali-Kahil 1955; Neils 1987; Hitzl 1989). In a list which may date from the late 4th c. (below, n. 127; ch. 19 nn. 39–40) Demotion, eponym of the phratry Demotionidai, appears as a companion of Theseus on his Cretan voyage.

⁴⁷ *Eirgesthai*, the term I have translated 'excluded', usually seems to have a spatial connotation (cf. e.g. Hdt. 7. 197; Paus. 5. 13. 1). The Gephyraioi were at first defined negatively, by restrictions rather than privileges (cf. Hdt., loc. cit.; Parker 1996, 288–9; ch. 15 at n. 16, on the Alkmaionid curse). They may not have been recognized in pre-Solonian times as Eupatridai, but I doubt if [Dem.] 59. 92 is relevant; and it is surely a mistake to connect Hdt. 5. 57. 1 with the story of Harmodios' sister (Brulé 1987). [Plat.] *Hipparchos* is generally taken to be a work of the early 4th c. by a minor Socratic, who was perhaps parodying Thuc. (I do not see why Souilhé 1930*a* thinks he must predate Thuc.). These anti-tyrannicide stories may well come from the early 5th c., when the kudos acquired by the Gephyraioi must certainly have been resented by some of their peers; they may also have circulated in the late 5th and early 4th c. in gossip related to the legal disputes in the family of Dikaïogenes of Kydathenaion (ch. 7 Case 2). The proverb 'to a Gephyraian a friendly house is the best house' (*andri Gephyraïoi oikos philos, oikos aristos*)

Other genê of this area were the Semachidai, who gave their name to a deme of the trittys Epakreis (Traill 1978*a*), claimed that their ancestor Semachos was the first man to welcome Dionysos in Attika, and held the right to appoint priestesses of his cult;⁴⁸ and the Pythian and Delian genê of the Tetrapolis, who were responsible for interpreting omens in the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios at Oenoe, or of Apollo Delios at Marathon, when the Tetrapolis sent a sacred embassy to Delphi or Delos (*FGH* 328 F 75). The independent tie with Delphi was still remembered in the third century, when the Tetrapolis sent an embassy to remind the Delphians of their ancient privileges and ask that these should be renewed. Ikarion and Erchia may also have consulted Delphi.⁴⁹

The end of the Eupatrid monopoly of the right to stand for office must thus have added to the confusion of a picture already complicated by imitation of the *genos* organization of leading families and by disputes about rights to Eupatrid status. Some successful lines in peripheral genê, families who had established themselves as competitors in city politics, may have broken free of any *genos* affiliation they once had, preferring individual reputation to a status shared with less notable *gennetai*; on the other hand, genê whose reputation was purely local now met less opposition if they claimed a history reaching back to the heroic age.

The state began to encroach on *genos* control of cults in the major religious centres, the Akropolis and Eleusis. A board of treasurers for the Akropolis had been created by the 560s; the new penteteric celebration of the Panathenaia, in which Athens hoped to rival Olympia (and Delphi, Nemea, and Korinth?) in drawing competitors from all over Greece, founded in 566, was the responsibility of this board (*IG* i³ 507–8). It was first celebrated in the archonship of Hippokleides

may be an early comment on their change of residence, but the story told to explain the proverb *dory kai kerykeion* (Eust. *ad Il.* 3. 222; Erbse 1950, D 23) does not seem to have been known to Hdt. It may be associated with their claim to a special relationship with Delphi (*SEG* 30. 85, late 1st c. BCE). Their cult of Demeter Achaia still existed in the Roman period (*IG* ii² 5153). Pace Mavrogiannis 2007, there is no reason to connect them with Lefkandi.

⁴⁸ Semachidai: *FGH* 328 F 206; Kalogeropoulou and Vanderpool 1970, Traill 1978*a*, 95–6. The existence of a mine called *Semacheion* (*Agora* XIX P 26. 221) might conceivably be due to a member of the *genos*. There is no record of a *genos* associated with the Hekalesia, a festival of Hekale associated with Theseus (Plut. *Thes.* 14. 2; ch. 32 n. 33).

⁴⁹ *FD* III 2. 18, *Syll.*³ 541, Jacquemin a.o. 2012, 198–200. 215 BCE. DauX (1936, 534) thinks that the link with Delphi had never been interrupted, but Philochoros' statement (*FGH* 328 F 75) proves only that in his day there were *gennetai* who knew the correct procedure (he wrote a book on the Tetrapolis and must have had good contacts with local antiquarians), and the envoys to Delphi claimed only that sacrifices had continued. On Ikarion see ch. 24 n. 42. One of the 4 *pythaistai* who dedicated *IG* i³ 4. 632 in the 4th c., Timokritos son of Timokrates of Ikarion, councillor in 341/0, may appear also on *IG* ii² 12791 (correct the ref. in *APF* 13768); another has the appropriate name Python son of Sosigenes. Opinions differ on whether they worshipped Apollo locally (Bousquet 1964, 66 n. 4), sent a local Pythais, or sent delegates with the city Pythais (the latter seems to me unlikely). Cf. *SEG* 32. 249; Boethius 1918, Voutiras 1982.

of the Philaidai, who had competed against Megakles II, unsuccessfully, for alliance with the tyrant Kleisthenes of Sikyon; a man whose ambitions went beyond the politics of property in local cults.

The process of bringing cult finances under the control of elected officials is likely to have continued under the tyrants, who would have preferred to keep patronage and sources of power in their own hands. The question of Peisistratid 'policy' should be approached with some caution, since the evidence is mainly archaeological, and the dating of buildings is often controversial (on the date of building works at Eleusis see Clinton 1994*b*, Lippolis 2006, 159, *Agora XXXI*). Finds at the site of the City Eleusinion may go back to the seventh century (*Agora XXXI*) and a black-figure loutrophoros of c.540–30, found at Eleusis, which depicts a procession of men carrying sacred objects, may represent the transfer of Eleusinian sacra to Athens that preceded the procession of the *mystai* to Eleusis. The tie between the 'lesser mysteries' at Agrai and the Eleusinian Mysteries may also have been created in this period, since it is associated with the story of the initiation of Herakles, which became popular with vase painters in the age of the tyrants.⁵⁰

A convergence of interests is likely to have been at work. Athens was becoming more prominent both as a cultural and political centre and as a market; it is therefore not improbable that would-be initiates from overseas made their way first to Athens, and there joined the procession of Attic *mystai* on the road to Eleusis. Eumolpidai and Kerykes, as we shall see (n. 57), were moving from Eleusis to the city and to other parts of Attika; they would favour arrangements that allowed them to prepare candidates for initiation in the city as well as at Eleusis.

In this connection it may be noted that the clearest contemporary reference among the names of Theseus' companions on the François vase, dated c.560, is that one of the youths is named Daidokos, surely a recognition of the claims of the Kerykes to a place in Athens' mythical past. Other possible links with prominent genè can be found in the names of Hippodameia (daughter of Boutes, Apollodoros 3. 14. 8), Koronis (possibly associated, via the *Koronides korai*, with the Eleusinian *genos* Koironidai?), Lysidike (wife of Ajax and mother of Philaios, ancestor of the Philaidai, according to Stephanos of Byzantion s.v. *Philaidai*), and perhaps Menestho, since the name Menestheus/Menesthes later appears in the Theseus tradition in contexts that may suggest the *genos* Salaminioi as source.⁵¹ It is, however, unlikely that the association of fourteen families

⁵⁰ Shapiro 1989; loutrophoros, Eleusis Mus. 471, BArch 301576. Cf. J. K. Davies 1988. Spahn 1980*a* suggests that the Peisistratids introduced the obligation to send *aparchai* of corn to Eleusis (this would be Peisistratos' *dekatê*; see also R. M. Simms 1975; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1993; Cavanaugh 1996 on later periods); the parasites of Herakles may have played a role in collection. Representations of Triptolemos appear in the 530–20s; Hayashi 1992, *LIMC* s.v. (G. Schwarz). See the discussions of 'Peisistratid policy' in Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2000*a*.

⁵¹ See Cristofani a. o. 1981; E. Simon 1981, 73. Koronis is associated with Boutes in D. S. 5. 50 (above, n. 34), but the story is not attached to Attika. She may be associated with the Koroneian heroines

descended from Theseus' companions already existed at this date. As we shall see, a quite different list of names, perhaps constructed in the late fourth century, appears in Servius' commentary on the *Aeneid* (6. 21; below at n. 127), and a near-contemporary of the François vase has yet another list of names, though with fewer signs of mythological sophistication.

Another cult procession which may have been introduced under the tyrants, similar in theme to the transfer of *sacra* from Eleusis, is that which brought the ancient cult statue (*xoanon*) of Dionysos to Athens from the Akademy each year for the City Dionysia. A temple in honour of Dionysos Eleuthereus seems to have been built on the south side of the Akropolis, in the area where the theatre would later be constructed, perhaps in about the middle of the sixth century (Sourvinou-Inwood 2003*a*, 104), and the first performance of proto-tragedy, by Thespiis, was dated to 534.⁵² The increased prominence of Dionysos at this period, attested also by the popularity of Dionysiac subjects in vase painting, and his association with song and dance, is likely to have favoured the *genos* Euneidai, who worshipped Dionysos Melpomenos and established a connection with theatrical festivals that lasted into the Roman period. Their claim to descend from Euneos, son of Jason by Hypsipyle, daughter of Thoas of Lemnos, may possibly have been elaborated in the early fifth century when Miltiades captured the island for Athens.

Here we may have an example of a 'demiourgic' *genos*, which had not been particularly distinguished in early times, rising to greater prominence after Solon's reforms, in a new climate which favoured emphasis on expansion of city cults and development of cultic ties between the city and rural cult centres, and perhaps promoted by the patronage of the tyrants.⁵³ Whether the penteteric *theôria* to

worshipped at Thorikos, *SEG* 33. 147 = *IG* i³ 256 *bis*; see however n. 122. Lysidike is daughter of Koronos in St. Byz., *l.c.*, and Tzetzes *Lyk.* 53. Redfield 2003*b*, 92–3, *Koronidai korai* at Orchomenos. *FGH* 328 F 3, Skiros helped Theseus because his DS Menesthes was one of the boys sent to Crete (below, n. 66). Eriboia (Periboia in Servius) seems to be a permanent feature of the story; she is Theseus' wife and Ajax' mother in Plut. *Thes.* 29; cf. Bacchyl. 17. 14 ff.

⁵² Connor 1989 argues for dating the procession and City Dionysia immediately after the end of the tyranny, but see Ehrhardt 1990, Sourvinou-Inwood 2003*a*; 2011, esp. 19–22; ch. 18 n. 90. I suspect that the decision whether or not to include frontier areas (Salamis, Oropos, Eleutheraï) in the Kleisthenic deme system was taken on ethnic grounds (dialect, calendar, tribal affiliation; cf. Alty 1982; Hornblower 1992; Connor 1993), and was not therefore merely dependent on the date of conquest or incorporation. In the Apatouria myth (ch. 19 at nn. 25–8) Eleutheraï and Melaineis are on the frontier between Attika and Boiotia.

⁵³ Hdt. 6. 136–40, c.495. The Euneidai first appear in Kratinos' play of that name (*PCG* 4 F 71–2; parodied in Ar. *Knights*, 524, 529ff., so produced before 424), and were probably referred to at the end of Eur. *Hypsipyle* (c.408; Bond 1963, 20, 144). By the 2nd c. BCE they had acquired the house of Poulytion, confiscated when he was condemned for parodying the Mysteries (Paus. 1. 2. 4–5; Toepffer 1889, 204; the reference in Pherekrates *PCG* 7 F 64 must be earlier), but we do not know if they acquired it in the 5th c. (Aneziri 2000 assumes that they did). They were mentioned in a speech by Lysias (F CXV Thalheim 1913, CXXX/280 Carey 2007), and then disappear from view until 106/5 and 97/6, when

Brauron was established in the same period is much less clear. The only solid evidence for ties between Brauron and Athens at this time is a late sixth-century *krateriskos* from the Akropolis of the form associated with the cult of Artemis; and the tradition that Peisistratos came ‘from (the) Philaidai’⁵⁴ is not enough to prove an interest in the Brauron sanctuary, since the claims of Miltiades’ family also have to be considered.

It also seems possible that the tribal torch-race, a relay race held at night, in which each team passed a lighted torch from runner to runner, was an innovation of the tyrants: the race at the Prometheia, run from the Academy to the city, may be associated with the development of a gymnasium in that area. But if so, it was taken over by the new tribes after Kleisthenes’ reforms. It was probably the model for the torch-race for Pan introduced after Marathon.⁵⁵

Finally, it is worth asking whether the appointment of *parasitōi* to attend gods when they feasted is a custom that goes back to the sixth century. We have already seen that the Eleusinian Kerykes had the right to appoint two of their members to dine each year in a sanctuary of Delian Apollo (n. 1); the law from which this prescription is quoted is said to have been inscribed on a *kyrbis*, which probably means that it belonged to the sixth century, and the sanctuary in question may have been on Delos itself, since the only ‘Delion’ known in Attika is that of Marathon, and it is hard to see why the Kerykes of Eleusis should have been introduced there. Peisistratos ‘purified’ Delos by removing burials within sight of the sanctuary to Rheneia, perhaps c.545–40, and may have revived poetic competitions there; a new temple was also built during his period of power. The degree of Athenian control of the island should not be exaggerated, since Polykrates of

they take part in the Pythais (below, n. 145). Sourvinou-Inwood 2011 thinks that they were not prominent in the City Dionysia in the Hellenistic period, their role at the time being due to their links with the Dionysian *techmitai*. In the Roman period Athens had two priests of Dionysos Melpomenos, one appointed by the *genos* and the other by the actors’ guild (*IG* ii² 5056, 5060; Maass 1972). We do not know if they were associated with the shrine of Dionysos Melpomenos at Acharnai (Paus. 1. 31. 3). Toepffer’s suggestion (1889, 184) that they supplied the herald who assisted the *basilinna* at the Anthesteria should be discarded; the Eleusinian Kerykes have a better claim, especially since [Dem.] 59. 78 uses the term *hierokéryx* (Graf 1974b, 63 suggests that the Torchbearer officiates, carrying wedding torches, but in that case one might expect [Dem.] to say *daidouchos*).

⁵⁴ [Plat.] *Hipparch.* 228b; *ek tôn Philaidôn* should refer to *genos*, but this seems inconsistent with the tradition of Pylian origins, supported by Peisistratos’ name (cf. Plut. *Solon* 10. 2, *dêmos*).

⁵⁵ Polemon F 6 Preller (1838); Paus. 1. 30. 2; Deubner 1932, 211–12. Schol. Patm. Dem. 57. 43 (Latte and Erbse 1965, 141) seems to confuse tribal torch-races, lamp-carrying at the Apatouria (ch. 19 n. 62), and the wedding processions of the *gamêlia*. The race at the beginning of the Panathenaia started from the altar of Eros (Schol. Plat. *Phaidr.* 231e), and was perhaps introduced when this altar was founded, under the tyranny (*FGH* 323 F 15). The altar of Prometheus, from which the race at the Prometheia started, was also in the Academy (Paus., *ibid.*); this race was the responsibility of the *basileus* (*A.P.* 57. 1), whose association with the *phylobasileis* would give him an interest in tribal competitions in pre-Kleisthenic times (cf. chs. 18 n. 87; 19 n. 52; 21 n. 58).

Samos also intervened there, but negotiation of a privileged position for Athenian representatives, in return for Athenian support and promotion of the island's cult, does not seem impossible.

Elsewhere, parasitoi were not recruited from any single *genos*, even though in some cases there may have been a tendency for the right to become hereditary. For a time in the fifth century, perhaps after Perikles' citizenship law of 451, the right to supply the parasitoi of Herakles at Kynosarges was taken over (if not invented) by a group who identified themselves as *nothoi*, perhaps sons of prominent families excluded from citizenship by this law (Humphreys 1974; earlier dating in Ogden 1996). Award of either hereditary or annual rights to dine as parasitos in a well-known sanctuary to supporters would have been a useful form of patronage for the tyrants, and the practice of charging parasitoi with the duty of collecting local contributions to cult expenses may have gone back to this period, although the relation between parasitoi and crop tithes (*aparchai*) is still very obscure. However, comic poets of the late fourth century who contrasted the parasitoi of their own day, hangers-on of rich households, with cult parasitoi were clear that the latter were themselves wealthy; even if an element of taxation was involved, the role of parasite was a liturgy in which the honorand was expected to contribute generously from his own resources.

Parasitoi were appointed for the sanctuary of Athena Pallenis: since Peisistratos' definitive victory over his opponents was won in a battle at Pallene, and followed by a triumphal entry into Athens with a local girl from Paiania dressed as Athena (the priestess?) at his side (Herodotus 1. 60, 62–3), it is tempting to wonder whether he was responsible for the institution. However, there may have been some changes in the Lykourgan period, and we have no information on the earlier system, which may have included only four demes (R. Parker 1996, 331; one of these, however, Acharnai, was hardly 'local'. It is not at all certain that the reference in Athenaios 235c to parasites 'from the demes' refers to Athena Pallenis).⁵⁶

Like that of Solon, the impact of Peisistratos and his sons on the *gené* is likely to have been divergent. Some of the older *gené* found their monopoly of power declining; on the other hand, peripheral *gené*, or branches of major *gené* that had moved away from their cult centre, may have benefited. It was in the nature of tyranny for the rulers to prefer to reward and privilege individuals whose

⁵⁶ References are collected in Athen. 234d–235e. Neither Schlaifer 1943 nor Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 100–4, is entirely satisfying (see also Tagalidou 1993). The league of Athena Pallenis was in existence by 432/1 or 404/3 (Polemon F 78 Preller 1838); the sanctuary is also mentioned in the records of the Treasurers of the Other Gods, *IG* i³ 383. In the 4th c. its parasitoi were drawn from a wide range of demes (below, n. 129); we do not know that the range was narrower in earlier times. The parasites made contributions to Apollo at Acharnai, but (*pace* P. Wilson 2015, 133, 137) this was not their base. Note the 4th–3rd c. reference in *Agora* XVI 153 to a *paráskition* with which the widow (?) and son of Olympiodoros of Gargettos are concerned.

support they could count on, or had good hopes of winning, rather than to respect old-established privilege; on the other hand, the richness of mythical reference and innovation in literature, cult, and art may well have encouraged opponents as well as allies of the ruling family to elaborate family traditions and genealogical claims.

Thus any attempt to assess the aims and effects of Kleisthenes' reforms, in so far as they concerned the *genê*, starts with a complex situation. We have to ask how Kleisthenes and his contemporaries saw the *genê*, before trying to decide what role (if any) they played in his policy.

D. M. Lewis's hypothesis (1963) that irregularities in the geographical grouping of demes into trittyes, producing an 'enclave' of members of one tribe in territory otherwise assigned to another, were due to a wish to limit the influence of existing cult units as a basis for local solidarity and political power, profoundly marked research on the demes and trittyes for at least thirty years, pulling research on topography and local documents firmly into the narrative of social and political history. Nevertheless, it may prove to be one of those hypotheses doomed to collapse under the weight of the research it has generated (see Humphreys 2008). Opinion seems to be swinging round to the view that the main motivation for the irregularities identified by Lewis was the intention to produce tribes and, within the limits of possibility, trittyes of equal size, this being a requirement both for the organization of the army and for representation in the new Council of 500 (ch. 21). On this view the break-up of old-established cult units would at most have been a secondary motive, guiding the choice of demes to be 'enclaved' rather than determining the whole system.

In support of this second view it may be argued that the Lewis picture of the cultic geography of Attika is probably considerably simpler and clearer than that which presented itself to Kleisthenes. We happen to know of a limited number of cult associations that grouped together three or more settlements: the Marathonian Tetrapolis, the Trikomoi (Three Villages) of Eupyridai, Kropidai, and Pelex, and perhaps another group centred on Erchia, the Tetrakomoi (Four Villages) Xypete, Thymaitadai, Phaleron, and Peiraios, perhaps the League of Athena Pallenis if it was in origin a grouping of villages close to Pallene (R. Parker 1996, 328–32). We know of these groupings because they survived into the classical period and left epigraphic records that happen to have been rediscovered; in the wake of Kleisthenes' creation of the demes and trittyes, they developed some degree of formal organization. Even in the category of cultic groupings that did produce records, our knowledge is not likely to be complete. New evidence may yet emerge from the Attic countryside. But it is also likely enough that these records represent the tip of an iceberg of informal neighbourhood feasting. Demes, as we begin to see from the increasing accumulation of calendars and other cult-related texts, were very diverse in their festival patterns, and no doubt much of this diver-

sity was due to the tendency for phratry and genos cults, over the decades, gradually to pass into deme control. Though there were festivals—notably the Apatouria—at which every phrater should have returned to his own phratry (ch. 19 nn. 44, 63) and every gennetes to his own genos, village pride may at other times have encouraged units celebrating local festivals to welcome visitors from neighbouring settlements, in emulation of the city's power to attract crowds to its festivals both from rural Attika and from outside the state. Was Kleisthenes really in a position to target especially influential cult unions for attack, or would it have seemed to him that the whole of Attika was made up of overlapping units of this kind, some of which he would have had to break up on any plan for distribution of demes into trittyes?

Possibly the answer lies somewhere between these two alternatives, since it seems clear that in the Marathonian Tetrapolis the separatist tendencies of northern Attika were expressed in cultic form, and the rise of Peisistratos had shown that this separatism could be dangerous. There was fighting against the Boiotians and Chalkis in 506, and the importance of closely integrating this area with the rest of Attika could hardly be ignored. On the other hand, while Erchia certainly had a rich cultic calendar in the fourth century, it seems doubtful whether it could ever have been a centre either for separatist tendencies or for cultic power on the grand scale.

Examination of the deme affiliation of known gennetai suggests that Kleisthenes may have been struck more by their dispersal than by the danger that genê could provide a basis for the redivision of Attika into competing regional factions. The Salaminioi, perhaps originally based in Alopeke, since that was the home of their phratry (ch. 19 n. 173), had a solid group of members in Sounion but also had members in seven (or six) tribes other than Leontis (IV), to which Sounion belonged. The Eumolpidai, presumably still well represented (though unattested) in Eleusis, also had members in Paiania, Perithoidai, and probably Halai Aixonides and Kydathenaion. There were Eleusinian Kerykes in Alopeke, and perhaps Halai Aixonides and Xypete; Lykomidai in Phrearrhioi as well as Phlya; Eteoboutadai in Bate as well as Boutadai; Philaidai in Lakiadai and Gargettos.⁵⁷ The roads of Attika must have been crowded at the Apatouria with gennetai and phrateres returning to their genos and phratry sanctuaries; and it is also likely enough that some of the rank and file of phratry members, if they moved from home to seek new opportunities in the city or in the silver mines, which produced an increased yield in the later years of the tyranny, had ignored Solon's attempts to clarify the boundaries

⁵⁷ Below, nn. 96, 99, 116, 141 (Eumolpidai); n. 138 (Kerykes); n. 139 (Xypete); n. 128 (Philaidai; see also *APF* 2481, Chologos, and 8410, Aphidnai). The scattering of Amyndridai across tribes by the late 1st c. BCE (*IG* ii² 2338, *SEG* 30. 99) may, *pace* J. H. Oliver 1980 (followed by Aleshire and Lambert 2011), be nothing unusual (G. Anderson 2000 implausibly attributes scattering to exile from the city).

of the citizen body. At least there were suspicions, of a kind that tended to surface after every change of government, that men ‘of unclear origin’ had wormed their way into the phratries and tribes through the influence of the tyrants and their friends or by other dishonest means (*A.P.* 21. 4, cf. 13. 5).

As it turned out, demesmen did not stay where they were registered any more than phrateres and gennetai had done, and with hindsight one may feel inclined to ask why there is no sign that Kleisthenes anticipated this problem. It would, however, be anachronistic to expect him to consider setting up a system of local Registry Offices to document births, marriages, and deaths, and pass information on changes on residence to a central databank.⁵⁸ Knowledge of identity, parentage, and legitimacy was stored in kin groups and local communities (Humphreys 1986*a*); personal witness testimony and continuity over the generations were essential to it. In addition, the migrations of the age of the tyrants may have been regarded as exceptional. The city seems to have grown at an unprecedented rate, and there may have been something of a ‘silver rush’ to the Laureion district. Since Kleisthenes could not foresee the Persian wars, the Athenian empire, or the Peloponnesian War, all of which profoundly affected settlement patterns and the political relations between city and countryside, it is extremely hard for us to imagine the society he hoped to create. But he surely expected more stability than Athens was to experience; it was not unreasonable to suppose that it would be some centuries before another reformer had to revise the tribal system in order to bring tribe and deme affiliation back into harmony with residence.

Kleisthenes may also, however, have underestimated the staying power of phratries and *genê*. It seems—again with hindsight—to have been something of a mistake to set the age of entry to the demes two years later than that of entry to the phratry (ch. 19 at n. 37). The reason may have been military: whereas entry to the phratry was related to puberty, entry to the deme took place at 18—when a boy was sufficiently grown to play his part in war? But the discrepancy left the phratry to carry much of the burden of proof of legitimacy and entitlement to citizenship, since its decision, though now lacking the legal standing given to it by Solon, came before that of the deme. *Genos* cults, too, re-emerged as a factor in city politics in the age of Kimon to a perhaps unexpected degree, and were to have further periods of resurgency later.

Our only other clue to Kleisthenes’ intentions is in the naming system. He seems to have hoped to introduce the use of the demotic as a qualifier for a man’s proper name instead of the patronymic: one would distinguish between two men called Kallias by reference to their demes and not to their fathers.

⁵⁸ Hence his reform did not introduce a change from groups based on kinship to groups based on residence, as claimed by Fustel de Coulanges (1864) a.o. The problem was, rather, that increasing emphasis on citizenship made adjusting descent to residence problematic.

There is little sign that reference to *genos* or *phratry* affiliation had ever been a regular element in the Athenian naming system, although there are a few possible isolated examples. A Νῖ[ko]- or Μϵ[ne]demos insulted in an early graffito as a passive homosexual may be called Philaiides, but the reading is far from certain; the Oin[obio]s or Oin[iade]s who c.500–480 in a dedication to Hermes calls himself Keryx may be stating either his *genos* affiliation or his occupation; Alkmeonides is sometimes used on ostraka to identify kin of Megakles IV. These uses belong to the domain of nicknames rather than that of formal naming practice. There is some evidence that Athenians followed the Kleisthenic pattern in political contexts in the fifth century, but they clearly continued to use patronymics frequently in ordinary conversation; this usage was favoured by the practice of addressing and referring to boys and younger men by patronymic rather than proper name. Eventually a compromise was reached and the Athenian's official name came to consist of proper name, patronymic, and demotic.⁵⁹

A.P. (21. 2) attaches a proverb to this change in the naming system: 'Don't quibble about tribes' (*mê phylokrinein*), in the author's view, was said to those wishing to examine family origins (*exetazein ta genê*) as a result of Kleisthenes' reforms. The expression *phylokrinein* must surely refer to the pre-Kleisthenic tribes, and it seems to me that the most probable explanation of the phrase is that it referred to those who retained memory of their tribal affiliation in the pre-Kleisthenic system. By the time of the author of *A.P.*—and indeed perhaps already in the fifth century—these would be members of families still interested in holding the office of *phylobasileus*, 'tribal king' in the old system. It would presumably be especially in the *genê* which claimed Eupatrid status that this information would be preserved.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Nikodemos: Langdon 1976, 22 no. 36. Oinobios: *IG* i³ 776 (*CEG* 234). In the sculptor's signature *Leóbios: epoiêsen; Pyrêtiadês* (c.510–500: *IG* i³ 665, *DAA* 88), the second name may be the father's name written in the nominative, as on some ostraka (*Agora* XXV, 17–18). The reading Heroiadou which Peek (1942, 84–5 n. 1) took as a gentilic (though it could well have been an early demotic: cf. *IG* i³ 1260; *CEG* 72, 500–480, Αφῖ[dnaïos]) has disappeared in *IG* i³ 1399. It was not uncommon to add *-idai* to the name of a prominent recent ancestor to make a complimentary (Pindar) or derogatory 'lineage name' (Bourriot 1976, 350–4), but these pseudo-gentilics seem to derive from Homeric usage rather than from the use of the names of corporate *genê* as an element in personal names. Cf. the use of Alkmeonides in *Hdt.* and in *Agora* XXV 206, 215, 524. See further Wilamowitz 1893 II, 171–4; *DAA* 467–78; Vanderpool 1970*a*, 6–8; above, n. 4. D. M. Lewis 1992 notes that demotics may have been used more often on ostraka to identify men who came from outside the city (e.g. Themistokles Phrearrhios), and toponymics may have been so used earlier (Myron of Phlya, *Plut. Sol.* 12).

⁶⁰ Manville's view (1990, 177) that *phylokrinein* refers to judicial scrutinies by tribes does not seem to me possible; cf. ch. 18 n. 41. The statements of Androtion and Philochoros (*FGH* 324 F 4, 328 F 20) that members of the *Areiopagos*—by which they seem to mean the *ephetai*—had to be Eupatrid is presumably an interpretation of the term *aristindên* in Drakon's law (*IG* i³ 104), and would refer only to the

It came to be believed—whether correctly, as a result of statements made at the time, or by subsequent conjecture, we can hardly tell—that Kleisthenes' assignment of demes and trittyes to tribes, and his choice of the ten heroes after whom his new tribes were named, was unplanned; he had used the lot for tribal assignments, and had asked the Delphic oracle to select ten heroes from a list of one hundred. What this tells us is that neither selection seemed obvious to Athenians. There were puzzling irregularities in the deme–trittys–tribe distribution, and the choice of heroes followed no obvious logic. Indeed, it was so far from instantly imposing its authority that in a monument at Delphi commemorating the battle of Marathon the tribal eponyms Oineus, Hippothoon, and Ajax were replaced by Philaios, Kodros, and Theseus. Though the choice of Miltiades' genos eponym Philaios, probably to replace his father Ajax, eponym of the tribe Aiantis, might suggest that Kimon was responsible, Kodros and Theseus might well have been expected to figure in a list of major Attic heroes.

The relation between tribal heroes and earlier genos cults, moreover, was erratic. Erechtheus was the responsibility of the Eteoboutadai and the tribe Erechtheis seems to have held its meetings on the Akropolis and called on the services of the Eteoboutad priest when sacrificing, although the family in Boutadai that probably held the office throughout the classical period did not belong to the tribe. Aigeis may have met in the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios, since there is a tradition that Aigeus had once had his palace on the site (Plutarch *Theseus* 12. 6; cf. N. D. Robertson 2005, 55–6; Goette 2001, 99, 101). Pandionis met on the Akropolis and seems to have appropriated the Pandia, about which we know little except that it must have honoured Zeus, as its tribal festival (R. Parker 2005*a*, 477–8; ch. 21 nn. 91–2). Leontis set up at least some tribal decrees at Dafni, perhaps ancient Kettos, in or near the sanctuary of Apollo of the Kephallidai (on the hero Leos see Appendix 1). Akamantis met (once?) in Kallithea, perhaps ancient Xypete. Oineis may have met at Acharnai, or in the Agora (Kron 1976; M. Meyer 1989*a*, 188–9); Kekropis met on the Akropolis and had non-tribal priests, probably from the genos Amyndridai. Hippothontis, which met at Eleusis, also had non-tribal priests, perhaps supplied by an Eleusinian genos; Aiantis met in the shrine of Eurysakes, apparently shared with the Salaminioi, but at least by the fourth century seems to have appointed its own tribal priest of Ajax; Antiochis met in or near the Herakleion at Kynosarges, Antiochos being a son of Herakles, but seems to have had its own priest. This does not suggest any consistent attitude to genos cults.⁶¹

However, the list of the heroes whose names Kleisthenes supposedly submitted to Delphi, which later antiquarian writers seem to have been able to consult, can hardly go back to 507. Two of the names quoted—Kephalos and Araphen—are those of deme eponyms, though the former is also a genos eponym, while the third, Polyxeinos, is one of the Eleusinian leaders listed in the *Hymn to Demeter*. It seems rather unlikely that Kleisthenes would have wanted deme eponyms and tribal eponyms to coincide, and it is all too probable that one of the Atthidographers set out to reconstruct his list, drawing

pre-Solonian period. For the use of *plén* in this passage to mean 'and, moreover', which has misled some scholars (i.a. Duplouy 2003), cf. e.g. Soph. *OC* 1643.

⁶¹ Schlaifer 1940; Mitsos 1965*b*; Traill 1986, 81 (*IG* ii³ 4. 207); Kearns 1989, 84–5, 210–22; Billot 1992 and S. Privitera 2002 on Kynosarges. Cf. ch. 21 n. 77.

on deme eponyms, literary sources, and perhaps the list of forty-two heroes after whom the Attic age classes were named, a list that was perhaps created by Kleisthenes. The only (possibly) attested names in this latter list are Mounichos, eponym of the harbour Mounichia, and thus of a location that was not given deme status, and Panops.⁶²

THE FIFTH CENTURY

Our first piece of evidence about the gené in the years after Kleisthenes' reforms is characteristically ambiguous. The decision to confer quasi-heroic status on Hipparchos' assassins, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, by erecting statues of them in the Agora and awarding their next-of-kin hereditary dining rights in the Prytaneion, was pregnant with long-term implications for the future of their genos, the Gephyraioi, but these can scarcely have been recognized at the time. The award was not made to the Gephyraioi as a genos, but to the next-of-kin of two individuals (Humphreys 2017*b*).

In the years between Kleisthenes' reforms and Marathon, genos leaders had to adjust to being grouped in civic contexts with their deme of residence rather than with their genos and phratry; it would not yet be clear what role remained for phratries and gené in public affairs, and some may have decided to transfer most of their ritual responsibilities to deme control at an early date, if there was a solid core of gennetai or phrateres in the deme and absentee members showed little interest in maintaining their ties.⁶³ In addition, ambitious men had to defend themselves against charges of collaboration with the tyrants, press their claims to have been actively involved in resistance (R. Thomas 1989), show support for the new regime by suggesting constitutional refinements,⁶⁴ avoid any suspicion that they might themselves be aiming at tyranny, and take a stand on the seriousness of the threat posed by Spartan and Persian expansion. The wider range of military alliances—Athens and Eretria sent ships to help the Ionians in their attempt at revolt in 499–4, while Sparta was asked but refused (Herodotus 5. 38–97)—encouraged

⁶² Habicht 1961*b* Mounichos; Herodian *Peri mon. lex.* A 17 (*Gramm. Gr.* III ii p. 923) Araphen; Schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 455 Kephalos; Hsch. s.v. *Polyxeinos*. On age-class eponyms see Humphreys 1983*b*, 241–21, 2009 n. 4; the 4th c. dedication to Mounichos IG ii² 4590 may be evidence of local rather than age-class cult. Panops: Photius s.v. Steinbock 2011 suggests that Kodros was another.

⁶³ Relations between genos, phratry, and deme must have been greatly affected by variations in the size of the core (if any) of genos or phratry members still resident in or near the group's cult base, and the ratio between this group and the rest of the deme's membership (cf. Geertz 1964; Geertz and Geertz 1975, for useful comparative data and discussion; chs. 19 n. 23; 22 at n. 71).

⁶⁴ Even our sources, which tend to assume that each legislator passed extensive reforms on a single occasion, reveal on closer inspection that a major reform programme was usually followed by a period of further tinkering with institutions (ch. 1 n. 127). For attempts to understand the dynamics of this process see Humphreys 1983*b*, 247–8; 1991, 35–8.

references to mythical ties, and Hekataios of Miletos began a fashion for extending the genealogical systematization of the Hesiodic *Theogony* and *Catalogue* beyond the heroic age, in prose. He was followed, perhaps in the 460s, by Pherekydes of Athens, whose *Theogony* included a pedigree running from Ajax and his son Philaios to Miltiades III ‘who colonized the Chersonese’.⁶⁵

Miltiades was not a conventional *genos* aristocrat. He was presumably already living in Lakiadai, near the Sacred Way from Eleusis to Athens, when invited by the Dolonkoi of the Thracian Chersonese (the Gallipoli peninsula) to settle in their territory. They were returning from consulting the Delphic oracle (Herodotus 6. 34. 2), and their route is less likely to have taken them through the deme Philaidai, on the east coast near Brauron, whence the *genos* Philaidai possibly originated. He ruled in the Chersonese as a tyrant, and his adopted grandson (SS; by birth great-nephew, BSS) Miltiades IV is portrayed as *kalos* on a plate painted c.520–510, in barbarian dress (BArch 201526). Miltiades IV collaborated with Darius’ abortive attempt to add Skythia to the Persian empire, but later seems to have moved to the greater security of the islands Lemnos and Imbros, to which he invited Athenian colonists; this move no doubt helped him to return to Athens, although he had to defend himself on a charge of tyranny. He received the credit for the Athenian victory at Marathon, but when a follow-up expedition against the island of Paros failed he was condemned for ‘deceiving the demos’ and heavily fined, dying of injuries soon afterwards. His son’s insistence on his own Philaid pedigree, which as we shall see was only one in a varied set of strategies for keeping himself in

⁶⁵ FGH 3 F 2; see R. Thomas 1989; Duplouy 2006; 2007, 64–72, on Kimon. On the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (c.600–550?) see Most 2006, il–lv. Possibly this reference to colonization may suggest a date at or after Kimon’s trial in 463, when he was accused of failing to acquire land for colonization in Thrace (Plut. *Kim.* 14, cf. 7. 3, 8; Humphreys 1999; but there may have been an attempt to settle at Ennea Hodoi in 476/5: Schol. Aisch. 2. 31; HCT I 391 n. 1; Badian 1993, 205 n. 19). Pherekydes’ statement (FGH 3 F 149) that Theseus made a vow to Apollo Oulios and Artemis Oulia before his expedition to Crete must have been written after Kimon’s recovery of Theseus’ bones c.476/5, probably also after the birth of Kimon’s twin sons Lakedaimonios and Oulios at about the same date; an Oulios was included in the list of Miltiades’ ancestors (APF 8429 I, XIII), and Bacchylides worked compliments to the family into a poem on Theseus probably written for an Athenian festival (18. 50–6, cf. Barron 1980). I am still sceptical of alleged Athenian interest in Apollo cults in the empire (APF *ibid.*), and inclined to think Oulios was nicknamed ‘Curly’ soon after birth (ch. 8 n. 32); if the alternative Eleios (Plut. *Per.* 29. 2) goes back to Stesimbrotos, as it well may, it perhaps indicates a feeling that the name Oulios was unfamiliar and problematic (Matthaiou 2011a, 86 suggests that the Eleios commemorated in SEG 48. 83 was Kimon’s son, but Oulios is supported by IG ii² 1388. 81f., etc.). The genealogy also implicitly gave Kimon a link with the Salaminioi. Sourvinou-Inwood 1979, 64 discusses possible connections between the Pherekydes genealogy and the myth and iconography of Theseus. Pherekydes F 60, in which Phereboia bears Ajax to Telamon and subsequently marries Theseus, may show the same tendency to reduce Ajax’s prestige as the Marathon monument at Delphi (n. 73). There was of course much poetic genealogizing in the 6th and 5th c. (cf. Kowalzig 2007).

power, must therefore be seen against a background of suspicion of the family as semi-barbarian.

A less extreme example of the use of *genos* affiliation in this period is provided by Lykomedes of Phlya and Themistokles of Phrearrhioi, both of the Lykomidai. Lykomedes was the first Athenian to capture the stern ornament of a Persian ship at the battle of Artemision; he dedicated it to Apollo Daphnephoros in the *genos* sanctuary at Phlya (*APF* 9238). Themistokles (*APF* 6669 V), responsible for victory at Salamis and for the policy of building a fleet to protect Athens from Persian attack, countered by rebuilding the *genos* *telestêrion*, its ‘mystery house’, which had been damaged by the Persians. But he did not restrict his monuments to the *genos* context. He also built a shrine in the city deme Melite, where he lived, to Artemis Giver-of-Good-Counsel (*Aristoboulê*; doubted by Amandry 1967), and perhaps dedicated land in Piraeus to Athena of the Defences ([He?]-rkane, possibly a reference to wooden walls; *IG* ii² 1035, *SEG* 26. 121/61. 128, Culley 1975). His house in Melite was still pointed out in the time of Demosthenes (23. 207). The Artemis sanctuary was the property of the deme by the 330s, when it was restored by the rich demesman Neoptolemos (*APF* 10652; ch. 29 n. 5); but it seems to have gone out of use fairly soon after its construction, presumably as a result of Themistokles’ exile, so he may originally have appointed a member of his own family (a daughter?) as priest or priestess. (Ogden’s attempt, 1996, 54–8, to rescue the tradition that his mother was a hetaira by suggesting that the Lykomidai nevertheless accepted him is implausible and unnecessary.)

It has been suggested that the story of Theseus’ struggles against Menestheus (the Athenian leader at Troy; Carlier 2005, 128) and against Lykomedes king of Skyros, who supposedly killed him, alluded to Themistokles’ rivalry with Lykomedes of Phlya and Menestheus. However, the name Lykomedes was also in use in the classical period in the family of Lykourgos of the Eteoboutadai (Table 4.6), and Kimon’s links with Theseus are much stronger than those of Themistokles.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Connor 1972 (cf. *APF* 6669 V); Plut. *Kim.* 8. 5–7. The Theseus–Menestheus story may have gone through several reinterpretations before reaching the version of Plut. *Thes.* 32–5; the name Lykomedes for the king of Skyros is more securely linked to Kimon’s expedition than the other details. It therefore seems equally possible that the name was intended to suggest the hostility of Themistokles–Lykomedes to the project of Kimon–Theseus. Kimon saw no incongruity in returning Theseus’ bones to Athens shortly after presenting the capture of Eion, on the Herms, as the deed of a second Menestheus; cf. the collaboration of Theseus and Menesthes (DS of Skiros) in *FGH* 328 F 111, a story about Theseus’ pilots which seems to be influenced by Athenian interest in Kerkyra in the 430s (Ampolo and Manfredini 1988). Stories of hostility between Theseus and Menestheus depend on (a) chronological developments which raised the question why the Athenian forces at Troy were not commanded by a son of Theseus, and (b) reactions to the radical democracy of the late 5th c. (Cantarelli 1974, though I do not think we need posit a speech composed by Antiphon for Menestheus). For the (later?) connection of the Lykomidai with Lykos son of Pandion see Paus. 4. 1–2 with Kearns 1989, 71 n. 36; Graf 2003, 242–3; Deshours 2006, 216–17.

Kimon was hampered in the 480s by his youth—though he may already have been a target for ostracism—and by the fine imposed on his father. He seems to have responded by associating himself with two other families under suspicion at this time, the Alkmaionidai, accused of conspiracy with the Persians at Marathon, and that of Kallias of Alopeke. The story that Kallias wore the priestly robes of his office as Torchbearer on the battlefield may be an insinuation that he hoped to pass as Persian; it was also said that he had become rich by discovering Persian treasure hidden in a pit.⁶⁷

Kimon's marriage to the Alkmeonid Isodike and his sister Elpinike's marriage to Kallias (ch. 4 n. 38) probably helped him to pay off the fine imposed on Miltiades, and the story that he led a group of rich young horsemen up to the Akropolis before Salamis to dedicate their bridles to Athena, with the promise to serve in the fleet instead of on horseback until Persia was defeated (Plutarch *Kimon* 5), may well be true: he had a flair for symbolic gestures. When fighting on land resumed, in the campaigns to clear Persian garrisons from the coasts of the Aegean, he rapidly made a name for himself as a commander; his victory at Eion was commemorated by the dedication of three grinning ithyphallic Herms in the Agora, with an epigram comparing this Athenian exploit to those of Theseus' successor Menestheus at Troy.⁶⁸ In 476, backed by an oracle commanding the Athenians to recover the bones of Theseus, he cleared the island of Skyros of pirates and returned with bones of heroic proportions, which were enshrined in a new sanctuary, probably in the Agora. (Makres 2014*a* suggests that *IG* i³ 82 deals with the Theseia.)

Kimon's use of the Theseus myth seems to have extended to cooperation with two genê, the Phytalidai of his deme Lakiadai and the Salaminioi. The Phytalidai worshipped Demeter, Kore, and Zeus Meilichios; whether they also had altars of Athena and Poseidon in the fifth century is more doubtful (above, n. 33). Their genos sanctuary was near the place where the Sacred Way to Eleusis crossed the river Kephisos, and the altar of Zeus Meilichios was on the Eleusinian side of the river. They claimed that Demeter had taught their eponymous ancestor Phytalos (Planter) to cultivate figs. They also claimed (perhaps with Kimon's encouragement) that they had purified Theseus, when he arrived at the borders of Attika, from the pollution incurred by his slaughter of criminals along the road from Troizen to Attika. They were put in charge of a cult supported by offerings from

⁶⁷ Plut. *Aristides* 5. 7–8; Schol. Ar. *Clouds* 64 Dübner 1877. On the relation between priestly robes, oriental dress, and theatrical costume see M. C. Miller 1989.

⁶⁸ Plut. *Kim.* 7, Aischines 3. 183–5; Jacoby 1945; Clairmont 1983, 149–54 with pl. 1; R. G. Osborne 1985*c*. The Herms are probably represented on the Pan Painter's pelike in the Louvre (C 10793, BArch 206335); note the similar use of sexual imagery (in my view a democratic appeal to common masculinity, not, as suggested by Clairmont, a reminiscence of aristocracy) on the Eurymedon oinochoe, BArch 1107. Cf. Humphreys 1999; M. C. Miller 2010*b*.

families who claimed descent from the fourteen youths and maidens rescued by Theseus from the Minotaur. The number was canonical, appearing already, as we have seen, on the François vase; the names do not seem to have been firmly fixed. Here was a new type of *genos* cult, no longer connected to the admission procedure of the *phratries*; collectors of the tax would not always enquire too closely into the pedigrees of those who volunteered to pay it.⁶⁹

This support for the *Phythalidai* and their cult seems to have been one of Kimon's ways of gaining popularity in his deme. With the *Salaminioi* he had, as far as we know, no such links. But their *genos* ritual, the *Oschophoria*, like the cults of the *Phythalidai* in their position on the ritual frontier between Attika and Eleusis (ch. 18 n. 68), had elements that fitted it for incorporation into the Theseus legend. We do not know, indeed, in either case whether the claims came in the first place from the *genos* or from Kimon himself; but his repatriation of Theseus' bones provided an occasion for ritual elaboration of an already popular set of stories.

At the *Oschophoria* two youths dressed as girls, carrying bunches of dried grapes (*óschoi*), after a supper in the sanctuary of Athena Skiras at Phaleron supplied by women of the *genos* (the *Deipnophoroi*), processed towards Athens in the black cloaks associated with *epheboi*, accompanied by a crowd shouting mixed cries of grief and rejoicing. It was an honour to be chosen for the role of *óscho-phoros*, and a poet might be commissioned to write a song for the occasion (similar songs were commissioned for the Boiotian *daphnéphoria*, in which a bough of laurel was carried in procession in honour of Apollo; ch. 9 at n. 28).

In my view, this ritual in pre-Kleisthenic times is likely to have been part of the celebration of the *Apatouria* by the *Salaminioi*. Perhaps, instead of joining in the *phratry dorpia* on the first evening of the *Apatouria* (ch. 19 at n. 55)—or in an additional celebration on the day before—the *Salaminioi* supped at Phaleron in their sanctuary, and arrived at Alopeke the next day.

If this suggestion is right, the festival will have lost some of its significance after Kleisthenes' reforms, and was ripe for reinterpretation. On the new explanation, at least in its earlier versions, the procession from Phaleron commemorated Theseus' return with the youths and maidens he had rescued, and the mixed

⁶⁹ *Phythalidai*: Paus. 1. 37. 1–3, Plut. *Thes.* 12, 23; R. Parker 1996, 169, 318. They have left no epigraphic record, though they apparently still existed in Pausanias' day. Schlaifer 1940 suggests that this Theseus tax was still being collected c.342–338 (*Agora XIX* P 26. 479–80). We do not know which Theseus cult it supported; Philochoros knew of 4 sanctuaries (*FGH* 328 F 18 with Jacoby ad loc.; cf. Koumanoudes 1976; Ampolo and Manfredini 1988, 256–7). Garland 1994, 97 rightly points out that Theseus is being categorized as *oikistês* of Athens. The tax may be seen as a compromise between *genos* and parasite systems of funding cult; it does not seem to have generated a lasting association between a particular set of 14 *genê* and Theseus, since the list of his companions in Servius (*Aen.* 6. 21, see below, n. 127) looks like an antiquarian construction.

cries of joy and sorrow were linked to the story that he forgot to hoist a white sail on approaching the Attic coast, and was greeted with the news that his father had killed himself in grief. The date of the festival may have been moved to Pyanopsion 6, two days before the Theseia founded by Kimon, and the procession went all the way to Athens (ch. 19 n. 51).

Once the link with the Theseus story had been made, the way was open for further convergences between myth and ritual, but the early Atthidographers (*FGH* 323a F 14, 325 F 17) are firm on the point that Theseus left Attika to rescue seven young men and seven girls who were already in Crete. It is only Demon (*FGH* 327 F 6), in the fourth century, who interprets the disguise of the Oschophoroi as a ruse, and asserts that Theseus set out with the fourteen victims (two girls being replaced by extra youths in disguise). In this version of the story the suppers at Phaleron precede the start of the expedition. This is not to say that Demon's version was unknown before his time; the painter of the François vase seems to depict the fourteen victims arriving in Crete with Theseus, greeted by Ariadne and her nurse (Hedreen 2011). But perfect consistency between myth and ritual was not required.⁷⁰ The beginning of prose historiography may have given a new authority to historical explanations of ritual, which were also fashionable in drama and choral poetry.

Such explanations derived their plausibility from following pre-existing cultural patterns (ch. 19 n. 59). Pherekydes linked Kimon and Theseus with the Pyanopsia, celebrated on Pyanopsion 7, the day before the Theseia, by claiming

⁷⁰ Oschophoria: *FGH* III B *Suppl.* on 328 F 14–16 (F 17 does not show whether Philochoros sent the 14 to Crete with Theseus or earlier). I do not understand why Calame (1990) refuses to associate the festival with initiation; the code of alimentary symbols he analyses so well seems to fit nicely with the ‘cooking’ of adolescents—except that I suspect the Deipna came at the beginning and not the end of the festival. On the Salaminioi and Alopeke see ch. 19 nn. 174, 183. Rutherford and Irvine 1988 do not prove that there was a race at the Oschophoria; *ôschophorika* and *daphnêphorika* may well have seemed to editors to resemble *epinikia* because all 3 types of song were written for processions honouring young men and boys, and *daphnêphorika* certainly honoured boys chosen for a leading role in a ritual procession. The Salaminioi inscription *Agora* XIX L 4a (line 61) refers to a race (*hamillos*), but it might have been part of a *genos* festival. R. Parker 2005a, 211–17, accepts that there was a race at the Oschophoria, but it is very difficult to see when it would have taken place, and (as he admits) there is no reference in our sources elsewhere to a race at the Oschophoria between competitors drawn from the whole citizen body. Aristodemos (*FGH* 383 F 9; c. 150–30, working in Ptolemaic Egypt) and a scholion to Nicander (*Alex.* 109) evidently imagine a tribal relay race, the ‘baton’ being a bunch of grapes, but this may well be mere guesswork (cf. ch. 19 n. 53). The date Pyanopsion 6 is not certain (Mikalson 1975; R. Parker 1996, 315–16). It is conceivable that the Salaminioi's sacrifice in (?) late Boedromion to Poseidon Hippiodromios and three heroes is a legacy from a pre-Kimonian Oschophoria, but the rest of the account in N. D. Robertson 1992 is implausible. The fullest correspondence between myth and ritual is presented by Plut. *Thes.* 23; it is not certain whether his source is Demon (so Jacoby *ad FGH* 327 F 6) or a later writer. Lykourgos (*FGH* 401 C F 1 = Conomis 1961, 1970, F XIV) does not associate Theseus with the Pyanopsia and *eiresiônê*. On the François vase see above at n. 51; on the Theseia, Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 136–9; R. Parker 2005a, 483–4.

that Theseus had made a vow to Apollo Oulios and Artemis Oulia before setting off on his task (*FGH* 3 F 149). The story of Theseus' voyage to Crete—the exploit of an ephebos—fitted into a complex of festivals celebrating the fruit harvest and the period of anxiety and transition preceding the community's acceptance of its annual crop of young men. Additionally—unlike some of the other Theseus stories that had been equally popular earlier—it celebrated Athenian sea power.

It was perhaps at this time that the Salaminioi were granted contributions from public funds towards the cost of celebrating the Oschophoria, which for this reason does not figure largely in the fourth-century *genos* agreements about the apportionment of cult expenses.⁷¹ Kimon's only ongoing association with the festival, as far as we can see, is that it continued to remind the Athenians of Theseus and so of his recovery of Theseus' bones. He seems to have had no interest in developing a permanent personal involvement in any one cult; after each successful act of symbolic innovation, he moves on to a new enterprise.

In this context it seems less surprising that he apparently made no attempt to exploit *genos* connections with Philaidai and Brauron. The *genos* pedigree published by Pherekydes makes no reference to Brauron, highlighting instead the archonship of Hippokleides in the year when the Panathenaia were instituted and claiming connections with earlier office-holders (R. Thomas 1989). The penteteric *theôria* to Brauron must have existed before the Peloponnesian War (Aristophanes, *Peace* 874), but only the story that the Pelasgians sailed for Lemnos from Brauron with captured Athenian women links the sanctuary to the family of Miltiades. There is no association between the Brauroneion on the Akropolis and the Kimonian wall (R. F. Rhodes and Dobbins 1979), and there is no evidence of a preclassical building on the Brauroneion site.⁷²

⁷¹ *Agora* XIX L 4a; cf. Schlaifer 1940. R. Parker 1996, 308–16, does not discuss this question. The Salaminioi also got a subsidy for their sacrifice to Herakles at Porthmos, 'in the *kyrbeis*', which might suggest a pre-Kleisthenic grant, possibly associated with the development of mining in SE Attika. (The suggestion of Cromey, 1979, 137, that Kleisthenes or another Alkmeonid married into the Salaminioi has no basis.)

⁷² Since there is little evidence to date the Brauroneion on the Akropolis (Goette 2001, 9 attributes it to the Peisistratids, but note Boersma 2000, 52–4), and the excavations at Brauron have not been fully published, the history of this cult is highly problematic, and there is a danger of circular argument, buildings being attributed to Kimon's period because of his *genos*. In reaction, *APF* 8429 XVI went so far as to suggest that the deme area around Brauron was named Philaidai to stress the ties between the Philaidai and Peisistratos; it would be less adventurous to suggest that traditions of Peisistratid ties with this area discouraged Miltiades and Kimon from paying attention to it (cf. Phot. s.v. *Brauronia*, Theodorides 1982; Peppa-Delmousou 1988a, 1988b; ch. 24 n. 100. I do not think Ar.'s use of *theôria* can be pressed as evidence of a *theoria* from Brauron to Delos). The 4th c. dedication to Artemis Brauronia of the wife of Oulios' son (*IG* ii² 1388. 81–2, 1400. 66, 1447. 16, 1451. 16) mentions Kimon but not the *genos*. Bourriot 1976 doubts the existence of the *genos*, but D. L. 10. 1, on Epikouros, seems to provide decisive evidence.

On the other hand, Philaios probably appeared on the Pheidon monument at Delphi commemorating Marathon, replacing either his father Ajax or Oineus, eponym of Kimon's tribe. Miltiades was prominently represented, so Kimon presumably had a hand in the design. Nevertheless, though Vidal-Naquet (1967) is right in noting that at Delphi, outside Attika, Kimon could experiment with the system of tribal heroes in a way that would hardly have been possible at home, we must also recognize that in the Delphian setting his choices must be related to a panhellenic code of signification rather than a local one. Moreover, the monument was, as the representation of the ten heroes showed, Athenian and not personal. The replacement of Hippothoon and Oineus may have been justified partly by the argument that their names meant nothing outside Attika. A panhellenic reading of the monument might indeed suggest some reconciliation of the views of Kimon and his opponents, perhaps at the point when he returned from ostracism. Kodros, on this view, would represent Athenian ties with Messenia—in 459 Athens had facilitated the resettlement of Messenian rebels at Naupaktos on the Korinthian gulf—and hostility to Dorians. Theseus, replacing Oineus, would represent Athenian sea power and the special relationship of Theseus with Kimon and his deme (Pausanias 10. 10. 1).⁷³

Such a reading can at least remind us that by 460 Athens was openly at war with the Peloponnesian league, and the favourable climate for elaboration of mythical genealogies provided by the afterglow of cooperation in the Persian wars was clouding over. Kimon's younger rivals had less interest in references to the mythical past, and gennetai who succeeded in the politics of the post-Ephialtic era had to do so on their merits. The claim that Ephialtes' reforms of 461 deprived the Areiopagos only of additional functions it had acquired over the centuries, while leaving it its original functions, represented a new attitude to the past, though one for which Kleisthenes' decision not to interfere with phratries and genê had paved the way.

The leading family of the Lykomidai in Phlya, conspicuous at Artemision, continued to produce office-holders through the fifth century and into the early years of the fourth (*APF* 9238). Archestratos son of Lykomedes lived up to the hopes expressed in his name by serving as general in 433/2, and may have been one of the treasurers of Athena in 429/8; the Lykomedes killed in action *c.*424

⁷³ The MS text has Phileus; Philaios is Curtius' emendation. Vidal-Naquet (1967) thinks that Kodros replaced Hippothoon, Theseus Ajax, and Philaios Oineus. Alan Griffiths' suggestion (Kearns 1989, 81–2) that the tribes were renamed after Salamis seems to me to raise more problems than it solves (why Philaios, if this is the correct reading, in 507?). N. D. Robertson (1988) points out that Kodros' defeat of a Dorian invasion from Megara, relevant *c.*510, would acquire new resonance in 460 (though he does not appear on vases until *c.*430, Shapiro 1986*a*). Vatin 1991 claimed to have found the base of the monument, with many superimposed inscriptions, but has not persuaded epigraphists. See also Amandry 1998; Stewart 2008, 610 (date after *c.*450).

may have been his eldest son. Chaireas, who was sent by the Athenian fleet from Samos as envoy to Athens on the sacred trireme *Paralos* in 412/11, and served as general in 410, may be Archedestratos' brother. Kleomedes son of Lykomedes of Phlya, general at Melos in 418/7/6, should be a third brother; Diomedes of Phlya, treasurer in 398/7, may be the son of Chaireas or of Kleomedes. However, despite weathering the oligarchic conflicts of the late fifth century successfully, helped perhaps by the reference in Herodotus' history (8. 11. 2) to Lykomedes' actions at Artemision, which placed them among the new nobility of Athens' recent history as well as the old Eupatrid gentry, they seem to have relapsed into purely local activity in the fourth century, although a member of the Phlya branch of the *genos* evidently married Demosthenes' cousin (MZD) Hippokleia, daughter of Demochares of Leukonoion.⁷⁴

Kallias II of the Eleusinian Kerykes (*APF* 7826), linked to Kimon by his marriage to the latter's sister Elpinike, and later to Perikles (his son Hipponikos married Perikles' ex-wife: ch. 14 at nn. 17, 22), played an active part in fifth-century politics, especially as ambassador to both Sparta and Persia, a role for which he was fitted both by the traditional responsibilities of the Kerykes and by his exceptional wealth. He may also have served as general (Badian 1993, 193 n. 33), and if he paid for the construction of the 'Kallion' court was using his wealth in support of one of the major innovations of the new radical democracy. Hipponikos II served as secretary to the Council in 444/3 and as general in 426/5; *pace* Clinton 1974, he must have inherited his father's office as Torchbearer, since his irresponsible and scandal-prone son Kallias III can hardly have acquired it except by hereditary charisma. (*Pace* Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 333–5, there is no evidence that he was the red-haired Hipponikos of Kratinos and Eupolis.)

Two inscriptions of *c.*460, *IEleus* 13, 19 (*IG* i³ 5, 6), provide evidence of further developments in the relation between the state and Eleusinian cult. The former text prescribes sacrifices to be made by the Eleusinian *hieropoioi*, who were probably appointed by the state, perhaps in association with the Eleusinia, a competitive festival.⁷⁵ *IG* i³ 6 (*IEleus* 19) seems to have provided explicit state

⁷⁴ Hippokleia: n. 103. For further possible identifications, based on the name Archedestratos alone, see *APF*. Chaireas: *HCTV* 266, on Thuc. 8. 74. 1. *APF* suggests that the Lykomedes of Kekropis killed in action *c.*424 was a younger son of Lykomedes I, and Kleomedes the son of this Lykomedes II, but it does not seem to me unlikely that a younger brother of Archedestratos (who may have been still alive in 424/3) was elected to a generalship after the latter's death (cf. Eukrates brother of Nikias, ch. 16 s. 'Aigeis').

⁷⁵ The interpretation of *IEleus* 13 is very controversial; the best discussion is now N. D. Robertson 1990, 69. To the bibliography in *IG* i³ 5 and *IEleus* add Clinton 1988*a*; Brumfield 1981 (criticizing R. M. Simms 1975); Ostwald 1986, 140; Raubitschek and Sakurai 1987; J. K. Davies 1988 (perhaps too much emphasis on state control). The correspondence between the list of sacrifices here and in *SEG* 52. 48 is not particularly close, and it is rash to identify the two lists and attribute both to the Kerykes (Clinton 1979, *IEleus* comm.).

backing for settlement of disputes between the sanctuary and citizens of states other than Athens, and for the embassies of the Eleusinian *spondophoroi* (truce bearers; side B); it confirmed the right of Eumolpidai, Kerykes, the priestess of Demeter, and the *hier[opoioi]* or *hier[ophantidai]* (*IEleus* comm.) to collect fees from initiates (C 6–26), but may have placed some limit on the number of initiates each gennetes could present at a single festival, and forbade gennetai to waive initiation fees, except in the case of the *pais aph' hestias*, representative of the city (C 36–30).

It would probably be a mistake to imagine that the grandees of Eleusis resented these measures. The story that Triptolemos had received the knowledge of agriculture from Demeter and had travelled all over the world to transmit it, already represented on sixth-century vases (Hayashi 1992; *LIMC* s.v.), heightened the reputation of Eleusis as well as contributing to Athens' claims as a centre of civilization. The genê needed the backing of the state to enforce the inviolability of their heralds and of visitors to the sanctuary; indeed, they had every reason, in the years of the first Peloponnesian War and the new court system, to seek clarification and confirmation of their relation with the city.⁷⁶

Possibly it was in part the restatement of the privileges of the Eleusinian genê that prompted one of the cult genê of the Akropolis, the Praxiergidai, to seek reconfirmation of its own privileges. The appearance of a Praxiergos as archon in 471/0⁷⁷ may be further evidence of political ambitions in this genos in the Kimonian era. The question had been referred to Delphi, which seems to suggest that there had been some dispute that Athenian courts were unable to handle, either between the Praxiergidai and another genos or between the Praxiergidai and Athenian officials: possibly it was the right of the Praxiergidai to close the Akropolis for their annual cleaning festival, the Plynteria, that was the cause of

⁷⁶ Courts: Humphreys 1983*b*. Some special arrangements are made for (Athenian?) orphans: can these be associated with the introduction of the state burial of war dead? The ban on waiving fees is significant; the Mysteries were not to be used to create collective or individual relations of patronage. Athens was to exercise some control over Eleusinian finances; further controls were introduced in the early 440s (*IG* i³ 32 = *IEleus* 30; Clinton (comm.) following Mattingly 1974, dates this text c.432/1), perhaps on the pretext of building operations, with the appointment of an annual board of *epistatai*. The existence of this board, and the sanctity of the site, which safeguarded it from Spartan attack, will account for singularities in the relationship of Eleusis to the Treasurers of the Other Gods (Linders 1975).

⁷⁷ There is also a Demotion, in 470/69; Kleisthenes' reforms may have encouraged a fashion for re-using the names of group eponyms (but note also Demotion of Lamptrai, *IG* ii³ 4. 54. 39, cf. Xen. *Hell.* 7. 4. 4; Demotion of Phegous, *IG* ii² 7642; Demotion of Acharnai, *PA* 3649; Demotion of Prospalta, *Agora* XV 62. 121). The change in the method of appointing archons dated by *A.P.* (22. 5) in 487 probably did not make a great difference; the figure 500 for the list of candidates from whom archons were selected by lot must be wrong (Badian 1971, P. J. Rhodes 1981*a* ad loc.; ch. 21 nn. 51–2). The office of general was becoming more important, especially since there were no bars to re-election, yet on the other hand only a fairly small and elite group would have had the confidence to stand for positions that still carried significant public responsibilities, especially in the judicial sphere (Humphreys 1983*b*).

contention. Delphi sent back an oracle favourable to the Praxiergidai, which was accepted by the Assembly, and the Praxiergidai made a further request that the Assembly's decision should be inscribed on stone and set up on the Akropolis. The resulting inscription (*IG* i³ 7, *SEG* 54. 38) is explicitly stated to be a record of the 'ancestral rights' (*patria*) of the Praxiergidai.⁷⁸

Echoes of this dispute, or evidence that discussion of 'ancestral rights' in the sphere of cult became a frequent phenomenon in the fifth century, may be preserved in a story told by Plutarch (*Moralia* 534c) as an example of the tactful use of a joke to reject an unwelcome request. Lysimache, priestess of Athena Polias from c.440–380, is said to have declined to pour a libation for woodcutters with the excuse, 'I fear it may become *patrion* if I do.'

The Eteoboutadai, secure in their claims on Athens' two major priesthoods, could afford to look down on the anxieties of lesser genê. Nevertheless, they did not play a major role in Athenian politics in the fifth century. Lysimache herself no doubt became a prominent figure through her exceptionally long tenure of office of priestess—she served for 64 years and lived to be 80 or 90—and was probably the model for Aristophanes' Lysistrata, but her kin appear in the record only in the office of her brother Lysikles as secretary of the treasurers of Athena in 416/5. The Boutadai branch of the genos, which appointed the priest of Poseidon Erechtheus, may have produced the Lykourgos (II) who served as general in 476/5, but must have suffered from competition with Kimon, who belonged to the same tribe; the claim made at the end of the fourth century that Lykourgos II's son Lykomedes was 'buried in the Kerameikos' ([Plutarch] *Moralia* 843e), if not based on *SEMA* 174 (Table 4.6), may only mean that he died on military service. Lykourgos III was known only for his activities as priest and, as we shall see, attracted some gibes from comic poets, though he was sufficiently wealthy and free from oligarchic sympathies to be killed by the oligarchic *junta* in 404/3.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ *LS* 15; D. M. Lewis 1954, 17–21 (with a different interpretation of the reference to an earlier decree); R. Parker 1996, 307–8; Lambert 1999*a*. On the Plynteria see Burkert 1970*a*; Mikalson 1975, 163–4; N. D. Robertson 1983*a*; Brulé 1987; R. Parker 2005*a*, 478–9; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011. Timotheos II of Rhamnous, nephew (BS) of Iphikrates, made a dedication with members of the Praxiergidai c.350 (Jameson 2000, *SEG* 49. 188); but he was not necessarily a gennetes himself, and the gennetai whose names survive come from Alopeke, Agryle, and Melite. On possible connections between the Praxiergidai and the Salaminioi see Lambert 1999*a*; ch. 19 n. 174. The Praxiergidai seem to have been struggling in the middle of the 3rd c. (archon Alkibiades), when the priestess of Athena Polias gave them 100 dr. for their traditional sacrifice from her private estate (*IG* ii³ 1026), but were still able to pass an honorary decree for the priestess of Athena Polias in the 3rd c. CE (ii² 3678). Close association between this genos and the Eteoboutadai's priestess is also implied by Euripides' choice of the name Praxithea for the wife of Erechtheus, who is to be the first priestess, in his *Erechtheus*. On the gennetai who escort the Palladion to the sea and back (not Praxiergidai?), see above, n. 30.

⁷⁹ *APF* 4549, 9251; D. M. Lewis 1955, 1–12; Georgoudi 2009. Both *APF* and Develin (*AO*) doubt whether Lykourgos II and Kimon, members of the same tribe, could have served together as generals in

The leading families of the Eumolpidai seems to have maintained a traditionalist stance. A Lakrateides is said to have been one of Perikles' accusers (with a Drakontides, perhaps the father of the priestess Lysimache) in 430; if this is not a claim made later, when Lakrateides III of (?) Paiania was holding the office of hierophant, he will be identical with the Lakrateides whose name is used by Aristophanes in the *Acharnians* (220; 425 BCE) to typify the older generation; he will have represented defence of traditional beliefs against the new scientific ideas of Perikles' crony Anaxagoras. The speaker of Lysias 6, accusing Andokides IV on behalf of the Eumolpidai in 399, refers to the service of his great-grandfather (FFF) as hierophant and the role played by his FF Diokles in a trial of Megarians for impiety, perhaps in the 430s.⁸⁰

The only two possible instances of the use of *genos* traditions in foreign relations after the death of Kimon in 450 are problematic. Our text of Thucydides 1. 51. 4 names an Andokides as general on the second Athenian expedition to Kerkyra (Corfu) in 433/2. This would be Andokides III son of Leogoras I of Kydathenaion, grandfather of the orator Andokides IV; a somewhat garbled quotation from Hellanikos (*FGH* 323a F 24) adds that he was chosen because of his ancestral ties with the Ionian islands, being descended from Hermes through Odysseus and Telemachos. Documentary sources show that the Thucydides reading is a mistake; the general in question was Drakontides of Thorai (*IG* i³ 364. 20–1; *APF* 4551). But the Hellanikos passage seems to provide respectable evidence that Athens sent someone on this expedition whose pedigree provided a basis for claiming

476/5. No source states explicitly that Lykourgos III held the *genos* priesthood, but everything we hear about him seems to imply it; he was certainly a conspicuous figure (below, n. 87). *APF* suggested that Aristodemos of Bate, who denounced him to the Thirty, was a *genos* rival. Two horoi copied in the Roman period from texts in 5th c. Attic script marked land belonging to Athena controlled by the Eteoboutadai (*Agora* XIX H 23–4; on *guês* see Walbank 1983, Part II n. 5. A 5th c. text would perhaps have said *proshékôn Eteo[boutadais]* rather than *Eteo[boutadôn genêi]*?); this may be our earliest evidence for the use of the name Eteoboutadai. The land may have been re-marked when sacred land was reclaimed from private occupiers in the late 1st c. BCE (*SEG* 26. 121/54. 199/60. 161/61. 128, *IG* ii² 1035; Schmalz 2008); Meritt, however (*Hesp.* 1968, 292–4, nos 35–6, followed by *Agora* XIX) put the texts in the 2nd c. CE. I do not see much reason to assume that the land was planted with sacred olives; these seem to have been widely distributed (cf. Lys. 7), and represent a method of distributing cult costs among landowners quite divergent from the *genos* system. Epiteles and Oinochares sons of Soinautes of Pergase, who made a dedication to Poseidon Erechtheus together c.450 (*IG* i³ 873, cf. 1184; Epiteles is perhaps the general of 448/7, *IG* i³ 943, M/L 48) may be Eteoboutadai, but since Pergase was in the tribe Erechtheis they may alternatively be tribesmen showing a particular devotion to their tribal eponym. Their descendant Epiteles son of Soinomos of Pergase, perhaps a fellow *gennêtês* of Lykourgos, was one of the *epimelêtai* of the Amphiaraiia in 329/8 (*IG* ii³ 355), *naopoios* at Delphi over the period 328–3, and *proxenos* in 327/6 (*CID* II 32. 95, 97, 102, 119; p. 209). Cf. chs. 12 n. 72; 23 n. 31.

⁸⁰ Plut. *Per.* 35 (Herakl. Pont. F 47 Wehrli 1953, 27 Schütrumpf 2008); cf. *HCT* II 184–9, M. H. Hansen 1975, 71–3 no. 6. A coalition of Lakrateides, Drakontides, and Thoukydides son of Melesias (*HCT*, 189) would certainly be an impressive array of conservative forces. However, *HCT*'s interpretation of Kratinos' *Ploutoi* (F 171 *PCG* 4) is very problematic, and there are other men named Drakontides in Thorai (*APF* 4551) and Aphidnai. Idomeneus named Kleon as an accuser (Plut. *ibid.*), but this may have been a guess.

long-standing ties with Kerkyra. The genos that made these claims seems to have been the Kephallidai. According to Aristotle's *Constitution of the Ithakans* (F 462 V. Rose 1870) their ancestor Kephalos, expelled from Attika for homicide, had settled in Kephallenia. Unable to sire children, he consulted the Delphic oracle and was told to have intercourse with the first creature he met on his return home; this turned out to be a she-bear, and the result of their union was Odysseus' grandfather (FF) Arkeisios, the bear-man. The connection with Hermes may have been made by Hellanikos through Odysseus' MF Autolykos, who also appears in Pherekydes (FGH 3 F 120) as Kephalos' cousin (FZS), since Philonis, daughter of Kephalos' father Deioneus, is said to have borne Autolykos to Hermes. Since Andokides IV never refers to the Kephallidai, and his claim to belong to a line (*oikia*) of exceptional antiquity (1. 147) suggests a more distinguished genos, it is perhaps more likely that Drakontides was the Kephallid; the hesitation in sources on this episode between Kydathenaion and Thorai as Andokides' deme, and the location of Thorai in south-east Attika, where Kephalos was eponym of the deme Kephale and was worshipped at Thorikos, rather favour this view. It is perhaps too far-fetched to suggest that the name Drakontides may have appealed to a Kephallid family because the myth of Kephalos was one of the famous stories about the mythical history of homicide trials in Athens; we might at least conclude from the appearance of the same name in the priestly branch of the Eteoboutadai in Bate (APF 4549), that through reference to Drakon the name carried connotations of ancient nobility.⁸¹

A second possible case of the manipulation of genos traditions in foreign relations is even more problematic. Two inscriptions of c.400 on Delos mark the shrines of a Tritopator (anonymous ancestor) and of the Nymphs of the Pyrrhakidai. In the late second century BCE the Pyrrhakidai re-emerge as an Athenian genos, playing a prominent role in sacred embassies to Delphi (below, n. 145). Their ancestor Pyrrhakos is said to have been a contemporary of Erysichthon, another genos eponym with Delian connections (Hesychius s.v. *Pyrrhakos*). However, some of the Pyrrhakidai of the second century have un-Attic names; one would be tempted to dismiss them as a Delian genos which somehow established itself in Athens after 166, were it not for the addition to the Tritopator inscription of the word *Aigiliôn*, which seems to imply that it was set up by a

⁸¹ APF 828, 4551. Statements that Andokides was a Keryx, while perhaps based partly on inferences from the reference to his Hermes *patrôios* in Lys. 6. 11 (i.e. the Herm outside his family house), may also have derived from *muôn* in Andok. 1. 132. Wilamowitz' arguments against membership of the Kerykes (1893 II, 74 n. 5) still seem strong; however, although *IEleus* II shows that there was a preliminary initiation that any member of the Eumolpidai or Kerykes could perform, it still seems likely that *muein* could be used more loosely to denote the sponsoring of a non-Athenian, as in [Dem.] 59. 21, referring to Lysias. Andokides' descent from Telemachos and Nausikaa (hence Odysseus and Autolykos): Suda s.v. *Andokides*, Plut. *Alk.* 21. Philonis, FGH 3 F 120 (she gets a *trapeza* at Thorikos, IG i³ 256 bis/SEG 33. 147. 44). The reference to Hermes in [Plut.] *Mor.* 834b may be due to contamination with the tradition that Andokides was a Keryx. Can we believe that Thuc. picked up a mistake from Hellanikos? In any case the link between Kephalos and Kephallenia should be a product of Athenian interests in the 5th c. It was perhaps only in this period that the Kephallidai, whose cultic responsibilities centred on the temple of Apollo on Mt Aigaleos, probably at modern Dafni (Paus. 1. 37. 6–7; Oikonomides 1959, Travlos 1988, 177–9), became interested in linking themselves with the hero of SE Attika. There is no evidence that a branch of the genos had ever been responsible for the sacrifices to Kephalos and Prokris at Thorikos (SEG 33. 147; cf. Kearns 1989, s.v. Kephalos; Brancaccio 2012).

branch of the Pyrrhakidai that had connections with the attic deme Aigilia, possibly through intermarriage with an Athenian resident of Delos. There was state-owned land in Delos in the second century associated by name with the Pyrrhakidai, and we do not hear of Attic genê acquiring property overseas in any other source.⁸²

Tritopatreis seem to have been anonymous, unidentifiable ancestors; it has been suggested that the circular monument of the Pyrrhakidai, which was used for sacrifices (P. Roussel 1929), was set up in reaction against the Athenian repurification of the island in 426/5, when the graves that had not been disturbed by Peisistratos were opened and their contents reburied on the neighbouring island of Rheneia. An alternative explanation, which would be less problematic chronologically, would be that it marked an overlooked burial discovered later that was given special status to legitimize its survival.

The Athenians too worshipped Tritopatreis. They had a prominent shrine in the Kerameikos, in the angle of the fork between the Sacred Way to Eleusis and the tomb-lined road leading to the Academy, marked by four *horoi* declaring the area sacred and not to be entered (*abaton*); the delimited area contained a low round tomb of fifth-century date, and though one of the horoi (*IG* i³ 1067) is dated 500–480 it seems likely that the enclosure was reinstated, if not created, in the second half of the fifth century (*IG* i³ 1066: 445–10). Concern over the disturbance of earlier graves may have been at work here too (ch. 10 n. 126). The *Tritopatreis energidai*, a horos of whose sanctuary, dated to the beginning of the fourth century, was found in re-use in the Agora (*Agora* XIX H 20), are not a genos group but sinister powers addressed with a placatory epithet; but the Zakyadai, who set up a horos to their Tritopatreis at about the same date (*IG* ii² 2615; no provenance), may be an otherwise unattested genos (or phratry). Sacrifices to Tritopatreis were made in Mounichion by an unidentified group which published its ritual calendar c.470–50 (*IG* i³ 246); in Skirophorion by the Marathonian Tetrapolis (*IG* ii² 1358 = *SEG* 50. 168 col. II 33) and in Mounichion by the deme Erchia (*LS* 18 D 41–6). The Euphronidai to whom a Kal(l)ias dedicated a herm c.500–480 near Trachones (*CEG* I 307, *IG* i³ 1007) may have been similar beings. Phanodemos (*FGH* 325 F 6) claimed that only Athenian women made offerings to the Tritopatreis when they wanted to bear children; their association with fertility and with the winds probably derives from scientological teachings of Orphic

⁸² Interpretation is complicated by the fact that Delos was independent from Athens 405–394. *ID* 66–7; P. Roussel 1929; land, *ID* 1416 B 1. 57–63 (157–5 BCE). Some Delian families moved to Athens and were given citizenship c.165 (Roussel 1916, 18). The known Pyrrhakidai of the 2nd c. (below, n. 145) are Aineias son of Herakleides, Eukles son of Timanax and Timanax son of Eukles of Phlya, and Sosikrates son of Theotimos. Pyrrhakos is a Cycladic name (cf. *BE* 2012, 160); a Delian Pyrrhakos 410/9, V. Chankowski 2008 no. 5 = *ID* 93. 46. Timanax and Timonax (the Delian form) are much commoner in the Aegean than in Attika, though the one Timanax in *PA* (*IG* i² 1065, now dated 4th c., *IG* i³ p. 973; his deme is Peiraia) has been joined by Proxenos son of Timanax on 16 ostraka (Brenne 2001 no. 239; his deme may have been Amphitrope). See *LGPNI*, II. Papazarkadas 2011, Appendix V (criticisms, *BE* 2012, 160, Feyel), argues that the P. were an Attic genos dating back to at least the 5th c., which had ‘special ties’ with Aigilia (no Aigilieis among attested Athenians on Delos in the classical period, V. Chankowski 2008, 525–9; however, she suggests p. 372 that the Pyrrhakidai were an Athenian family with ancestral links to Delos). But it seems also possible that Athenians from Aigilia had joined a Delian group.

type. The element *trito-* in their name was not a literal reference to great-grandfathers but a superlative: they were ancestors of remote and untraceable antiquity (cf. Brulé 1987, 328–9).⁸³

Gené left few other markers on the land in the fifth century, but two horoi of Roman date seem to copy fifth-century inscriptions marking a tract of land (*gués*) as the property of Athena Polias, administered by the Eteoboutadai (above, n. 79). The fragmentary text *IG* i³ 247, dated c.460/50, which may deal with the lease of land (or appointment to a priesthood?) owned by a group called —ntidai (n. 142), might have been set up by the deme Kydantidai, whose territory was not far from Spata, where it was found, or by a *genos* or phratry. Some of the treasures transferred from rural shrines to the Akropolis in the 430s, when war was imminent, and placed under the supervision of the Treasurers of the Other Gods, may have come from *genos* shrines: that of Artemis at Mounichia, whose priests were supposed to descend from Embaros, founder of the cult (*FGH* 323a F 5; Sale 1975; Brulé 1987; R. Parker 1996, 319–20; Viscardi 2014); of Apollo Zoster and (?)Athena Zosteria; of Athena ‘by the Palladion’, or ‘by the Palladion at Derioneia’, if she had any association with the cult of Zeus by the Palladion in which the Gephyraioi and Bouzyges were involved in the late first century BCE (n. 30); perhaps that of Ion ‘from Pleistieis’, unattested elsewhere. The parasitai of Athena Pallenis and Herakles at Kynosarges also deposited their treasures at this time, as did a number of better-known sanctuaries for which no *genos* association is attested (*IG* i³ 52, 369, 383; Linders 1975).

Many of the leading families of Periklean Athens either had no *genos* affiliation or did not care to advertise it. Perikles’ family could claim an ancestor, Ariphron, in the list of the ten-year archons who succeeded the kings and life archons, but this may well mean only that the family was already prominent when the list was produced. Indeed, the list of ten-year archons may be later than the list of annual *eponymoi* from 683/2, perhaps only created by Kleidemos in the fourth century. Even Perikles’ more conventional rival Thoukydides son of Melesias of Alopeke seems to have been linked to the panhellenic aristocracy only by his father’s fame as a wrestler and trainer of wrestlers, and not by any right to boast of mythical ancestry.⁸⁴ Aristides, also of Alopeke, made his own reputation, as did the pankratiast Sophanes of Dekeleia, though Herodotus’ note on the latter (9. 73–5, cf. 6. 92) may indicate that he belonged to the *oikos* (*genos*) Dekeleieis, whose claim to have helped the Dioskouroi in their search for Helen became relevant when Sparta invaded Attika in the Peloponnesian War (ch. 19 n. 86). Leagros I of Kerameis, general with Sophanes at Drabeskos (Humphreys 1999; forthcoming *b*), belonged to a family prominent as *kaloi* on vase paintings for two generations, perhaps in part because they belonged to the potters’ deme; his son

⁸³ *CEG* 307 and *IG* i³ 1007 suggest that the Euphronides were Nymphs. On Tritopatris see also Bourriot 1976; Kearns 1989; ch. 10 nn. 124–6; n. 45 above. On *tris-* and *tri-* as superlatives, Latte and Erbse 1965, 271. The Kerameikos hieron, constructed between c.445 and 410 (*IG* i³ 1066), probably ceased to be visible at the end of the 4th c. (*AA* 1965, 328). Tritopatris seem more like the *kéres* of the Anthesteria than family or *genos* ancestors (*FGH* 325 F 6, 327 F 2, 328 F 182, 352 F 1). The resemblance in form and use (both contained sacrificial debris) of the Pyrrhakidai monuments to the Tritopator and to the Nymphs may perhaps indicate that Tritopatris are chthonic powers contacted through proximity to graves rather than ancestors buried in them.

⁸⁴ *APF* 7268; Wade-Gery 1932. On his affinal link with the Philaidai see ch. 14 n. 20.

Glaukon II was also elected general at least twice (ch. 16 n. 39). Glaukon married into the Philaidai (*APF* 3027; 8429 VI), and his daughter married the Torchbearer Kallias III of Alopeke. But when the comic poet Plato cited Leagros II, Glaukon's son, as an example of the sons who fail to live up to their great ancestry (*megan genos*), he was alluding only to the reputations of Leagros' father and grandfather. There is no sign that the family belonged to a *genos* in the technical sense.⁸⁵

The family into which Glaukon II married was rich and aristocratic and clearly of some significance in Athenian upper-class social life in the fifth century, but does not present a clear political profile in our sources. Epilykos I, perhaps a distant cousin of Miltiades IV, appears as *kalos* on many vases of the late sixth century; his son Teisandros II was a candidate for ostracism in 443. Teisandros' three daughters married Perikles' son Xanthippos II, Glaukon II of Kerameis, and Leogoras II of Kydathenaion, father of the orator Andokides IV. Their brother Epilykos II served as councillor and secretary of the Council, and as ambassador to Susa, in 424/3, and died on the Sicilian campaign of 415–413. He left two infant daughters, one of whom survived to marriageable age and may have married her cousin (FZS) Andokides.⁸⁶

By the 420s some *genos* rituals were beginning to seem not only archaic but absurd, in comparison with the more obviously rational cults of Athena Hygieia (introduced by Perikles), Zeus Soter and Athena Sotera, or Asklepios (privately imported from Epidauros in 420), with the generous provision of meat at state-funded sacrifices, and with the more colourful torch-races in honour of Pan, Prometheus, Hephaistos, and Bendis. The Unjust Argument of Aristophanes' *Clouds* (422; line 984) characterizes his opponent's nostalgic picture of earlier and better days as 'all that old stuff about cicada-ornaments and the Dipolieia'; there were jokes associating Lykourgos III with Egypt;⁸⁷ the Bouzyges' cursing, which was evidently carried off with a fine dramatic air by the holder of the office c.415, Demostratos, was another source for jokes in comedy; Alkibiades and his

⁸⁵ *APF* 3027; cf. however W. Thompson 1971; Francis and Vickers 1981; Mannack 2014. Plato Com. *PCG* 7 F 65 (c.390); cf. Bourriot 1976.

⁸⁶ *APF* 8429 III–IV; Table 4.2. There were however two other Athenians named Teisandros in the 6th–early 5th c.: the father of Kleisthenes' opponent Isagoras, from a family that worshipped 'the Karian Zeus' but did not have notable ancestors (Hdt. 5. 66. 1), and the son of Staseas, named on an ostrakon in the large Kerameikos deposit (Brenne 2001 no. 253); cf. also *APF* 8410 and perhaps *IG* ii² 4329, *SEG* 16. 168. If any branch of the Philaidai was associated with the construction of the Brauroneion on the Akropolis and the building work at Brauron in the second half of the 5th c., Epilykos' family would have to be considered; but see above, n. 72.

⁸⁷ The explanation that he had helped to introduce the cult of Isis to Athens rests only on the comic poets and on Lykourgos IV's support for it (*IG* ii³ 337). Kratinos says in the *Deliaides* (c.425? *PCG* 4 F 32; cf. Ar. *Birds* 1291–6, Pherekrates *PCG* 7 F 11) that he wore a *kalasiris* (Hdt. 2. 81), and since there is some other evidence for the adoption of exotic robes by priests (n. 67), this may have been the basis for the ridicule. On Philyllios' *Phreôrychoi* see n. 44.

friends parodied the Mysteries. It was a proof of modernity to take risks with the supernatural, mutilating images of Hermes or feasting on offerings left for the underworld goddess Hekate at crossroads and meeting on days of ill-omen (ch. 13 n. 4). Though there may have been political motives for the mutilation of the Herms, awareness of this fashion for playing ‘chicken’ with the gods lay behind both the view that the mutilation was a drunken prank that should not have been taken seriously and the use made of it as an occasion for accusing Alkibiades of the more serious offence of parodying the Mysteries. Alkibiades’ prosecutor was not a member of one of the major Eleusinian genê, but Thettalos son of Kimon, a Philaid but also a representative of the new *nobiles* whose ancestors had distinguished themselves in the Persian wars. Aristophanes’ jokes about the award of dining rights in the Prytaneion to Kleon, after his capture of the Spartan forces on Sphakteria in 424, were perhaps made in the same spirit as Thettalos’ prosecution.⁸⁸ The horizon defining worthiness to hold power in Athens is no longer set, by those who still tried to impose such criteria, by reference to Eupatridhood, but instead by reference to a new heroic age located in the late sixth and early fifth century. As in late republican Rome, two generations of distinction could ennoble a family.

Plato’s dialogues show young gennetai who cared little about their status. When Alkibiades, in a discussion of hereditary ability, claims descent from Zeus through Eurysakes—our only evidence that he belonged to the *genos* Salaminioi—Sokrates, whose father made terracotta statues, counters that he too is descended from Zeus, through Daidalos (Plato *Alkibiades I* 121a). In the *Lysis* (205 c–d), the friends of Lysis II of Aixone tease his admirer Hippothales for writing poems in which he referred to the entertainment of Herakles by an ancestor, in return for which Lysis’ family had been granted a hereditary priesthood of Herakles:

⁸⁸ Rationalization: Humphreys 1986*c*. Bouzyges: Ar. *Lys.* 387–97 (cf. Weill 1966), Eupolis *Démoi* (417 BCE?, Storey 2003, 120; cf. ch. 22 n. 24) F 103, 113 PCG; he is choleric (*cholozygês*) and curse-laden (*alitêrios*) both individually and in performance of his official duties. It seems likely that the Bouzyges Demostratos and his successor Demainetos, general in the Korinthian War (Aisch. 2. 78), were kin; the names turn up in wealthy families in both Kerameis and Paiania (APF 3273, 3276). If they belonged to Kerameis (ch. 27 n. 4), Demostratos may have been archon in 393/2 (Aischines’ reference does not necessarily imply that Demainetos was already Bouzyges at that time); but if Timasitheos I was *dinaitês* in 371 (IG ii³ 4. 24, APF 3273; see Lambert 2004*b* n. 5) his son Demainetos would hardly be old enough for the generalship. The marriage of Demostratos II (?) of Paiania to a priestess of Aglauros (Salaminioi?; on the Euenoridai see n. 108) in the early 3rd c. may be an additional reason for thinking that his family was of gennetic status (IG ii³ 1002; ch. 17, Table 17.1). It has been suggested that Diokles of Halai Aixonides, whose bones were apparently buried at Vari in a RF bell krater of c.430 representing a heroic ploughman, was a member of the Bouzygai (Harvard 60. 345, BArch 214755; cf. R. Parker 2005*a*, 198 n. 24); but since there was a Eumolpid family in the deme (n. 116) the ploughman may be Triptolemos (so ARV² 1115. 30 (19)) rather than Bouzyges. Diotimos son of Diodoros of Halai, Bouzyges in the late 1st c. BCE (SEG 30. 85) was Gephyraios, and is best left out of the discussion (n. 133). Alkibiades’ prosecution: Plut. *Alk.* 22. 4, M. H. Hansen 1975 no. 12.

Ktesippos dismisses such claims to distinction as old wives' tales. Neither Lysis nor Alkibiades needed to boast of mythical ancestors or *genos* affiliation. Lysis' father, grandfather, and other ancestors had won chariot victories at the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games (ch. 11 n. 40); his grandfather Lysis I appears as *kalos* on many vases of the 470s–460s, and his father may have been a lover of Alkibiades. The latter also came from a racing family: a dedication by his FFFF Alkibiades I at Delphi in the last quarter of the sixth century probably commemorated a victory there. His great-grandfather (FFF) Kleinias I had fought conspicuously at Artemision in a privately owned trireme (Herodotus 8. 17); his grandfather Alkibiades II had been ostracized, perhaps c.460, though he had at that time renounced the proxeny of Sparta which had probably been held by the family since at least the middle of the sixth century. Alkibiades III's father Kleinias II possibly proposed the 'tribute decree', if it was passed in 448/7 (*IG* i³ 34), and died at the battle of Koroneia in the following year, leaving his sons in the guardianship of Perikles. This put Alkibiades III in an excellent position to take up a political career, which he did at the earliest possible opportunity.⁸⁹

Genos affiliation therefore was not incompatible with modernism; the ranks of the oligarchs of the late fifth century are likely to have included traditionalist members of old *genê* as well as the young intellectuals who in many cases came from the same background. Euripides evidently felt no incongruity in combining innovative interpretations of myth with references to antiquarian lore. Kritias, as we have seen, may have belonged to the Arynandridai; in any case he came from a Eupatrid family, though the idea that he was a descendant of Kodros and Melanthos may derive only from the tradition (*Timaios* 20e) that Kritias' ancestor Dropides II was a relative (*oikeios*) of Solon, to whom Plutarch (*Solon* 1. 2) attributes this ancestry.⁹⁰ Plato's own right to this descent (Diogenes Laertios 3. 1) is even slimmer, since it may be a loose inference from his relationship to Kritias, his MFBS. The retreat of the Thirty to Eleusis when they could no longer retain control of Athens may indicate that they

⁸⁹ *APF* 600; section II should have laid to rest the idea that Alkibiades belonged to a *genos* called Eupatridai. The description of Chairion as an Athenian Eupatrid, *IG* i³ 1516, is no doubt due to the Eretrian context. On Hellenistic Eupatridai see below, n. 133; R. Parker 1996, 323–4. Lysis, *APF* 9574; tombstone representing him with his son Timokleides, *SEMA* 50 (chs. 11 n. 40, 29 n. 105). Lysis' daughter Isthmonike married Euegoros son of Philoinos of Paiania, possibly proposer of a law on festivals (Dem. 21. 10); Kallias son of Kalliades of Aixone, priest of the Herakleidai in 320/19 (*IG* ii² 1199, see Whitehead 1986a) may also be a member of the *genos* (his tombstone, from Aixone, *IG* ii² 5430; but 5413–14, associated with this family by *APF*, come from Acharnai, and it may be rash to place weight on the common name Kalliades). Current opinion dates *IG* i³ 34 c.425.

⁹⁰ *APF* 8792. N. D. Robertson 1988 suggests that the proverbial phrase *eugenesteros Kodrou* (Zenob. *Prov.* 4. 3) may refer to courage rather than aristocratic birth, but Lucian *Tim.* 23 and the use of *semmoteros* as a synonym in *Anth. Pal.* 9. 63 (Gow and Page 1965, no. 958) tell against this. The Medontidai, supposedly descended from Melanthos and Kodros, were a phratry (ch. 19 n. 153).

hoped to find some sympathy for oligarchy among the dominant families there, as well as a base that would be secure from military attack and had its own sources of revenue.⁹¹

The short-lived but violent oligarchies of the late fifth century left a nasty hangover of suspicions and accusations, despite a formal amnesty (chs. 7, 14 at n. 39, 15 s. 'The Thirty'); one of the least attractive responses was the propensity of men who were not free from suspicion to attack targets more obvious than themselves. Sokrates' accuser Lykon, father of Autolykos of Thorikos, who had been killed by the Thirty, is said by the scholia to Plato's *Apology* (23e) to be Ionian (*Ion*) by *genos*; this seems to mean that he belonged to a *genos* Ionidai, which could well have existed in eastern Attika. Pausanias was shown a tomb of Ion at Potamos, near Thorikos, and there was a deme Ionidai further north, near Gargettos.⁹² Autolykos had been at least loosely connected with the Sokratic circle; he is represented by Xenophon as the guest of honour at a symposium given by Kallias III to celebrate his athletic victory in the pankration in 422. Kallias himself, who had opened his house to sophists when he inherited his father's estate (and office) c.423, if we can believe Plato's *Protagoras*, attacked Andokides in 399 for impiety towards the Eleusinian goddesses. He was claiming the right to speak for the Eleusinian establishment, and if the speech against Andokides attributed to Lysias (6) was indeed written for this trial, was supported by a member of the Eumolpidai, whose great-grandfather had held the office of hierophant. This speaker was called either Meletos or Epichares. If he was a Meletos, he may have been identical with, or related to, (a) the Meletos who negotiated with Sparta on behalf of the Athenian oligarchs (Xenophon *Hellenika* 2. 4. 36), (b) the Meletos condemned in 415 for parodying the Mysteries, or (c) the Meletos who prosecuted Sokrates.⁹³

⁹¹ D. L. does however attribute Kodrid descent to Plato's father Ariston (ch. 24 n. 4). Note the role of Kleokritos, herald of the Mysteries (hence a Keryx), in negotiations between the returned democrats and the oligarchs after the battle of Mounichia (Xen. *Hell.* 2. 4. 20–22; he may be the archon of 413/2 and target of Ar. *Birds* 877 and Eupolis F 120, 136 PCG, but the name is fairly common: cf. IG i³ 1146, 1186, 1458). The oligarchs, however, did not stress cult during their time in power, and hostile sources preferred to stress their humble origins (Lys. 20. 11, Phrynichos) and encouragement of the dregs of society (Lys. 13. 67–8).

⁹² Paus. 1. 31. 2; ch. 24 n. 90. On Ion and the history of the concept 'Ionian' see Wilamowitz 1926, 1–10 (I am not convinced by Sakellariou 1976). The sanctuary of Ion *ek Pleistieíon*, whose funds were managed by the Treasurers of the Other Gods during the Peloponnesian War (Linders 1975, 79–80 n. 36; IG i³ 383. 147–9) has not been located.

⁹³ Wilamowitz 1893 II 74 n. 5; Dover 1968*a*. The name Zakoros in Lys. 6 may be a gloss (Martha 1882, 156). MacDowell (1962, 208–10) suggests that Andokides' prosecutor was the Meletos of Xen. *Hell.* 2. 4. 36, sent as ambassador to Sparta by the Athenian oligarchs in 403, during the process of reconciliation encouraged by Pausanias, with Kephisophon (of Aphidnai? see APF 8410). If so, he is unlikely to be Sokrates' prosecutor Meletos son of Meletos of Pithos, a young man in 399, and the occurrence of the common name Diokles in Pithos (APF 4048; his dedication to Athena c.390–80, CEG II 756, IG ii² 4320) is hardly a strong argument for assigning Lysias' speaker to that deme, though he could be the

Two stories about the responses of Eleusinian officials to the condemnation of Alkibiades would indicate some distaste for the whole affair if they genuinely belong to 415. The priestess of Demeter, Theano daughter of Menon of Agryle, when asked to curse those condemned, said that cursing was not part of her job; the hierophant Theodoros, asked to repeal his curse when Alkibiades returned to Athens, said, 'If he has done nothing wrong, I did not curse him' (Plutarch *Alkibiades* 22, 33; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988c). It seems rather likely, however, that these are *bons mots* invented at a later date, perhaps at the end of the fourth century when Eleusinian officials began to pride themselves on their outspokenness (*parrhêsia*) in confrontations with potentates (n. 140).

The prosecution of Andokides can have done Kallias little good. Kallias' first wife had been a cousin (MZD) of Andokides, and the orator was able to provide the jury with a rich collection of scandalous stories about his opponent. Kallias was believed to have squandered much of his father's fortune on lavish hospitality when he inherited it as an irresponsible young man in his early twenties; Andokides accused him of trying to improve his situation by defrauding the orphan daughters of Epilykos, whose mother and subsequently grandmother he married; he also recruited members of Kallias' *genos*, the Kerykes, to testify that Kallias had at first repudiated his son by this third wife, Chrysilla, when her kin presented him to the *genos* for the *meion* sacrifice, but had later changed his mind and taken an oath that the boy was legitimate, which forced the *genos* to accept him.⁹⁴

It seems possible that Kallias' poor relationship with at least some of his fellow *gennêtai* may have been exacerbated by what appears to have been an unsuccessful attempt by the Kerykes to take over the cult of Asklepios when it was introduced from Epidaurus. The god (possibly first established in Piraeus, but see R. Parker 1996, 175–85) was invited to Athens and, it seems, temporarily housed in the Eleusinion in 420/19. In the following year, however, there was a dispute with the Kerykes about land, and Asklepios moved, possibly into the precinct of the healing hero Amaryn or the house of the poet Sophokles (ch. 12 n. 62). His festival, the Epidauria, remained linked to those of Eleusis, celebrated on the day after the Mysteries (Boedromion 17), and initiates kept vigil in the temple (presumably at Eleusis) during the procession in honour of him (*A.P.* 54. 4), but he acquired his own shrine and sacred precinct in 415–412; responsibility for this was probably divided between a group of *orgeônes*—who perhaps also worshipped

father of Sokrates' accuser. Blumenthal 1973 wished to identify the two accusers. Cf. ch. 13 n. 30. The fact that the FFF of Lysias' speaker was hierophant and his FF Diokles was not does not, of course, imply that the post was not hereditary, since Diokles might have had an elder brother. Cf. the prosecution of Nikomachos in 399 by an oligarch, N. D. Robertson 1990.

⁹⁴ Cf. ch. 19 n. 80. Pace Carawan 2008, it is not clear that this boy ever got full citizenship; he was popularly known as 'Kallias' *nothos*' (Metagenes F 13 K, 14 PCG; ch. 7 case 7). On Kallias' daughter see ch. 27 n. 40.

Sophokles, after his death, under the title Dexion, the Host—and a priest, either descended from the founder of the cult, Telemachos, or appointed annually by the state. Behind the bare chronicle of events recorded on stone in *IG ii² 4960* seems to lie an attempt by the Eleusinian genê to take over the cult, which failed because it became too obvious that costs were attached to Eleusinian hospitality, and because the Kerykes had underestimated the potential of the cult for finding resources elsewhere. Kallias, as Torchbearer, is likely to have been involved in these negotiations and may have been blamed when they failed, being new to the office, and unusually young for his position, at the time.⁹⁵

Kallias retained his position as Torchbearer to the end of his life; he is represented by Xenophon (*Hellenika* 6. 3. 2–6) as ambassador to Sparta in 371, interested only in recalling his own achievements and his family's hereditary ties of proxenia with the Spartans, and was still alive in 367, by which time he must have been in his seventies. The title probably did not pass to his son Hipponikos IV; in 352/1 the Torchbearer was a Hierokleides.⁹⁶

THE FOURTH CENTURY: 400–338

Apart from the attempt by Kallias and one of the Eumolpidai to use genos prestige to cover themselves against possible attacks by attacking Andokides in 400, we hear little of the genê in the early fourth century; any claim that might

⁹⁵ See Aleshire 1989; Clinton 1988*a*, 1993; R. Parker 1996, 175–85; Lamont 2015. The assumption that the priesthood was hereditary in Telemachos' family depends on the very uncertain restoration Thea[ngelos] in *IG ii² 4963* (*SEG* 25. 227/61. 178); this Theangelos would be Telemachos' son, father of Telemachos son of Theangelos of Acharnai, who is known from sources of the Lykourgan period but has no attested connection with the cult of Asklepios (R. G. Osborne 1985*a*, 4–5 is confused). The special priesthood conferred on Demon of Paiania, perhaps in the Lykourgan period (Aleshire 163–4; *IG ii² 4969*, *APF* 3597 III C), does not imply that the office had been continuously in private hands (Schlaifer 1940; on the use of tribal rotation for the priesthood in the 4th c. see Aleshire 1989, 77). On the other hand, *IG ii² 47* shows that in the early 4th c. *epistatai* were cooperating in the Peiraios sanctuary with a priest from an enterprising Eleusinian family, Euthydemos I (cf. ch. 30 n. 87), who was making his own prescriptions about sacrifice (cf. *IG ii² 4962*) and very possibly identifying his own source of revenue (a quarry); this does not look like the behaviour of a priest appointed only for one year. Possibly Euthydemos' father, or a kinsman, had helped Telemachos in his negotiations with Eleusis and had been left in charge of the Peiraios sanctuary when Telemachos moved on to Athens. See ch. 28 n. 69; Walter 1953, Aleshire 9–11, and Connolly 1998, on the role of Sophokles (possibly invented on the basis of his paean, *IG ii² 4510*? cf. the cult functions attributed to Euripides in the *vita* attached to his works, n. 116 below). The dispute with the Kerykes is discussed in Wickkiser 2005; see also Lamont 2015. *IG i³ 1392* may be a 5th c. *horos* of the Kerykes. A suggested reference to them in *i² 318* (c.420) has disappeared in *i³ 392*.

⁹⁶ *IG ii³ 292*, *FGH* 324 F 30, 328 F 155. He may be the Hierokleides mentioned by a descendant in 20/19 BCE, with a Hermotimos, as having held office before the beginning of regular records, and may possibly be affinally related to Thrasyphos son of Hierokleides of Xypete (nn. 99, 139); but such names were probably common in priestly genê (ch. 12 n. 75).

provoke suspicions of oligarchic sympathies was to be avoided. As we have already seen (ch. 19) there were serious problems in Dekeleia, probably chosen as a Spartan base in 413 partly on the strength of local *genos* claims that Dekelos had helped the Dioskouroi when they came to northern Attika in search of Helen. The new source of prestige in Athens was the claim to have escaped from Athens under the rule of the Thirty and ‘brought back the democracy’ from Phyle (R. Thomas 1989).

The Eteoboutadai emerged unscathed, helped no doubt by the prestige of Lysimache I as priestess of Athena Polias and the execution of Lykourgos III, priest of Poseidon Erechtheus (?), by the Thirty; the Bouzyges Demainetos held a command in the Corinthian War, probably in 388 (Aischines 2. 78). A nephew (BS) of Iphikrates, Timotheos II son of Teisias I of Rhamnous, made a dedication to Herakles in the middle of the fourth century with a group of Praxiergidai, but this does not necessarily imply that his family belonged to the *genos*; sources on Iphikrates never refer to it. Nor do we hear of any *genos* affiliation in connection with Konon (II) and Timotheos of Anaphlystos, though the family was thought to be old (Plutarch *Solon* 15. 7, cf. *A.P.* 6. 2), and Konon III appears among the parasites of Athena Pallenis. The name Dropides, borne in Kritias’ family, re-emerges only with Dropides III, ambassador to Dareios in 333. Plato’s portrayal of Kritias’ ancestry in the *Timaios*, written towards the end of his life when he was sufficiently secure to make a cautious attempt to rehabilitate the memory of his cousin, may have contributed to the re-emergence of Dropides as a respectable member of the Athenian elite; but as we have seen the reference to the Amynandridai in *Timaios* 21c was so discreet that it could easily be missed.⁹⁷

The hierophant in office in 379, Archias, had sufficiently close relations with Thebes to send a message to a homonym in that city warning him that an attack on the city, to be mounted from the Thriasian plain, was being planned in Athens (Plutarch *Pelopidas* 10); this may suggest that he had taken refuge in Thebes with the democrats in 404, and perhaps owed his appointment to that fact. He was subsequently impeached by the priestess of Demeter for impiety (*asebeia*), and condemned, because he had sacrificed at the Haloa, which was her prerogative, and on behalf of a *hetaira* ([Demosthenes] 59. 116–17). Resentment of Archias’ political ambitions may have played a role in this prosecution. He was perhaps the hierophant who mortgaged a house in the city to Euktemon of Kephisia (Isaios 6. 33); he will have needed cash to pay the fine imposed on him.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Timotheos: *Agora XVIII* C 113, *APF* 7737; above, n. 78. Konon: *APF* 13700 (claims by Kerykes of the Roman period to descend from him need not imply purely patrilineal descent; on similar claims see Clinton 2004). Dropides III (missed by *APF* 8792): Curtius 3. 13. 15, cf. Arr. *Anab.* II 15. 2, 4, ch. 16 n. 25.

⁹⁸ He had been of liturgic status, [Dem.] 59. 117; see *APF* 2447, p. 596, 2481; above, n. 26. It is not clear whether this transaction implies that Archias had been residing in the city during his period of office; Euktemon took possession of the house under the *prasis epi lysei* agreement.

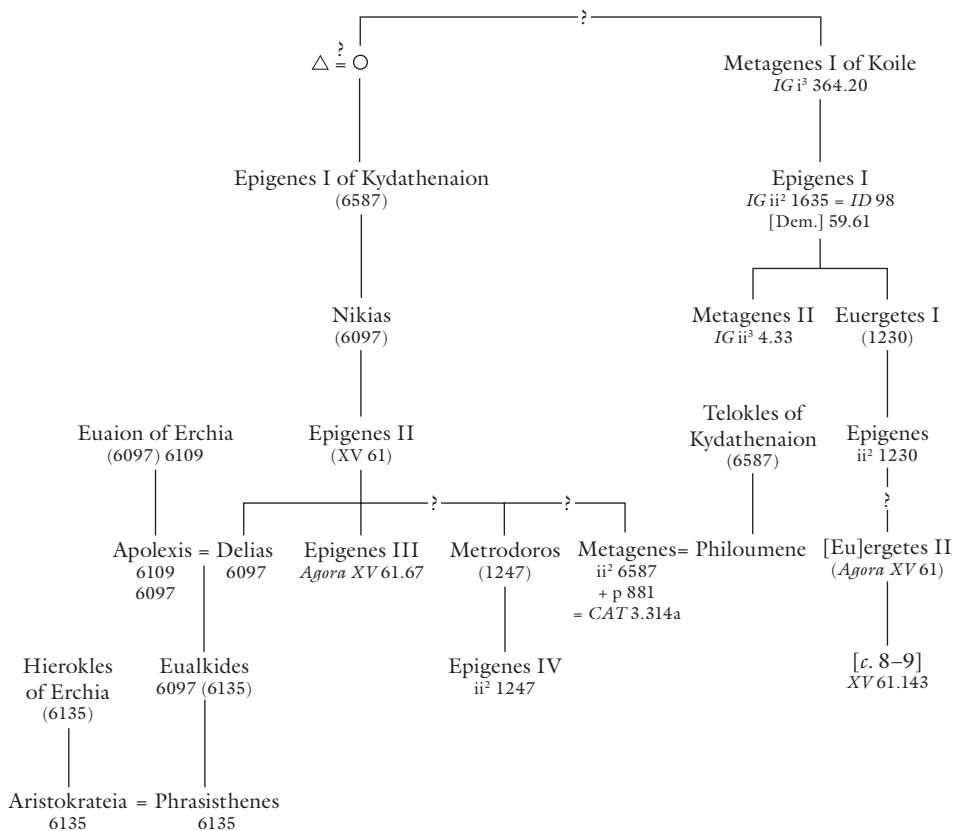
By 354 the office of hierophant had passed to Lakrateides III (of Paiania?); we have met his ancestors Lakrateides I, archon in the late sixth or early fifth century in a year of unusually heavy snow, and Lakrateides II, accuser of Perikles, and Marathon veteran in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*. He was still in office in 350/49 (FGH 328 F 155; cf. IG ii³ 292, 352/1). A betrothal in his youth to the matrilinear half-sister of Apollodoros of Leukonoion, himself a gennetes, though we do not know the genos, had for some reason been annulled (Isaios 7. 9). Hierokleides son of Teisamenos of Paiania, honoured by the deme Eleusis for his activities as hierophant perhaps in the 340s or early 330s, presumably came from the same branch of the genos, but there is no evidence that the two were close kin. The office of hierophant does not seem to have been hereditary, but Hierokleides' name indicates an interest in priestly activities in his family, and Lakrateides may have helped his fellow demesman to become known at Eleusis and in the genos by calling on him for assistance in some of his duties. Hierokleides' father Teisamenos I had served as treasurer of Athena in 414/3, and his son Teisamenos II had dedicated to her a gold crown, possibly the one bestowed on his father by Eleusis, before 334–331.⁹⁹

The state had taken action on behalf of the Eleusinian genê in 367/6, protesting against the mistreatment of their envoys (*spondophoroi*) in Aitolia.¹⁰⁰ The restoration of the name of the Eumolpid envoy as Pr[o]phanes] on the basis of identification with the proposer of IG ii² 1231, Prophan[es] (Wilhelm 1940*b*) is perhaps rather rash, but we can identify the Keryx, Epigenes, with more confidence. He should be Epigenes I son of Metagenes of Koile, amphiktyon on Delos in 377/6–374/3, and cited as a witness by Apollodoros son of Pasion of Acharnai in the late 340s ([Demosthenes] 59. 61). His father Metagenes I had served as general at Kerkyra in 433/2 (IG i³ 364. 20), and Epigenes may indeed, as his name suggests, have been born rather late in his father's life. Epigenes II, son of Euergetes, who proposed a genos decree of the Kerykes in honour of Euthydemos

⁹⁹ Lakrateides: APF 1395. Paiania, possibly Eleusinian dedication, *Agora XVIII* V 587; Lakrateides of Ikarion, who made a more imposing dedication in the late 2nd c. BCE (*IEleus* 239; *LIMC* s.v. *Eubouleus*, no. 2; *LGPN* Lakrateidas 3) should be a descendant, and the (?) Eumolpid family of Eukles in Halai Aixonides (below, n. 116; Table 20.3) may have adopted the name Lakrates as a result of an intra-genos marriage. Hierokleides: *IEleus* 72 (Clinton 1974, 18; Whitehead 1986*a*, 377 no. 23), 340s or early 330s. At the time of this decree he had been in office for some time, and he may have died soon afterwards (IG ii² 7057; his mother, 6054, c.365–49). Teisamenos I, IG i³ 309; Teisamenos II IG ii² 1496. 60; a possible grandson, Teisamenos III, ephebe 267/6, IG ii³ 917. Bourriot (1976, 1229–31 n. 336) is surprised to find a hierophant and a Torchbearer both named Hierokleides in the same period, but such names are common in families with priestly ambitions. Cf. Thrasyphos son of Hierokleides of Xypete, probably a Keryx, IG ii² 1235, Dow 1979 (below, n. 139). Bubelis 2012 fails to show that the office was hereditary.

¹⁰⁰ *Agora XVI* 48, XXXI 26, R/O no. 35; cf. Wilhelm 1924*a*, 101–3, on *spondophoroi*. At some time between 367 and 348 the laws concerning the Eleusinian cult were re-inscribed and perhaps modified (*IEleus* 138); the board of *epimelêtai* now consists of one Eumolpid, one Keryx, and two representatives of the citizen body.

TABLE 20.2.
Epigenes and
Metagenes
(*APF* 10807)



of Eleusis at the end of the fourth century (*IG* ii² 1230) should be a grandson (SS) of Epigenes I (see Table 20.2). The alternation of the names Epigenes and Metagenes occurs also in the rich family of Epigenes I of Kydathenaion (*APF* 10807), perhaps because his mother was a sister of Metagenes I of Koile. The Kydathenaion family, in turn, may conceivably have been linked to another family in the same deme, that of Metrodoros and Konon (*APF* 10808), which produced three hierophants in the Hellenistic period (but the names are common).¹⁰¹

The historian Kleidemos, who published a religious handbook, an *exégétikon*—a mixture of ritual advice and antiquarian knowledge—as well as his history of Attika,

¹⁰¹ Dow's suggestion (1979) that the *spondophoros* Epigenes is Epigenes of Acharnai, son of the priestess of Demeter whose dedication was published in 1957 (*Agora* XVIII V 584, *Agora* XXXI no. 3, before 350), seems much less likely, since at this date the priestess should not have come from the Kerykes (a priestess from another family in Kydathenaion c.100 BCE, Clinton 1974 no. 25, Glauke daughter of Menedemos). On Epigenes son of Metrodoros of Kydathenaion, archon of the Mesogeioi in the early 3rd c. (*IG* ii² 1247) see below, n. 130, and Clinton 1974. On Euthydemos see ch. 30 s. 'Eleusis'; below, n. 138. See also Humphreys 2017b on the commission to delimit the *orgas* (*IG* ii³ 292), suggesting that Philokrates of Hagnous (ch. 27) may have been a Keryx.

entitled *Protogoneia*, ‘The First Race’, probably came from the rich family of Kleidemides of Melite, which may possibly have taken a wife in the late fifth century from Harmodios’ branch of the Gephyraioi. Kleidemos’ book was well informed on religious matters, dealing with the Kerykes of the Dipolieia (*FGH* 323 F 5), a special sacrifice performed by the tribe Aiantis on instructions from Delphi after the battle of Marathon (F 22), and the parasites of Herakles (F 11). His reference to a heroon of Melanippos, son of Theseus, in Melite (F 2) indicates an interest in the cults of his deme, and there is a faint possibility that he was responsible for inserting the name of Kleidikos into the list of the ‘ten-year archons’ who held office in the eighth century. The family was rich but does not seem to have been politically active or even assiduous in using its wealth in liturgies.¹⁰²

Our best information on *genos* activities in the middle of the fourth century comes from the Salaminioi, who set up a long text recording the agreement reached after a dispute between two sections of the *genos* in 363/2 (*Agora XIX* L 4a). From this text we learn incidentally that the three brothers Hegesandros, Hegesippos, and Hegias, sons of Hegesias, of Sounion were members of the *genos*. Hegesandros, who married an *epikleros* (Aischines 1. 95) should (theoretically) be the eldest; both he and Hegesippos were active in city politics. Hegesandros served as treasurer to the general Timomachos and as treasurer of Athena *c.*361 (*AO*, W. Thompson 1970*e*); Hegesippos, nicknamed ‘Hairknot’ (Krobylos), is first attested in politics *c.*365 and was attacked by Aischines in 346 for having kept Timarchos as a male prostitute. The nickname was an appropriate one for a member of the *genos* responsible for the Oschophoria, and may be evidence that Hegesippos had served as Oschophoros in his youth, though it also implied effeminacy. He paid a debt to the dockyard in 325/4. Hegias, one of the men who took the oath to abide by the settlement of 363/2 on behalf of the Salaminioi of the deme Sounion, may have been the only brother who resided in the deme and busied himself with local rather than city affairs. His son Hegesias II served as treasurer of Athena in 349/8 and made a dedication to Asklepios in 339/8 (Aleshire 1991). The family

¹⁰² Jacoby, introduction to *FGH* 323; *IG* i³ 1289, ii² 6008, 6832, 6859; *APF* 12267 VI C. Kleidikos: cf. however, *APF* 600 IV. For Kleidemos as ‘antiquarian’ rather than democrat see Humphreys 2017*b*. Jacoby’s suggested tie (*FGH* III B Suppl. 328 T 1 comm.) between K. and Philochoros, via Philochoros son of Demonikos (deme unknown), husband of K.’s (?) sister Aristomache (*IG* ii² 6832), is doubtful; although the name Ph. is comparatively rare, choruses were important in Athenian life. The name Koroibos, found in the family to which Jacoby suggested attaching Kleidemos, occurs also in Kephisia, Eleusis, and perhaps a deme of Aiantis (*Agora XV* 46, *c.* 330). The architect Koroibos who worked at Eleusis, and his (?) grandson who worked on the Eleusinion in Athens (*IG* i³ 32 = *IEleus* 30 with comm.), might have come from the Eleusis family, but are separated by a substantial interval from the Koroibos of Eleusis whose son was secretary of the council in 325/4 (*IG* i³ 367–8). The *tamias* Koroibos of 370/69 (*IG* ii² 1424a 4, cf. *AO*), could be Koroibos I of Melite, and the archon of 306/5 could be a descendant, taking a prominent role after the restoration of democracy. Cf. ch. 11 nn. 27, 29.

survived to produce councillors in the third and second centuries (*IG* ii³ 1030. 9, *Agora* XV 206. 75).¹⁰³

Another prominent family in the Sounian branch of the *genos* may be seen here in the local beginnings of an upward movement that had brought it into a prominent position in the city by the late 340s (*APF* 4487). They owned land in the mining area. Diphilos son of Diopeithes is recorded as archon of the Salaminioi of Sounion, and his cousin (FBS) Diopeithes son of Phasyrkides was one of their oath-takers. Diphilos' brother Diophanes I served as councillor *c.*325 (*Agora* XV 52), and his son Diopeithes II rose to the generalship in *c.*343/2, perhaps continuing in office for three years. The latter's son Diphilos II may have been a prominent figure in the Lykourgan era; the family still produced a councillor, perhaps from the line of Diophanes I, in the middle of the third century (*IG* ii³ 1030. 5). Other named members of the Sounion group may be attested as trierarchs and councillors.¹⁰⁴

The dispute lay between the Salaminioi of Sounion and the Salaminioi of 'the Seven Tribes', a diaspora already scattered by the time of Kleisthenes' reforms. The attested demes in the latter group are Boutadai, Agryle, Acharnai, and Epikhephisia, all located in the Athenian plain;¹⁰⁵ the *genos* was concerned with the sanctuaries of Eurysakes in Melite and Athena Skiras at Phaleron, and seems to have belonged to a phratry based in Alopeke (Humphreys 1990*a*; ch. 19 n. 173). Its name was presumably somehow related to the contest in the sixth century between Athens and Megara for control of the island

¹⁰³ *APF* 6351, Table 8.3. The *krobylos* was an old-fashioned hairstyle (*RE* s.v. *Haartracht und Haarschmuck*, 2120–4), appropriate for boys, who were supposed to cut their hair only on reaching adolescence, and not unlike women's styles (ch. 26 n. 98). For cultic activity by the undistinguished kin of prominent politicians cf. Demosthenes' FBSS Demon II, who dedicated his house and garden to Asklepios after a dream, and was given an extraordinary priesthood in recompense (*IG* ii² 4969; above, n. 95; Demon's FF Demon I praised for his activities as tribal priest of Pandionis, *IG* ii² 1140; ch. 21 n. 92). Demosthenes' MZH Demochares I of Leukonoion (or possibly his MZSS Demochares II if the *horos* is 3rd c., as Bourriot 1976 says) married a daughter to a member of the Lykomidai, with a dowry of 1 T (*IG* ii² 2670, Finley 1952 no. 146).

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Lambert 1999*a*. Chalkideus son of Andromenes of Sounion may be the Chalkideus attested as trierarch *c.*373/2 (*APF* 15281), although the name occurs also in Melite; his son Andromenes served as councillor *c.*325 (*Agora* XV 52. 24). Philoneos son of Ameinonikos served as councillor in 371/0 (*IG* ii³ 4. 53). Ameinias son of Philinos, perhaps a kinsman, may have been active in mining (Lambert p. 109). Among the named Sounian Salaminioi only Chariades son of Charikles and Theuphanes son of Zophanes are unattested elsewhere. For the suggestion that Timodemos of Acharnai, celebrated in Pindar's *Nemean* 2, was a Salaminios, see R. Parker 1996, 327.

¹⁰⁵ Agryle was a deme of I Erechtheis (ch. 23 n. 21); the others belonged to VI Oineis. Some Salaminioi must surely have belonged to Alopeke (X Antiochis). The arbitrators chosen to resolve the dispute between the two branches of the *genos* came from Acharnai (VI), Myrrhinous (III), Lamptrai (I), and Aithalidai (IV), but even arbitrators chosen by the Salaminioi of the Seven Tribes were not necessarily selected on the basis of deme ties. Moirakles 'the Salaminian' of Eleusis was probably a resident of Salamis, not a member of the *genos* (ch. 30 n. 89; M. C. Taylor 1997). R. Parker (1996, 312) thinks that the '7 tribes' might be 'an archaic organization (perhaps of Salamis itself) otherwise unknown' (a similar view in N. D. Robertson 1992).

of Salamis. ‘The Skir- names and epithets are associated with both Athens and Megara’ (Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 172), and there was a sanctuary of Athena Skiras on the island, presumably at the western end since Corinthian ships came to it while fleeing from the battle in the straits (Herodotus 8. 94). However, the *genos* documents show no sign of cultic or other interests in the island in the fourth century. It seems on current evidence a plausible guess that the sanctuary of Athena Skiras at Phaleron was founded as a rival to or substitute for the one on the island; whether by island immigrants or Athenians eager for conquest, we can hardly say. The Sounian branch perhaps developed later, possibly connected with the ‘silver rush’ of the late sixth century; whether these migrants came from elsewhere in Attika or from the island is, again, unclear.¹⁰⁶ It is possible that some of the Aiginetans resettled in the Sounion area in the early fifth century (Herodotus 6. 90) might have been admitted to the *genos* on the strength of Ajax’ ties with Aigina (cf. Herodotus 6. 35; Pindar *Nemean* 4).

The Sounian branch of the *genos* had prospered; its members were wealthier and more prominent politically than the Salaminioi of the Seven Tribes,¹⁰⁷ and the *genos* collectively owned land and an *agora* in the Sounion area; its harbour cult of Herakles at the Crossing (Porthmos) attracted a state subsidy. On the other hand, the most prestigious sanctuaries and cults were those of the city area: the Eurysakeion, also used by the tribe Aiantis, and the Oschophoria, to which the state also contributed. Some of the Seven Tribes group were also active in phratry affairs in Alopeke. The conflict apparently concerned the distribution of *genos* revenues: the Seven Tribes group may have suspected the Sounians of taking more than their fair share.

Five arbitrators were appointed to settle the dispute: two from Myrrhinous, one from Acharnai, one from Aithalidai, and one from Lamptrai. Only Stephanos of Myrrhinous, attested as member of a naval symmory between 356 and 340 (*APF* 12891) appears elsewhere in our sources. In the resulting agreement, the two branches of the *genos* agreed to continue to hold their priesthoods (of Athena Skiras, Herakles at Porthmos, Eurysakes, and Aglauros) in common, appointing a new priestess or priest by lot from the whole *genos* whenever one of the current incumbents died. Priests would continue to receive their customary perquisites; the priest of Eurysakes was also to serve as priest of the Hero at the Halê (Salt-pan). The landed property, however, consisting of land round the Herakleion at Porthmos, ‘other land’, and the *agora* at Koile,¹⁰⁸ is to be

¹⁰⁶ R. Parker 1996 notes that we do not have evidence for land-holding in the mining area by Sounian Salaminians, but this argument from silence does not carry much weight. Their association with Sounion rather than other ‘mining’ demes, and their sanctuary at Porthmos, if it was in the deme, suggest interests in transport. (Leduc’s idea, *SEG* 52. 134, that they were a *naukraria* does not help.) Lambert suggested (1997*b*) a connection between the *genos* and the crew of the ‘sacred trireme’ *Salaminia*; see now Bubelis 2010, and ch. 29 n. 91 on the cult of Paralos, eponym of the sister ship, in Aixone (*SEG* 54. 214).

¹⁰⁷ In the Seven Tribes group only Stratophon son of Straton and Demon son of Demaretos, both of Agryle, are attested elsewhere, in the Alopeke phratry list *IG* ii² 2345 (Humphreys 1990*a*; Lambert 1999*a*). Presumably the conjuncture of *genos* and deme interests in Sounion persuaded more prominent families in that branch of the *genos* to take an interest in its affairs.

¹⁰⁸ For arguments that the priestess of Aglauros served on the Akropolis see Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 152–4. On the topography of *genos* property in Sounion, see Goette 2000, 71–4, Papazarkadas 2011, 173–6; on the *halê*, Langdon 2010. Lambert 1997*b* puts Porthmos on the coast opposite Salamis, and

divided between the two branches of the *genos*, marked with *horoi*, and leased separately. Each section of the *genos* is to contribute equally to festivals from its revenues, contributions from the state (*dēmosion*) are to be expended by the two branches jointly, and meat from sacrifices is to be divided into two shares, one for each branch (if the division had previously been made per capita among those attending festivals, there may have been claims that one side or the other was getting an unfair advantage); each side is to contribute a portion for the priest officiating at the sacrifice. Each branch in turn is to provide an archon of the *genos*, appointed by lot, who is responsible for selecting the *óschophoroi* and *deipnophoroi* (above, pp. 671–3), in association with the priestess of Athena Skiras and the herald, according to traditional procedure (at the time of the dispute, each branch had its own archon). Any repairs needed in *genos* sanctuaries are to be carried out jointly, each branch contributing half the cost. Records are to be kept in common, and any lessees of *genos* land whose leases have not expired are to pay half their rent to each branch until the lease expires. The two branches are to take turns in presiding over the preliminary sacrifice that takes place before the race (*hamillos*). The office of herald is to belong to Thrasykles—presumably the son of Thrason, of Boutadai, who is one of the oath-takers—by hereditary right (*kata ta patria*).

The record of the agreement and those who took the oath to keep it, seven from each side, is followed by a calendar of sacrifices and their cost to the *genos*, to a total of 530½ drachmas.¹⁰⁹ Most of the sacrifices seem to have taken place either at the Eurysakeion in Melite or at the temple of Athena Skiras at Phaleron, but there was a major festival of Herakles at Porthmos in the month Mounichion, at which the *genos* sacrificed offerings paid for by the state plus an ox (to Herakles), a goat, 4 or 5 sheep, and two piglets, from its own resources. The date might have been Mounichion 4, on which the deme Erchia sacrificed to the children of Herakles; the Salaminioi honoured Iolaos and Alkmene as well as Herakles in this festival.

The *genos* sacrificed to Athena at the Panathenaia, and its sacrifice to Apollo Patroios, Leto, Artemis, and Athena Agelaa on Metageitnion 7 may have coincided with other celebrations of the Metageitnia, a ‘festival of neighbours’ about which we know very little. It sacrificed to Theseus on Pyanopsion 6, probably in connection with the Oschophoria; to Eurysakes on Mounichion 18; to Poseidon Hippodromios and various nautical heroes in Boedromion; and to Athena Skiras and Skiros in Maimakterion.¹¹⁰

the agora in the city deme Koile, but two relief monuments representing Herakles were found in the Punta Zeza area. Since Pheidistrate, sister of Chremonides and Glaukon of Aithalidai, served as priestess of Aglauros in the early 3rd c. (*IG* ii² 3459, cf. Humphreys 2007), this family should have belonged to the Salaminioi, as should that of Polynikos of Aphidnai (*IG* ii³ 1002, cf. *SEG* 51. 93). In the mid 2nd c. the (genos?) Euenoridai were concerned in some cultic activity in the Aglaureion: *SEG* 58. 145, Malouchou 2008, cf. Lambert 2008*a*.

¹⁰⁹ The sums recorded on the stone do not add up to the total it provides.

¹¹⁰ It also sacrificed in alternate years to Ion; possibly in this and the sacrifice to Apollo Patroios the Salaminioi were emphasizing that they were Athenian and not Megarian (cf. Plut. *Sol.* 10. 4). The Oschophoria presumably do not appear on this list because the state paid for the festival, though the families of the two boys who served as *óschophoroi* and of the women who acted as *deipnophoroi* will also have contributed (cf. Mikalson 1975, 68–9 on the date; the Theseia were celebrated on Pyanopsion 6 or 8, n. 70). On Poseidon Hippodromios see below at n. 123.

A genos decree of the end of the fourth century, found in the theatre area in Athens, honours two (?) benefactors with a crown of 1000 drachmas each and other privileges, including permission to dedicate something in the sanctuary of Athena Skiras. The two copies of the decree are to be set up in the Eurysakeion and in the sanctuary of Athena Skiras; there is no mention of the Sounian branch. Since we know that by c.260 (?) fission between the two branches of the genos had developed yet further, this text may indicate that the Salaminioi of the Seven Tribes were already acting on their own by the end of the fourth century. On the other hand, we do not know that genos decrees had ever been published at Sounion.¹¹¹

In any case, by c.260 (?) the Salaminioi were again resorting to arbitration (*Agora XIX* L 4b). The arbitrators, Antigenes of Semachidai and Kalliteles of Sounion, delivered their verdict at the Herakleia. By this time the 'Archaiosalaminioi of the Seven Tribes' and the 'Archaiosalaminioi of Sounion'—apparently using these names to distinguish themselves from residents of Salamis—thought of themselves as two separate genê. The previous settlement had apparently promoted fission rather than checking it. Property again seems to be the source of dispute. A distinction is made between the part of the temenos of Herakles which is reserved for cult use and the remaining area, and the boundaries of the temenos are clearly specified. All this land is to be shared by 'the two genê'. The Sounian genos is to make a new threshing floor, the same size as its own, at its own expense, in this common area, and it is to belong to the genos of the Seven Tribes. Each genos is to have its own house (to be used, presumably, for storage and perhaps as a dining place for genos dignitaries); they are to divide the gardens and rights to the well, and are to share the salt-pan and the agora at Koilê. The Sounians are to have the eastern side of the genos lands, the Seven Tribes the western side and the field in which the sacred ploughing takes place.

This text, like the earlier ones, was presumably set up in the Eurysakeion, since it was found in the Agora at Athens. We hear no more of the Salaminioi, though their temple of Athena Skiras was still standing in Pausanias' day (1. 1. 4). Our last text may represent an attempt to re-establish normality after the problematic years of the Chremonidean War (Papazarkadas 2011, 296–8, suggests that the split was due to war conditions). After the war Sounion remained a garrison post, but garrison troops there as at Eleusis presumably tended to deal with demarchs rather than with priests or genos archons. The Oskophoria did not become part of the ritual programme of the epheboi, and may have suffered from the expansion of the Theseia associated with them.

¹¹¹ *IG ii*² 1232; the agreement of 363/2 (*Agora XIX* L 4a) is to be set up in the Eurysakeion. D. Harris and Lawton 1990 suggest that a relief of Ajax and Eurysakes crowning a single honorand, perhaps of the Lykourgan period, found in re-use on Salamis (M. Meyer 1989*a*, N 7; *SEG* 40. 130), belonged to a decree of the Salaminioi; but since there were two wreaths below the main text the honorand must have been crowned by two bodies (unless the two branches of the genos awarded separate crowns). Some ephobic activity connected with Salamis in which the tribe Aiantis had distinguished itself may possibly account for the provenance (see *IG ii*² 1035, *SEG* 26. 121/60. 161, l. 32, for a sanctuary of Ajax on Salamis; Mikalson 1998, 183–4; Humphreys 1985*a* for experiment with ritual in the early years of the ephorate); Aiantis seems to have used the Eurysakeion as its meeting place, and a tribe is more likely than a *genos* to have combined with another body (the honorand's deme, the epheboi). On *IG ii*² 1260, honouring a general concerned with coastal defence, found at Sounion, see G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, 165, dating it ? 304/3; *pace* Lambert 1997*b*, the Salaminioi here should be island residents and not the genos.

Though Kleisthenes' reforms made them more conscious of their dispersal, it was not democracy that destroyed the Salaminioi. They had their moment of greatest glory under Kimon, and *genos* responsibilities in and around the city may have helped members of families like those of Hegesippos and Diopeithes II to make the transition from local to city politics. Apparently the Salaminioi were able to come to terms with democracy, and on those terms—their rituals might provoke some mockery, but they were noticed, recognized, and even financially supported—construct new meanings for their own identity. But dispersal and the local character of their festivals proved too much for them as the audience for Athenian claims to prestige increasingly came to be sought outside Attika.

The value of the material on the *genè* from the period from 399 to 338 is that the increased use of written record, and the evidence of forensic speeches, allow us to observe *genos* business being carried on, and attachment to *genos* identity being maintained, by relatively insignificant men. The Salaminioi are neither the beneficiaries nor the harbingers of a *genos* 'revival'; that would come only with the regime of Lykourgos IV, the first major *genos* leader to play a leading role in Athenian politics since Kallias II had negotiated peace with Persia. What we see in the middle decades of the fourth century is the routinized preservation of relics of an earlier aristocratic charisma, which now conferred distinction only of a marginal kind, at a local level, or in the circle of those who shared the same values.

In the quasi-*genos* Dekeleieis (ch. 19 at n. 85ff.), Theodoros son of Euphantides succeeds a kinsman in office as priest of the Demotionidai in the 360s; Theodoros' son Ekphantides registers and leases a mine c.340 (Hedrick 1990: *Agora XIX* P 30. 11–12, 17; cf. also *APF* 6029).

The speaker of Demosthenes 57, Euxitheos of Halimous (Table 7.12), was defending himself against the attempt of opponents in his deme to deprive him of citizenship. He claims to have been selected 'among the best-born in the deme' (*eugenestatoi*) to be one of the candidates from whom the priest of Herakles would be chosen by lot (§ 46). He seems to be trying to give the impression that he belongs to a *genos* (§ 23), although his witnesses are *phrateres* and not *gennetai*. The picture—true or not—is of a priesthood that has passed into the control of the deme but is still the monopoly of the members of one or more *genè*; and presumably Euxitheos hopes that *genè* still have a better reputation for careful scrutiny of candidates for membership than *phratries* or demes.¹¹²

That may have been somewhat doubtful; we have seen that the Kerykes of Eleusis accepted a child Kallias III had earlier refused to acknowledge, though the mother was certainly of citizen status and their union had some at least of the characteristics of a marriage. The *genos* Brytidai, six members of which

¹¹² *APF* 3126. Euxitheos' kin occupy minor civil posts as councillors and treasurers. *IG* ii² 1173, a deme decree (deme unknown) of the first half of the 4th c., awards a crown to a Lykomedes who may be a member of the Lykomidai or Eteoboutadai.

were called as witnesses by Apollodoros son of Pasion of Acharnai in his prosecution of Neaira in the late 340s ([Demosthenes] 59. 61) took a tougher line with Phrastor of Aigilia, ‘a working man who had got together the basis for a livelihood with difficulty’ (§ 50), who married Neaira’s daughter believing her to be of citizen descent. When he learnt that she was not, Apollodoros claims, he threw her out and refused to return her dowry; Neaira’s protector Stephanos, who had presented the girl as his own daughter, sued Phrastor for the cost of the girl’s maintenance (*sitos*), and Phrastor replied by prosecuting him for giving a foreign girl in marriage. Both suits were withdrawn, and the parties came to a compromise. Later, however, Phrastor fell seriously ill; Neaira and her daughter looked after him and persuaded him, since he had no other child, to accept the boy Neaira’s daughter had borne him as his son. However, when he tried to sacrifice the *meion* on the child’s behalf the Brytidai refused to accept it. He filed suit against them, and representatives of the *genos* challenged him in the presence of the public arbitrator to take a sacrificial oath that he truly believed the boy to be his own son, born to him in lawful wedlock by a woman of citizen descent. This he could hardly do ([Demosthenes] 59. 50–61).

One of the witnesses from the Brytidai, Nikippos of Kephale, is attested as a co-trierarch in 322 (*APF*10833). Another, Eualkos of Phaleron, served as *epistatês* and councillor in the same year (*IG* ii³ 324. 35; Schwenk 1985, no. 88); he may be related to Eua(l)kides of Phaleron, who appears as a contractor in the accounts of the administrators of the Eleusis sanctuary for ? 333/2 (*IEleus* 159. 25; Clinton 1971, 112). A third, Euphranor of Aigilia, was perhaps a kinsman of Phrastor, since they belong to the same deme and their names come from the same root. The others—Xanthippos of Eroiadai, Timostratos of Hekale, and Anytos of Lakiadai—are not attested elsewhere. Most of the names have a vaguely aristocratic ring (this, however, could be said of a large proportion of Attic names), and those of Phrastor and Euphranor carry religious overtones. The Brytidai appear in no other source; one has to wonder whether this was a short-lived cult association that conferred *genos* status on itself, but its association with phratry ritual and the incomprehensibility of its name seem to indicate that it really was an archaic *genos* whose members were already dispersed by 507 but had been kept together by clinging to the privilege of separate scrutiny in the phratry conferred on them by Solon.¹¹³

¹¹³ Apollodoros’ witnesses do not seem to be members of the commission of *synégoroi* appointed to represent the *genos* against Stephanos, since they apparently did not testify about the proceedings before the *diaitetai*. Since two of them were still active in 322, it seems possible that he had to rely on relatively young witnesses who had no inhibitions about airing *genos* scandals in court. The demes represented in the *genos* are widely scattered and we cannot tell where it was based.

In both his attempts to marry off Neaira's daughter, Phano, Stephanos picked gennetai, men of modest position who nevertheless still cherished some social ambitions, centred not on the competitive world of politics but on the quieter backwaters of ancient lineage and traditional religion. His second victim was Theogenes of the Eleusinian *genos* Koironidai,¹¹⁴ who had stood, and had been selected by lot, for the office of *basileus*: 'a well-born man, but poor, and with no experience of public affairs' ([Demosthenes] 59. 72). Stephanos helped him through his *dokimasia*, offered to bear some of the expenses of his office, and so 'bought' the position of *paredros* (ch. 15 n. 6); and then persuaded him to marry Phano.

At about the same period we find Aischines, who also came from a relatively humble background—though his mother's brother had been elected general in 388 (2. 78)—but who had greater political ambitions, letting drop the information that his father's phratry shared its altars with the Eteoboutadai (2. 147). His mother's family went in for a different type of religious distinction; her brother Kleoboulos was a seer (*mantis*) and she herself played a role in some kind of initiatory rite, of which Demosthenes liked to give highly-coloured accounts. It was perhaps in response to such attacks that Aischines tried to use the name of the Eteoboutadai to give his family an air of greater respectability.¹¹⁵ By this time the relation between phratry and *genos* was probably not very clear to the average juror. Gennetai, however much they might pride themselves on their ancestry, were in general no wealthier and no more distinguished than their fellow phrateres. Aischines' reference may suggest that the presence of a major *genos* in a phratry was thought to confer distinction on the phratry as a whole, and not only on the gennetai. The Eteoboutadai, like the Brytidai, presumably continued to take their own decisions on the admission of new members, but not every *genos* clung to this privilege. The Dekeleicis seem to have stood on the same footing as any of the thiasoi of commoner members of their phratry, the Demotionidai, even

¹¹⁴ The MS text is *Kothokidēs*, but at § 84 he is said to belong to Erchia. It seems clear that a *genos* name must be restored (Titakidai may also be a possibility). On the Koironidai see below, nn. 121–2.

¹¹⁵ Dem. 18. 129–30, 284; 19. 199, 249, 281; *APF* 14625 II; add E. M. Harris 1988*a*, and *CEG* 776 = *IG* iv² 1. 255. We do not know where the phratry was based; Traill 1975*a* locates Kothokidai near Eleusis, but the association with the Eteoboutadai, plus the fact that the Apheidantidai owned land in the deme and the possibility that the family of Habron of Bate belonged to that *genos* (n. 142) may suggest a phratry centre near the city, and movement from that area to the Eleusinian plain before 507 is perhaps not very likely. Many small demes in Oineis are not securely located (ch. 28). Not all Eteoboutadai in the 4th c. were respectable: 'Pyrrhos the Eteoboutad' registered as a *dikast* while listed as a state debtor (Dem. 21. 182), and Demeas son of Laches the Eteoboutad was represented by Alexis (*PCG* 2 F 205) as a rich man whose parasite complains of his farting. The claim to quasi-gennetic status by the Bouselidai (ch. 7 Case 9) shows the blurring of boundaries.

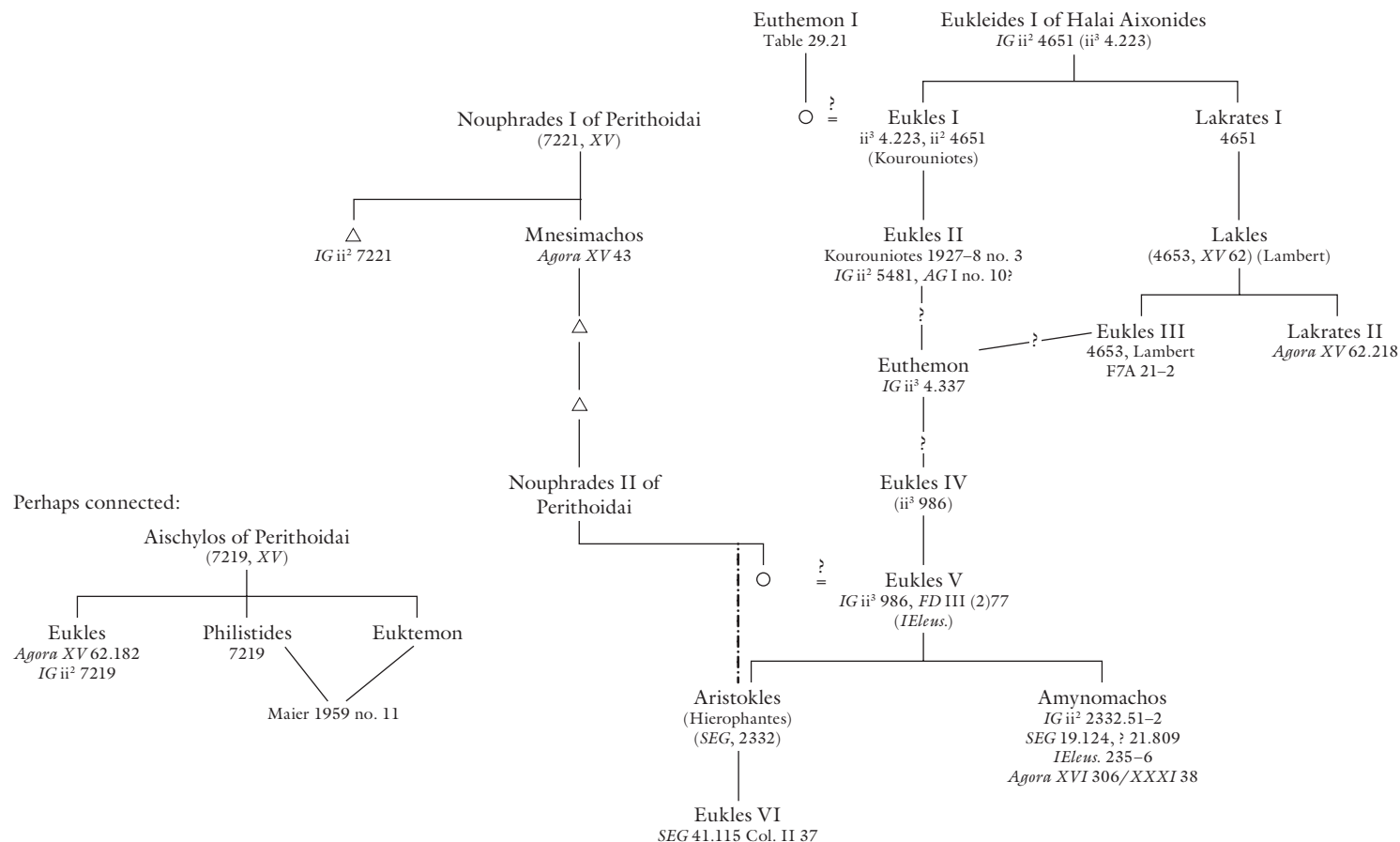
though they still appointed the phratry priest and could be called on to undertake other responsibilities (ch. 19).

We can identify another family of gennetai, who would become prominent only in the second century BCE, leading a quiet life as deme aristocrats in the fourth century in Halai Aixonides (ch. 12 n. 77). The priest of Apollo Zoster in mid-century was Eukles II son of Eukles I; his father, Eukles I son of Eukleides I, was a member of the deme commission responsible for setting up a statue of Aphrodite *c.*360. The family also took an active interest in the worship of the Nymphs in a cave above Vari, where dedications were made by Eukleides, Eukles, and Lakrates, and by Eukles III, son of Lakles. The latter purchased properties at Poros in the Lykourgan period for *c.*125 drachmas. Lakrates II son of Lakles, councillor in 303/2, may be his brother. The tombstone of either Eukles II or Eukles III was found on the Akropolis.

The family re-emerges in the Hellenistic period with Eukles V son of Eukles IV, ephebe in the 250s, and his sons or grandsons Aristokles and Amynomachos, who successively held the office of hierophant (Table 20.3). Aristokles was adopted into a family in Perithoidai, but gave his *genitor's* name to his son Eukles VI.

Though by the late first century BCE we find men claiming membership in more than one genos, and priestesses may have acquired their rights matrilineally even earlier, the fact that this family was holding a priesthood in the deme in the fourth century seems to me an argument for believing that they were Eumolpidai of long standing. It is also possible that the names Lakrates and Lakles (the latter produced by combining Lakrates with Eukles) came into the family through a marriage alliance with the Eumolpid family of Lakrateides of Paiania.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Linders 1975 takes the cult of Apollo Zoster to be a state responsibility, because the priest is honoured in the 4th c. by the boule and demos as well as the deme (Kourouniotes 1927–8, no. 3), and the Treasurers of the Other Gods had charge of its property; but the priest may nevertheless have been appointed by a genos (cf. Whitehead 1986*a*, 182–3). The priesthood still existed in the Roman period, *IG* ii² 5081 (Maass 1972). The story in the Euripides *vita* that he served as *pyrphoros* of Apollo Zoster may not be reliable (he is also said to have acted as *oinochoos* for Apollo of Phlya, Theophr. *Peri methês ap. Athen.* 424 e–f; these stories provide interesting evidence on later ideas about the relations between poetry and religion, but see Lefkowitz 1981, 92). Aphrodite: *IG* ii³ 4. 223, Whitehead 1986*a*, 431 no. 186; ch. 29 n. 134. Nymphs: *IG* ii² 4651, 4653. Eukles IV, *IG* ii² 1594. 20–1 (Lambert 1997*a* Stele II A F 7a, 17–22, Eukles L[akleous] Hal.); Lakrates II, *Agora* XV 62. 218; Eukles II or III, *IG* ii² 5481 (*SEG* 13. 79). *IG* ii³ 1011. 49–52 shows (*pace* LGPN and Blok and Lambert 2009, Aleshire and Lambert 2011, 559, who follow ii² 2332 and Clinton 1974) that it was Aristokles who was adopted into Perithoidai, perhaps because his mother was an *epiklêros* (ch. 2), and called this son after his *genitor*, while the younger Amynomachos remained in their father's deme. (A very odd attempt in Ismard 2010, 388, to make Amynomachos' appointment non-familial.) The family of Pasion of Halai (*IG* ii² 4551, ii³ 4. 364, with Peek 1942, no. 74) may belong to the same genos, but see ch. 30. On the Eumolpidai of Paiania and Perithoidai see nn. 99, 141. (Eukles son of Aischylos P., *Agora* XV 62. 182, *IG* ii² 7219, unconnected?)



Notes: *IG ii*² 5481 (*AG I*, 8 no. 10), Eukl—Eukl—Hal., cannot be placed. Lambert 1997*a*, 158–60 needs revision. All treatments of the hierophants Aristokles and Amynomachos since (at least) *IG ii*² have assumed that Amynomachos was adopted from Perithoidai into Halai, but since Aristokles contributed to the epidosis of 183/2 for himself and his brother Amynomachos (not yet adult?) and his son Eukles (called, one would assume, after his *pater*), it is fairly clear that Aristokles was adopted, probably to his MF. The fact that Amynomachos succeeded his brother as hierophant does not, at this date, prove the contrary. (See also, still following *IG ii*², Ismard 2010, 388–9.)

TABLE 20.3. Hierophants

THE FOURTH CENTURY: 338–300

The man who rebuilt Athens' confidence and financial reserves after her defeat by Philip of Macedon at Chaironeia in 338 was the Eteaboutad priest of Poseidon Erechtheus Lykourgos IV.¹¹⁷ It is not entirely easy, however, to say what contribution his aristocratic descent and priestly office made to Lykourgos' conception of his role, to his policies, and to his success.

He was a man of *auctoritas*; calm authority was part of the priest's role. He liked to pass severe moral judgment on offenders, preferably attacking them by *eisangelia* in the Assembly, a procedure he was prone to use even in trivial cases. This too had links to the priest's role: priests had traditional powers to keep order at festivals, while conceptions of pollution were slowly drifting in a moralizing direction. He had studied with Plato, and may have been particularly impressed by some of the ideas put forward in the *Laws*: authority for older men, the role of the lawgiver as educator. New measures introduced under Lykourgos' regime tended to come before the Assembly as complex laws already drafted by himself or one of his friends and approved by a legislative court of *nomothetai*, requiring only explanation and final approval; one has the impression that there was less free debate on open questions in the Assembly of this period than there had been in earlier times.

Nevertheless, his model may have been the position of Perikles as judged by Thucydides (2. 65)—in theory democracy, in practice rule by the best man—rather than that of the Platonic philosopher-king. Certainly Periklean echoes were prominent in his policy. He replaced the golden statues of Victory on the Akropolis which had been commissioned by Perikles and melted down in the later years of the Peloponnesian War (Linders 1987, 119–20); set up statues of Aischylos, Sophokles, and Euripides in the theatre, and insisted that actors should faithfully follow the script of an approved text of their plays; kept the fleet up to strength, used it against pirates, and improved facilities in the dockyards. He also remodelled the Pnyx, and built lawcourts; the statues of the eponymous heroes of the Kleisthenic tribes in the Agora were given a new base.

All Athenian politicians of the fourth century looked in one way or another to the past. Some, like Konon II, the founders of the Second Athenian League, and Demosthenes, still hoped to rebuild the city's position as mistress of the seas and a major power in Aegean affairs; others wanted to reunite Greece in a crusade against Persia (Isokrates, Androtion)—or against Macedon; others, more modestly, concentrated on achieving political stability by replacing tribute with revenue

¹¹⁷ *APF* 9251; Humphreys 1985*a*; 2004, ch. 3; Faraguna 2011. Lykourgos also served as hieropoios of the Semnai. Blok and Lambert 2009, followed by Rasmussen 2011, point out that Lykourgos is not attested as priest of Poseidon in our sources, but see n. 132, Appendix 4, on Habron and Lykophron.

from mining and trade (Euboulos, Xenophon's *Poroi*). Arguments persisted about the reasons for failure in the fifth century and the means of avoiding it in future. Suggestions that the Areiopagos council should play a greater role in government (Isokrates, Androtion) implied idealization of a pre-Periklean, more traditional and more limited form of democracy. In the crisis years before and after Chaironeia the Areiopagos was indeed given some new responsibilities, though on an ad hoc rather than a permanent basis.

Lykourgos, however, did not apparently want to change Athens' political institutions. His first four-year term of office seems to have begun in 336/5, the year in which the city passed a law decreeing penalties for any attempt at tyranny or overthrow of the democracy, and specifically forbidding meetings on the Areiopagos in any crisis of this kind (*IG* ii³ 320). Respect for traditional religion was not incompatible with loyalty to democracy. A new temple of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratia rose opposite the monument of the Kleisthenic *eponymoi* in the Agora.¹¹⁸ The role of the centre of Greek civilization, *paideia tēs Hellados*, had been projected back into mythical times already in the fifth century. Triptolemos had set out from Eleusis to teach mankind the arts of agriculture, Theseus was the father of democracy.

Thus the renewed interest in *genos* rights that seems to emerge in the Lykourgan period belongs to a political climate that was insidiously rather than polemically right-wing. Rich men were effusively honoured for their contributions to public enterprises, *gennetai* were encouraged to regard their traditions as part of the Athenian heritage, but there was no formal change in institutions.

Increased *genos* activity is documented both in the titles of lost forensic speeches and in inscriptions. Lykourgos himself wrote a speech for a case concerning the rights of the priestess of Athena Polias; he and Deinarchos both wrote speeches for a *diadikasia*

¹¹⁸ *Eponymoi*: *Agora* XIV 40; Rotroff 1978 with D. M. Lewis 1979; Camp 2010. The temple of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratia may have been built, and the temple of Apollo Patroios planned, before Chaironeia (*Agora* XIV, 136–40; but see ch. 19 n. 126). Canonization of the great 5th c. tragedians (cf. Hanink 2014) was compatible with new developments in comedy; revival of *genos* activity was combined with renewed prominence for the descendants of heroes of the democracy. Nikeratos of Kydantidai, SSS of the 5th c. general Nikias, was a prominent member of Lykourgos' Pythais of (?) 326/5 and of the equally programmatic board of *epimelētai* of the new Amphiaraiia of 329/8 (*IG* ii³ 355). The only possible *gennetes* appearing in these lists, apart from Lykourgos himself, is Epiteles son of Soinomos of Pergase (above, n. 79). Miltiades VII (*APF* 8429 XV) was sent as oikist to the Adriatic in 324 (his daughter subsequently married into two Hellenistic dynasties, her first husband being Ophellas of Kyrene and her second Demetrios Poliorketes); the ambassadors sent to Dareios III in 333 were Dropides III, Iphikrates II, and an Aristogeiton (above, n. 97); Konon III was sent as ambassador to Nikanor in 319/8 (D. S. 18. 64. 5). A descendant of Themistokles, Archepolis son of Pantenor of Phrearrhioi, appears as *ephebe* and *lochagos* in (?) 330/29/8 (*IOrop* 253; Humphreys 2009). Other possible descendants are Themistokles IV, councillor in ? 370/69, and perhaps the archon Themistokles of 340/39; *APF* 6669. Cf. the use of Miltiades son of Stesagoras as ambassador to Lysander in 404, and of Kimon IV as ambassador to Philip (*APF* 8429 XV).

between two Eleusinian genê, Krokonidai and Koironidai. Speakers for the two genê discussed the genealogy of their eponyms, the sacrifice Prochaireteria or Procharisteria, which commemorated the moment when Persephone re-emerged from the underworld, the Theoinia (a festival of Dionysos), the three *oinoptai* appointed to supervise drinking, probably at this festival, the genos Kynnidai, and the behaviour of a priestess who was either neglecting or exceeding her rights and obligations. It is not clear whether this latter passage refers to the priestess of Demeter, appointed by the Philleidai and perhaps another genos, or to a priestess appointed by one of the two genê involved in the dispute.¹¹⁹ The Krokonidai, perhaps soon after this case, passed a decree honouring with a gold crown or crowns the commission elected by the gennetai to repair the [*hier?*]on of Hestia, who had paid for the work themselves; perhaps the genos had a priestess of Hestia.¹²⁰

The Koironidai were also referred to in these speeches as Philicis and Perithoidai, which suggests that the genos may have belonged to a phratry named Philicis (otherwise unattested; ch. 19 n. 13), and that there may have been a core of gennetai resident in the deme Perithoidai, which probably lay near the route of the initiates' procession from Athens to Eleusis, and produced a hierophant towards the end of the fourth century. Another group of gennetai may have belonged to the city deme Skambonidai, since it was mentioned in the speech attributed to Lykourgos, and Pausanias (1. 38. 2) reports a local tradition in the deme that Krokon was not a son of Keleus (Demeter's host in the *Homeric Hymn*) but his son-in-law, husband of Keleus' daughter Saisara. The Krokonidai, on the other hand, claimed that Krokon was a legitimate son of Triptolemos (or Keleus?), and Koiron his bastard brother.¹²¹

The mention of the Theoinia may suggest that one of the genê, or both, had the right of supplying candidates for office as *gerairai*. The basileus every year appointed fourteen gerairai to attend his wife when she celebrated her sacred union with Dionysos at the Anthesteria, and they swore an oath that they were pure and would celebrate the Theoinia and Iobakcheia for Dionysos on the appropriate dates according to tradition. The

¹¹⁹ Conomis 1961, 1970, F VI; 1975, F LXXXIV; R. Parker 1996, 302–4. *Oinoptai* (ch. 19 n. 69) appear in Eupolis *PCG* 5 F 219; Didymos (F 14 Schmidt 1854) says that they were phratry officials, but in view of the association here with the Theoinia the assumption that all phratries appointed *oinoptai* (responsible for A. Mommsen's statement, 1864, 307, that there were 36) may be mistaken. If the Kynnidai were associated with Apollo Kynneios, worshipped at Halai (Krates *FGH* 362 F 2; cf. above, n. 12), it is hard to see how they entered into this case; the speaker may have been gratuitously displaying antiquarian knowledge. [*Kyn*]ne[*i*]d[*ôn*] may be a possible restoration in *IG* ii² 2871 ([*Eu*]ne[*i*]d[*ôn*] is not), a text of the beginning of the 1st c. BCE dealing with Apollo Patroios and a *mystikê oikia*. Rabel 1915 is not helpful on the priestess who was unwilling *ta idia dran*; the phrase is odd, and however idiosyncratic the use of *exoulê* in this case (Harp. s.v. *dike exoulês*), the priestess should be being prevented from performing a rite rather than being compelled to do so. I wonder therefore whether *ta idia dran* is a variant on *ta idia prattein*, the problem being that she was interfering in sacrifices that were not her responsibility (cf. perhaps *FGH* 3 F 45).

¹²⁰ *IG* ii² 1229; cf. Giangiulio 1982, 952–3. The honorands receive gold crowns; they had personally paid for the building work.

¹²¹ [Dem.] 59. 84 supplies a member of the Koironidai registered in Erchia (above, n. 114). Cf. Istros *FGH* 334 F 15 (Harp. s.v. *Koironidai*); the statement of *An. Bekker* 1814 l. 273 that both Krokon and Koiron were sons of Triptolemos may come from another period.

Theoinia, according to Harpokration (s.v.), were celebrated at the time of the Rural Dionysia, in the month Poseideon. It seems quite likely that the *genos* Theoinidai, which passed a decree in late Hellenistic or possibly Roman times honouring its priestess of the Nymph, and the *genos* Iobakchoi from which we have a decree of the second century CE, are successive later manifestations of the same group. On this view the Krokonidai and Koironidai, and any other *genê* entitled to nominate *gerairai*, would have merged at some time in the third century or later, under the name Theoinidai, and would later have changed their name to Iobakchoi.¹²²

Deinarchos also wrote a speech for a *diadikasia* between the deme Phaleron and the Phoinikes, concerning the priesthood of Poseidon, presumably in the cult of Poseidon Hippodromios at Phaleron; but it is not clear whether the Phoinikes were a *genos* or a group of Phoenicians resident in the deme. Hesychios' statement (s.v.) that they were a *genos* may be only an inference from the title of this speech. However, the Salaminioi made offerings in Boedromion, in the 360s, at Phaleron to Poseidon Hippodromios with the heroes Teukros, Phaiax, and Nauseiros; if Phoenician immigrants had adopted the cult, they had taken over a sanctuary with local traditions.¹²³

Other speeches in the Deinarchan corpus, dealing with similar matters, were rejected as spurious by Dionysios of Halikarnassos as either too early or too late in date. A speech against the Kerykes, for someone whom they had rejected, was dated in the archonship of Euboulos or Lykiskos (345, 344), when Deinarchos was only twenty. Another *diadikasia*, dated by Dionysios in 341/0, concerned the deme Athmonon and a ritual involving Demeter and Kore and the use of garlands of myrtle and smilax, but the identity of the second party to the dispute is not clear. The *diadikasia* between the priestess of Demeter and the hierophant, and the *diadikasia* between the (H)eudanemioi and the Kerykes, are both dated after Lykourgos' death (F xxxiv, xxxv, xxxviii Conomis 1975).

¹²² [Dem.] 59. 78; Apollodoros implies that there were other, secret promises in the oath. *TGFI* 208 F 1 seems to refer to the *Korónidai* (*Koirónidai*?) *korai* as daughters of Theoinos (cf. Kearns 1989, 67; n. 51). Theoinidai: Vanderpool 1979, *SEG* 29. 135, Humphreys 2004 ch. 6; we do not really know whether the inscription belongs to the Hellenistic or the Roman period. In any case, it seems too late for an association of their priestess of the Nymph with the sanctuary south of the Akropolis, where offerings cease in the 2nd c. BCE (Travlos 1971, 361–3). In my view the letters *RA* in line 9 suggest the restoration [*thugate*]ra, and hence a longer line than Vanderpool's text, with room for the priestess's personal name and the name, (patronymic?), and demotic of her father. A longer line would also allow for specification of the site where the decree was to be set up. Alternatively, the *genos* possibly derived revenue from a [*periste*]ra, dovecote (line 12); this would strengthen the case for connecting its priestess with the priestess of Aphrodite Pandemos Nymphes recorded on a theatre seat (*IG* ii² 5149). Iobakchoi: *IG* ii² 1368, *LS* 51, Moretti 1986; Vermaseren 1982, p. 48 no. 180. The Iobakcheia in the 2nd c. CE took place at the City Dionysia, whereas the Theoinia are associated with the Rural Dionysia by Harp. s.v., but a change of date resulting from decline of the rural festivals does not seem impossible. On the *genos* Bakchiadai, attested in the 2nd c. (*IG* ii³ 4. 657), see Lambert 1998; Humphreys 2004, 264; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, ch. 6. It is uncertain whether the *geraira* of *IG* ii² 6288, wife of Menekrates of Ikarion, held her office in the cult of Dionysos or of Kybele (possible kin of her husband, *IG* i³ 254, ii³ 1231. 64).

¹²³ Din. F XX Conomis 1975; Baslez 1986, 291–2. Alope, who bore Hippothoon to Poseidon and was turned into a spring (subject of a tragedy by Euripides), was mentioned by Deinarchos. The (presumably Eleusinian) *genos* responsible for the cult of Hippothoon as tribal eponym (Schlaifer 1940) has not been identified.

The priestess of Demeter had clashed with a hierophant earlier, when Archias held the office (above, p. 688), and the Philleidai, who held the office, must always have had some difficulty in defending their rights against encroachment by the Eumolpidai and Kerykes, whose officiants were male. The *genos* nevertheless survived to pass a decree in the first century CE with the —]dai, who perhaps by this time shared the right of appointing the priestess (*IEleus* 379; R. Parker 1996, 317); by the second century CE priestesses are being appointed from the Kerykes and Eumolpidai (Clinton 1974).

We know almost nothing about the *gennetai* of this *genos*. If the story in Plutarch *Alkibiades* 22 is reliable, the priestess in 415 was Theano, daughter of Menon of Agryle (outside the city of Athens, on the east side), and she had been given the name of a Homeric priestess (ch. 12 n. 76). Another fifth-century priestess may have been called Lysistrate (*CEG* 317, *IG* i³ 953).

The Heudanemoi or Eudanemoi, a much more obscure *genos*, disputed with the Kerykes ‘about the basket’; presumably about the right to appoint the bearer of a basket in some part of the Eleusinian ritual. Basket bearers (*kanêphoroi*) were usually young girls; statues of girls who have played this role, in a variety of rituals, start to be dedicated by kin in the late fourth or early third century (ch. 12 n. 18). Arrian refers to the altar of the Heudanemoi, ‘which those initiated at Eleusis have seen on the bare earth’;¹²⁴ it was presumably an *eschara*, an altar made of sacrificial ashes. The Heudanemoi do not appear elsewhere; the name may suggest a connection with Orphic teachings, but since they take part in a court case it seems clear that they are a *genos* (or group of *orgeones*) and not deities.

Minor *genê* appear at about this time also as creditors, lending funds against the security of land, and (perhaps in consequence) as owners of parcels of land sold in a general sale of land belonging to corporate groups. *Demes*, *phratries*, and groups of *orgeones* also sell land at this time (Lambert 1997*a*); there seems to have been some official encouragement for small groups to sell scattered parcels of land they had acquired over the years and finance their operations by lending out the resulting cash at interest. Sale was not obligatory—the Salaminioi kept their property at Sounion—but many groups may have had difficulty in finding reliable lessees (Appendix 2).

A mortgage marker (*horos*) set up on the land of a man who seems to have been raising loans in his *phratry*, perhaps in the region of Anaphlystos, records debts to two sets of *phrateres* (thiasoi or sections of thiasoi; cf. ch. 19), and also to the Epikleidai and Glaukidai, who may be minor *genê* belonging to the *phratry*. Hesychios records a festival of Demeter called the Epikleidia, and the Glaukidai may be associated with the hero Glaukos, who receives a lamb, together with Xouthos, in a calendar of c.430 (*IG* i³ 255). The *genos* Lykomidai also lends money at this time.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Arr. *Anab.* 3. 16. 8 (R. Parker’s translation ‘on the plain’, 1996, 293, seems to me less likely). My impression is that something has dropped out of the text, which would originally have referred to an altar of the tyrannicides (cf. *A.P.* 58. 1; Rudhardt 1958 s.v. *enagizein*, *enagisma*) as well as their statues, and noted its resemblance to the altar of the (H)eudanemoi, known to those initiated at Eleusis. Cf. *Agora* III, no. 260. On sacrifice and altars at Eleusis see [Dem.] 59. 116–17; Mylonas 1961, 169–70; Clinton 1988*b*. On ‘weathermongers’ see Parker loc. cit. and Laks 2013.

¹²⁵ *IG* ii² 2723, Finley 1952 no. 41; there is a *chiliastys* Glaukeis at Ephesos (N. F. Jones 1987). On *IG* i³ 255 see ch. 21 s. ‘The Trittyes’. The Lykomidai lend with the deme Phlya and the tribe Kekropis

Sellers of land include the Dipoliastai, presumably a collective name for the genē responsible for the Dipolieia (doubted by R. Parker 1996, 334); the Apheidantidai, who owned land in Kothokidai and were represented by their *epimelētēs* Leontios son of Kalliades of Epikēphisia; and perhaps the Oikatai, whose name gives no clue to their nature.¹²⁶

We can restore the name of the eponym of the Apheidantidai in the list of Theseus' companions transmitted in a very garbled state in Servius' commentary on Vergil *Aeneid* 6. 21: 'idest arcadis' should be Apheidas Arkados, since there was a tradition that Apheidas was the son of Arkas, the eponymous hero of Arkadia, by Metaneira daughter of Krokon. The Apheidantidai may also be the —]ntidai who appear as the genos of the descendants of Lykourgos' father-in-law Habron of Bate in the record of the Pythais of 106/5 BCE.¹²⁷

Servius' list of Theseus' companions has a strongly Eleusinian flavour. 'Hippoforbas et libi' may be a variant of Hippothoon son of Alope; the connection of the Arkadian Apheidas with Athens is associated with Krokon; the names of 'puresion celci' and 'iesione celei' are usually thought to conceal those of a son and daughter of the Eleusinian Keleus; two of the other girls are Andromache daughter of Eurymedon and Eurymedousa ('seupymedusa') daughter of Polyxenos. Polyxenos was an Eleusinian hero, and two hierophants at the end of the fourth century were called Eurymedon and Eurykleides. Other parts of Attika were also represented. Menestheus, whose name (like that of Periboia) seems to have been firmly attached to the tradition of this expedition, is said to be son of Sounion (sumiani); 'demolion cydani' may represent the eponyms of the Demotionidai of Dekeleia and of the deme Kydantidai; 'phidokos ramuntis' must be Amphilochos son of Rhamnous, another indication of late fourth century date, since the Amphiareion of Oropos, where Amphilochos was worshipped, only returned to Athenian control in 335; 'milita triaconi' presumably represents Melite, perhaps as daughter

(Finley no. 146; above, n. 103); money is also lent by the Gephyraioi (Finley no. 147, Davidson and Thompson 1943, p. 1. 1) and by the .erkeidai (*Agora XIX* H 88).

¹²⁶ Above, n. 28; Appendix 2. The land of the Dipoliastai is in Phlya, and one of their two officials belongs to that deme (Lambert 1997*a*, s.v.; the *epimelētēs* of the Oikatai, who also purchases their land, for 100 dr., is Straton son of Mnesiphane of Kothokidai (F 16A, 15–18, *IG* ii² 1597; ch. 28, Lambert 1997*a* n. 5); the land of the Apheidantidai (ibid. no. 40; cf. below, n. 142) is in Kothokidai, and their *epimelētēs* is Leontios son of Kalliades of Epikēphisia; land is also sold by the —akinid[ai] (Stele III B no. 43, *Agora I* 3771).

¹²⁷ The text reads: *Hippoforbas et libi idest arcadis antimachus euandri mnesteus sumiani phidokos ramuntis demolion cydani puresion celci* (boys) and *Peribea alcatim medippe pyrii iesione celei andromache eurimedontis seupymedusa polixeni europe laodicit milita triaconi* (girls). For Apheidas son of Arkas and Metaneira (Meganeira) see Apollod. 3. 9. 1. The suggestion that 'puresion' is Porphyryon, founder of the temple of Aphrodite Ourania at Athmonon according to Paus. 1. 14. 7 (Thilo 1884), may be too far-fetched. Eurymedon is FF of Nausithoos in *Od.* 7. 58, and we have a dedication to him from the first half of the 4th c. BCE from Piraeus (*IG* ii² 4567). Apheidantidai: ch. 24 n. 13.

of Trikomoi or Tetrakomoi. The list may go back to Phanodemos or Demon (*FGH* 325, 327); if it has any connection with the fourteen families on whom Kimon laid the obligation of contributing to sacrifices in honour of Theseus performed by the Phytalidai (above, n. 69), this list must already have reflected the ties of the Phytalidai with Eleusis.

If the Theseian ‘fourteen families’ were indeed still (or again) in operation at this time, they would have been on a footing similar to that of two pseudo-genē or genos-like groups which flourished in this period. A long list of the *parasitōi* of Athena Pallenis and their archons has been variously dated to c.350 or to the Lykourgan period; they came from demes as far afield as Lamptrai, Aigilia, Anaphlystos, Acharnai, and Epikēphisia, and include among the names that can be reconstructed enough to make identification possible an impressive number of wealthy men. It seems likely (*pace* March 2008) that the ‘league’ had been reconstituted shortly before the record was made. One of its members, Epilykos son of Nikostratos of Gargettos,¹²⁸ may have been of Philaid origin, but belonged to the new military aristocracy of the years after Chaironeia, serving as hipparch in 325; a younger kinsman, Theophantos son of Nikostratos of Gargettos, was taxiarch in 281/0. Konon III son of Timotheos II of Anaphlystos, known before Chaironeia only for his activities as trierarch and as arbitrator in a private dispute ([Demosthenes] 40. 39), served as general in command of Piraeus in 334/3 and 333/2 and was sent on an embassy to Nikanor with Phokion and Klearchos in 319/8. Though he was probably descended from the Konon who held the archonship in 462/1, the family became prominent only with the career of Konon II, first attested as general in 414/3 and responsible for rebuilding Athens’ fleet after the Peloponnesian War.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ The argument is based only on the name Epilykos (cf. *APF* 8429 XVII) and the statement by Epikouros’ friend Metrodoros, in his *Peri eugeneias*, that Epikouros, also of Gargettos, belonged to the Philaidai (D. L. 10. 1). Cf. ch. 24 n. 62.

¹²⁹ Peek 1942, 24 no. 26 (late 4th c.); Stanton 1984a (c.350; but see *SEG* 34. 157); R. Parker 1996, 330–1. Cf. above, n. 56. There was some connection with deme organization, with the *basileus*, and with roles for *gerontes* and for women who had had only one husband (*prōtoposeis*): Themison *FGH* 374 F 1. Stanton suggests that there were 3 *parasitōi* from each Kleisthenic tribe. On Konon’s embassy see above, n. 118. Other known parasites in this text are Kephisodoros of Oe (*APF* p. 290, cf. 9816), attested as a contributor of naval equipment c.366 (the son of Melesias, choregos for dithyramb in 375/4, *IG* ii³ 4. 441, seems too early, and is perhaps an older kinsman); Nikokles son of L[ysikles] of Kydantidai (*APF* 10903), who undertook the *eutaxia* liturgy c.330, bought land in his own deme in the *hekatostai* sales for 162½ dr. (*IG* ii² 1597, Lambert 1997a F 16A 4), and figures on a curse tablet perhaps of the late 320s with other members of his deme (*SEG* 58. 265 A III 80–1, cf. chs. 14 n. 70, 24 n. 97; he seems to be a deme notable rather than a major figure at city level); and Prokles son of Protokles of Plotheia, who like Konon III was one of the guarantors of the triremes sent to Chalkis in 341/0, and was sole trierarch—which at this period implies considerable wealth—at some date before 325/4 (*APF* 12234; his tombstone, with that of his father, *IG* ii² 7240–1; a descendant may have proposed *IG* ii³ 898 in 248/7, archon Diomedon: Habicht 1982a). Many names are too poorly preserved for identification. Three of the

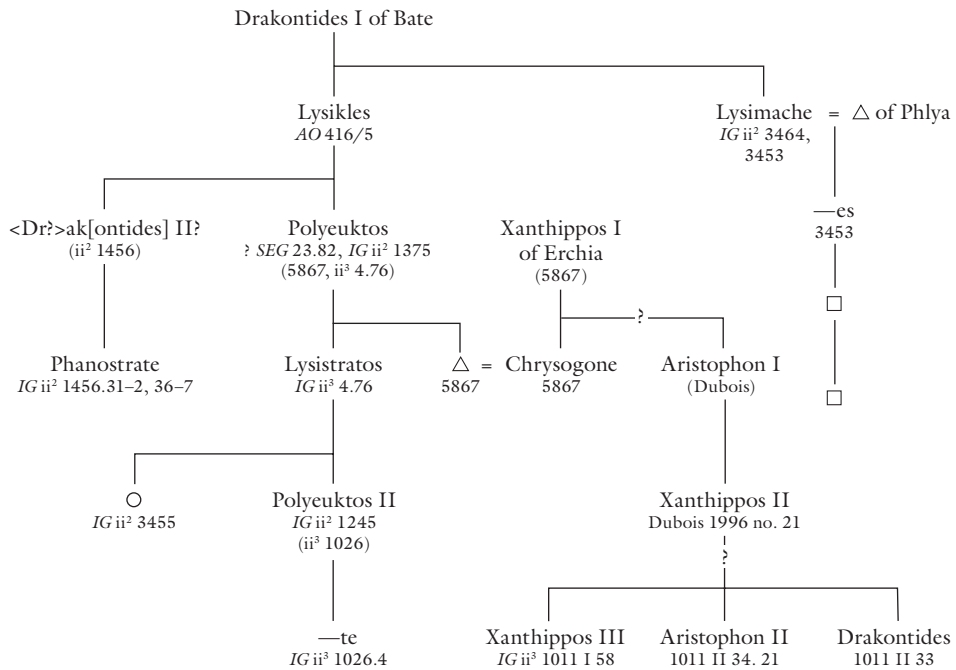
A clearer example of the rise of a new group is provided by the Mesogeioi. Their earliest record seems to be an inscription of the late fourth century from Kamatero (Eupyridai?). At this date the group has a sanctuary, in which the inscription is to be set up, an archon, a treasurer, archives kept by the archon, and a festival of Herakles at which honours are to be proclaimed. By 275/4 the group has apparently moved or expanded its operations to a site close outside the Acharnian gate, on the north side of the city. Its archon in this year was Polyeuktos II son of Lysistratos of Bate, brother of the priestess of Athena Polias Lysimache (?) II, and thus a member of one of the leading families of the Eteoboutadai (*APF* 4549). By this time the festival of Herakles included a procession and a sacrifice, with a distribution of meat and wine and a table set for the god. The archon distributed cash to members of the group from his own pocket. In a later text of *c.*260 the *genos* archon is Epigenes IV son of Metrodoros II of Kydathenaion, who may have belonged to the Eumolpidai (*APF* 10807). The festival is now more ambitious; the group appoints a fire carrier (*pyrphoros*), and perhaps a leader of a choir or procession of girls (*koragôgos*); it has recorders (*mnêmones*) and a hereditary (*patrios*) herald. It can afford to bestow a crown worth 500 drachmas, and has a more complex system for funding sacrifices. It has both a priest of Herakles and a priest of Diomos.

Diomos is associated with Herakles in an explanation of the name of Kynosarges, one of the main centres of the cult of Herakles in the neighbourhood of the city. An Athenian called Diomos was sacrificing to Herakles when a white dog snatched the meat. He gave chase, and built an altar where the dog dropped its prize (cf. Parker 1993).

The Mesogeioi called themselves either a *genos* or an *oikos*. They cannot have been a *genos* of the traditional kind, since members of other *genê* belonged to the group, but they may have intended membership to be hereditary and may have thought this justified use of the term. The records show the group constantly expanding its activities: making its festival of Herakles more elaborate, appointing additional officials. It seems quite possible, therefore, that it also acquired a new site nearer to the city, perhaps part of that used by a modest group of *orgeones* whose cult table, with two decrees inscribed on it, was found not far from the later decrees of the Mesogeioi; the mention of a priest of Diomos in *IG* ii² 1247, of *c.*260, suggests that the Mesogeioi may have been becoming involved in the cult of Herakles at Kynosarges. The group may not have lasted for much more than two generations, but during its heyday it was remarkably successful in attracting rich men from notable families to serve as its archons.¹³⁰

archons of the group come from local demes (Gargettos, Pallene, and Paiania; the fourth from Acharnai), but this may be due to residence in 507 rather than historical tradition.

¹³⁰ See Dow and Gill 1965; R. Parker 1996, 306–7. *IG* ii² 1244–5 and 1247 are decrees of the Mesogeioi; Dow/Gill 1 and *IG* ii² 1246, inscribed on the same cult table, are probably both decrees of a



Note: Uncertainties here have increased since the publication of *APF*. If Keesling's date in the first half of the 4th c. for *IG* ii² 3464 is accepted, we do not know the name of the priestess honoured in ii² 3455, and cannot securely place the dedicant. The treasurer of *SEG* 23.82 and ii² 1375 could belong to any deme of II Aigeis; Bate is an obvious possibility, but there are others. We cannot at present place the dedicant of ii² 3455, [c.6–7] Pol[y]euktou Er[chieus].

TABLE 20.4. Priestesses of Athena Polias *APF* 4549 (revised)

Polystratos of Bate was perhaps attracted to the group because its second cult centre was in or near his home deme. The office of priestess of Athena Polias (Table 20.4) may have been handed down continuously in his family since the long tenure of Lysimache I from c.430 to 366.

group of *orgeônes*, which also refers to itself as a *thiasos* (however, *en tōi thiasōi* in D/G 1 should in my view refer to oral announcement of honours rather than publication on stone). 1245 was found near the cult table, 1247 150 paces farther north. *IG* ii² 1248, concerning the cult of Herakles at Cholargos, may well be unconnected (chs. 24 n. 8, 27 n. 15). On Diomeia and Kynosarges see n. 61. It is of course possible that ii² 1244 was carried to Kamatero from a site nearer the city, but Mesogeioi would be an odd name for a group originating just outside one of the city gates. In ii² 1244 the Mesogeioi refer to themselves either as a [*genos*] or as an [*oikos*] (Schlaifer 1944; cf. perhaps the *oikos* of the Dekeleians, ch. 19 at nn. 87 ff.). On the topography of the Paiania area and the provenance of ii² 1244 see Wilhelm 1905, 231–4, Vanderpool 1967; chs. 19 n. 116, 25 n. 18. ii² 1245, honouring Polyekutos of Bate, was proposed by his fellow demesman Amynomachos son of Philokrates, one of the trustees of Epikouros' will (D. L. 10. 16); his homonymous FF had served as councillor in 343/2 (*IG* ii³ 4. 75. 30; ch. 24 n. 13). It does not seem certain that the cult centre in the early 3rd c. lay in Bate, though it is possible. The decree for Epigenes, *IG* ii² 1247, was proposed by Prokleides of Kerameis (his homonymous grandfather, FF, was honoured in 326/5 as choregos by Pandionis, *IG* ii² 1157 with Tracy 1995, 134 n. 3). The expansion of the Mesogeioi may have some connection with the earlier existence of groups of parasites of Herakles, about whom we still know far too little (cf. Tagalidou 1993, 59–63; ch. 22 at n. 58).

Phanostrate, perhaps her great-niece (BSD) was priestess in 341/0; she was succeeded by [Lysimache ?] II, Polyeuktos' sister, who was honoured with a statue made by Kephisodotos and Timarchos *c.*300–290, and was still alive *c.*270. From her the office probably passed to Polyeuktos' daughter, perhaps a [Phanostra]te or [Lysistra]te, who was in office in the archonship of Alkibiades (237/6?). It eventually passed to this priestess's great-granddaughter (SSD) Theodote, daughter of Polyeuktos of Amphytrope; we do not know whether the marriage of [? Phanostra]te to Archestratos son of Euthykrates of Amphytrope, member of a rich fourth-century family with interests in mining (*APF* 2419) was an intra-genos marriage or not. Either before or after Theodote the priesthood was also held by Penteteris daughter of Hierokles of Phlya, possibly from the family in Phlya into which Lysimache I had married. Her name—if she was not renamed on taking office—suggests that she was destined for the office from birth.¹³¹

The branch of the Eteoboutadai that supplied the priest of Poseidon Erechtheus fared less well in the Hellenistic period, despite the fame of Lykourgos. On his death the priesthood was awarded by lot to his second son Habron, but Habron ceded it to his elder brother Lykophron II; it seems quite likely that Lykourgos' three sons were the only candidates. Habron was appointed finance minister of Athens in 307/6, the year in which Demetrios Poliorketes liberated the city from Macedonian control; by this time Athenians looked back on the Lykourgan age as a golden period of independence, democracy, and prosperity. Honours were decreed for Lykourgos, among them the privilege of perpetual dining rights in the Prytaneion for his next-of-kin. It was probably this privilege—passed down through the second marriage of Kallisto, daughter of Lykophron II, although it is unlikely that Symmachos, son of this union, was ever formally adopted into the *oikos* of his MF Lykophron—that preserved the genealogy recorded in [Plutarch] *Life of Lykourgos* (*Moralia* 843a–c). The genealogy traces Kallisto's descendants, through her great-great-granddaughter (SSSD) Philippe, who married the Eumolpid Medeios son of Lysandros of Peiraios, to Theophrastos and Diokles sons of the Torchbearer Themistokles of Hagnous, who held office at the end of the first century BCE. Philippe I's daughter, another Philippe, became priestess of Athena Polias, and her son Medeios II served as priest of Poseidon Erechtheus, in the first century BCE; by this time descent from Lykourgos, whether in the male or in the female line, seems to be almost synonymous with membership of the Eteoboutadai, and we have no evidence that the genos was still functioning as a corporate body. The Erechtheion became almost a family museum for Lykourgos'

¹³¹ *APF* 4549; cf. ch. 8 at n 17, on the instability of women's names. The history of this family does not entitle us to state that genos membership could be transmitted by women in the Hellenistic period, since Lysimache I and [Phanostra]te may have married within the genos. List of priestesses in Blok and Lambert 2009; cf. also Von den Hoff 2008; Keesling 2012.

descendants, housing wooden statues of Lykourgos and his sons by Kephisodotos and Timarchos, a painting of the same group with their mythical ancestors Hephaistos, Ge, and Erechtheus showing Habron handing the trident, symbol of priestly office, to Lykophron II, and the list of Lykourgos' descendants from Kallisto to Philippe. The use of the archaic material wood for statues that assimilated recent and perhaps even living members of the leading *genos* line to their mythical forebears is striking.¹³²

Though the rules of transmission were not the same, hereditary dining rights in the Prytaneion and *genos* membership seem to have reinforced one another. *Sitêsis* in the Prytaneion could be transmitted through women, whereas *genos* membership could only be so acquired by the adoption of the sons of *epikleroi*. In the Hellenistic period, however, such distinctions may well have broken down.¹³³ Philotera daughter of Pausimachos, son of Philostratos, who claimed in the late second century BCE to be 'of the true blood of the Boutadai', and held the office of priestess of Athena Polias, also claimed descent from Lykourgos, and from famous generals.¹³⁴ *Sitêsis* was an honour, and genealogical connections that might form a basis for claiming it were remembered.

¹³² On Lykourgos IV and his kin see Table 4.6; *APF* 9251; Humphreys 1985*a* with 2004 ch. 3; Bourriot 1976, 1343–4; *FGH* IV A I 1013 with comm. Lykophron II married into a rich family in Aixone (ch. 29 n. 117, Whitehead 1986*a*, 420 no. 97). Descendants of the agnatic kin now known from *SEMA* 174–6 do not seem ever to have benefited from the grant of *sitêsis*. Use of the lot to appoint *genos* priests is attested for the Eteoboutadai also in *IG* ii² 1146 (*pace* Schlaifer 1940, there is no reason to suppose that the mode of appointment has changed, cf. n. 17), and for the Salaminioi in *Agora* XIX L 4a; cf. also Dem. 57. 46. On Habron's dedications see Hintzen-Bohlen 1990, 152–3, ch. 12 n. 107, and Appendix 4. On the Eumolpid family of Medeios of Peiraios see *IEleus* 275, Tracy 1982; Karila-Cohen 2007; Schmalz 2009; Ismard 2010 (378–83); Lambert 2012*b*, 89–92; Sourlas 2013. They would have married into the Eteoboutadai c.140, just when the *genos* revival was beginning. The award of Eteoboutad priesthoods to Medeios II and his sister Philippe II may be associated with Roman patronage, like his 3-year tenure of the eponymous archonship in 91/0–89/8.

¹³³ A rescript of Marcus Aurelius (J. H. Oliver 1970, 4 plaque II. 7–14, *SEG* 29. 127) deals with the permissibility of co-membership of both Eumolpidai and Kerykes, and seems to imply that a matrilineal link could facilitate this. In the late 1st c. BCE Pammenes son of Zenon of Marathon seems to have belonged to Gephyraioi, Erysichthonidai, and Eumolpidai (P. Roussel 1929; *ID* 2516–18, *SEG* 30. 85; *IG* ii² 3523–4; Baslez 2004; Schmalz 2009). Such cases, however, are perhaps rare. Diotimos son of Diodoros of Halai was a member of the Gephyraioi and held the office of Bouzyges, also in the late 1st c., but it is unlikely that the Bouzygai were still functioning as a *genos*; we should perhaps hesitate to assume that his appearance as member of a commission appointed by the Kerykes in 20/19 BCE (Clinton 1974, 50–52 = *IEleus* 300) proves that he was also a Keryx (cf. P. Roussel 1934). Gennetai who appear sometimes as representatives of the Eupatridai and sometimes as representatives of a specific *genos* are varying the description of their status; even in the Hellenistic period the Eupatridai were not a *genos* (Wilhelm 1924*b*, 124–6; Daux 1936, 551–4; R. Parker 1996, 323–4).

¹³⁴ *IG* ii² 3474; cf. 3473, 3870; Wilhelm 1909, 81; Habicht 1982*a*, 83; Humphreys 2007. Cf. Clinton 2004 = *SEG* 54. 307, claiming descent from Perikles; Perrin-Saminadayar 2014. Possible reform of *genê* in 21 BCE, Aleshire and Lambert 2011 (L. doubtful).

It seems very likely, therefore, that it was the award of *sitesis* to the next-of-kin of Harmodios and Aristogeiton that enabled the Gephyraioi to re-emerge as an influential *genos* in the late first century BCE (Baslez 2004, 107). A marriage of c.330 may indicate the tenacity with which even remote links to the tyrannicides were remembered. Dikaiogenes IV son of Menexenos II of Kydathenaion, who was to serve as general in 324/3 and 323/2, married Eukoline, daughter of Aristogeiton II of Aphidnai (*IG* ii² 6569; *APF* 3773, 12267 III). Dikaiogenes' grandfather (FF) Dikaiogenes III had been adopted out of the tyrannicide family of his father Proxenos I into the *oikos* of Dikaiogenes I of Kydathenaion in 411; we have seen his disputes with his kin (ch. 7, Case 2, Table 7.2). The privilege of *sitesis* was probably handed down from Dikaiogenes IV's FFB Harmodios III, who had opposed the grant of *sitesis* to Iphikrates in 371, to his son Proxenos II, general in the 340s, but condemned for misconduct between 346 and 343.¹³⁵ He presumably lost his privileges at this time, but had recovered his citizenship by 340; the family names, indicating either enjoyment of the privilege or hopes of recovering it, are perhaps continued by (?) [Harmo]dios IV, who (??) appears on a fourth-century *horos* (*Agora* XIX H 95; cf. *APF* 12267 VI), and by Proxenos III, archon basileus in 227/6 (archonship of Theophilos, *IG* ii² 1706. 22) and treasurer of the Council in 223/2 (*IG* ii³ 1152. 69–71, 1153. 56).

In 336/5 one of the two tyrannicide positions was held by Demokrates son of Demokles of Aphidnai (Hyperides 2 *Philippides* 2–3; ch. 31 n. 24). Though he may have replaced Proxenos II, it is perhaps more likely that he represented the descendants of Aristogeiton. The story that an impoverished granddaughter (DD) of Aristogeiton had returned to Athens from Lemnos to marry a wealthy husband indicates that there were disputes about the line of descent in this branch of the *genos*. Lemnian connections appear again in references to the dispute between Archippos and Aristogeiton—probably Eukoline's father—over the estate of Archepolis.¹³⁶ One possibility is that Demokrates' father or grandfather (FF) had acquired *sitesis* by claiming to be Aristogeiton's DDS through a marriage with a Lemnian girl; this claim had been accepted by the *demos*, but raised hopes in another Lemnian line that it had a better right to the position. By the time of Aristogeiton II, named on the basis of these hopes, the family had returned to Attika; Aristogeiton II may have hoped that alliance with Dikaiogenes IV would provide him with a supporter who could claim familiarity with traditions in the tyrannicide families and had his own reasons to resent exclusion from their privileges. Since Demokrates'

¹³⁵ Harmodios III was evidently already well known, though probably still in his 30s, when the speaker of *Lys.* 1 (41) singled him out as one of the friends and neighbours whom he had tried to recruit as witnesses. His father was dead by 399, and he would probably already have been enjoying the family privilege. For the attack on Iphikrates see *Lys.* fr. XVIII Thalheim 1913, VII G; Carey 2007 41a–49, cf. p. 464–5.

¹³⁶ Is. F III Thalheim 1903. Archippos may be A. of Aphidnai, *naopoios* on Delos in 346/5 (*ID* 104-23, lff., 104-24. 13ff.). On suspicion of Lemnians see ch. 7 n. 23. The Aristogeiton sent as ambassador to Dareios in 333 (ch. 16 n. 25) presumably belonged to this family.

family can be traced into the second century (*APF* 12267 IV), and the name Aristogeiton disappears, these hopes were apparently disappointed.

The Eumolpidai and Kerykes were never in danger of dissolution; their privileges were too widely distributed and their offices too numerous and prestigious. In the late fourth and early third century, however, the two gené draw closer to each other and to the deme of Eleusis, which was flourishing as a garrison centre. The Kerykes passed a decree honouring Lykourgos' friend Xenokles son of Xeinis of Sphettos, perhaps during his years of service as Athens' finance minister in 332/1–329/8, for his benevolence to the sanctuary (*IEleus* 87); in (?) 321/0 (or 318/7) he served as one of the epimeletai of the Mysteries and built a new bridge on the processional route at his own expense.¹³⁷ Later, perhaps towards the end of the century, they honoured Euthydemos son of Moirokles of Eleusis for his services to the genos while acting as paredros to the basileus.¹³⁸ Euthydemos came of a prominent Eleusinian family, and served as demarch c.300; his cousins Moirokles II (FBS) and Kallippos II (FBSS) were conspicuous in city politics in the late fourth and early third century (ch. 30 n. 89, Table 30.3). The text provides interesting evidence on the collaboration of basileus, genos, and resident demesmen in celebrating the Mysteries.

Another associate of Lykourgos, Neoptolemos son of Antikles of Melite, was honoured by the Eumolpidai, c.330 (?), for supervising the *hiera* and decorating the *hieron* of Plouton. Since he is awarded the same share (*meris*—of sacrificial meat?) as the Eumolpidai, he is evidently not a member of the genos; he may have either been an especially zealous and generous member of a board of commissioners appointed by the city, or held an individual position.¹³⁹ By the time of Chairetios, hierophant perhaps in the early 220s, the two gené are passing decrees

¹³⁷ *APF* 11234, Ampolo 1979, Habicht 1988*b*, ch. 27 n. 27; *IEleus* 87 = *Agora* XVI 77/XXXI 27. Bridge: *IEleus* 95 = *IG* ii³ 4. 232. Gow and Page 1965 I, p. 11 no. 2; cf. also *IG* ii³ 4. 212–13. Xenokles was brought out of retirement in 307/6 to hold the office of agonothetes at the Lenaia (and Dionysia? *IG* ii³ 518, 519), and was sent on an embassy to Antigonos soon afterwards (ii² 1492. 100); he was represented as host of a dinner party in a parody poem by Makron shortly after 307 (Athen. 134d–137c), and is named on the curse tablet *SEG* 58. 265 A I 25. His grandson (SS) was priest of Akamas (his own tribe) in ? 223/2 (*IG* ii³ 1153. 55).

¹³⁸ *IEleus* 100, proposed by Epigenes son of Euergetes of Koile (above, at n. 101; Table 20.2); J. K. Davies 1996, 631 n. 123 notes correctly against MacKendrick 1969 (followed by Ismard 2010, 256) that the language of the decree 'virtually excludes' that Euthydemos was a member of the genos.

¹³⁹ *IG* ii² 1231, emended by Wilhelm 1939, 13–16 (missing from *APF*); *IEleus* 93 reads Hi(c)rophan[es] as the proposer's name, connecting him with *IG* ii³ 4. 35. 109, Halai Aix. Neoptolemos, who came from an old family (*APF* 10652, ch. 29 n. 5), is not otherwise heard of after 326/5; the decree is dated c.330 by Tracy (1995, 84). On the date of *IG* ii² 1235 (Chairetios; *SEG* 29. 134, *IEleus* 201) see Dow 1979 (Clinton 1974 dated it 248/7). The proposer, Thrasyphon son of Hierokleides of Xypete, may be a Keryx (the name is suitable for office in either *genos*), and father of the altar priest and Torchbearer in the late 3rd c., Hierokleides; he also proposed *IG* ii³ 1009, a decree honouring the *epimelētai* of the Mysteries, and possibly ii³ 1027 (G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, 225 n. 186). The two gené

jointly, and can only afford to honour their hierophant with a myrtle wreath (excused as traditional, *patrion*). The Chremonidean War and Macedonian occupations may have made the middle decades of the third century a difficult period for Eleusis.

One Eumolpid family that was to achieve a leading position in Athens in the second century seems, however, already to have risen to hold the office of hierophant in 323. Eurymedon, who prosecuted Aristotle for impiety in that year on the grounds that the philosopher had composed a hymn in honour of his father-in-law, the tyrant Hermias of Atarnai,¹⁴⁰ and his successor Eurykleides, who was teased by the ‘atheist’ philosopher Theodoros during the reign of Demetrios of Phaleron, probably both belonged to the family of Kephisia first attested in the service as councillor in 367/6 of Euripides son of Eurykleides (*IG* ii³ 4. 54. 22), and prominent in Athenian affairs from the middle of the third century to the late second century (Habicht 2006*a*; Paschidis 2008, A 71–2; Tracy 2015). In the second century Habryllis, daughter of Mikion V of Kephisia, served as priestess of Demeter and Kore. It is somewhat surprising, if the hierophants of the fourth century belong to this family, that it shows no sign of interest in Eleusis later.¹⁴¹ There may however be a parallel silence from Chremonides and Glaukon of Aithalidai, perhaps Praxiergidai (n. 78); and we hear nothing of *genos* affiliation in the family of Phaidros, Kallias, and Thymochares of Sphettos.

The Athens of Demetrios of Phaleron, if we can judge by a fragment of Menander’s *Flatterer* (c.314; F 5 Sandbach 1972), was still full of *gennetai*; a character complains, ‘We couldn’t even find a *gennetes*, although there are so many’ (or, ‘I have so many’), ‘and so I am left here all alone’. But their pretensions met with less sympathy. It is not until the late second century that references to *genos* affiliation become prominent.

act jointly also in *IEleus* 236, 2nd c., honouring a hierophant with a bronze statue, though here the Eumolpidai pass their own decree in addition; cf. also *IEleus* 221.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. the story that the Torchbearer Pythodoros opposed Demetrios Poliorketes when he demanded to proceed directly to the final stage of the Mysteries, the *epôpteia*, without the required preliminaries (Plut. *D. P.* 26, 302 BCE). It may be at this period that stories about the *parrhêsia* of earlier Eleusinian officials became popular (above, p. 686).

¹⁴¹ D. L. 5. 5, 2. 101; cf. Habicht 1982*a*, 179–82. There is also a choregos Eurykleides in 459/8 (*APF* 5963). Habryllis: *IG* ii² 3477, with *Agora XXXI* no. 75 and Themis 2009*a* = *SEG* 56. 235; cf. *IG* ii² 6398; D. M. Lewis 1955, 1–12. Lysistrate, daughter of Mikion VI of Kephisia, restored in *IG* ii² 1036, should be deleted (Aleshire and Lambert 2003, *SEG* 53. 143). Another hierophant of the late 4th c. is [Bi-] or [Mol]ottos of Eleusis, *IG* ii² 1544. 35, perhaps in office in the 330s. Hierophantes (Aristokles) son of Noupgrades of Perithoidai, who may have been the first to change his name when he took office, is now dated c.170–150 (*IG* ii² 1934; Tracy 1990, 155–6; *IEleus* 233, 234 = *Agora XVI* no. 306; *IEleus* II introduction). Mnesimachos son of Noupgrades of Perithoidai, councillor in 335/4 (*Agora XV* 43), will be an ancestor; he also perhaps appears in ii² 7221, a list of names which is probably not funerary (Dow 1983). This would be the family into which Aristokles of Halai Aixonides was adopted in the 2nd c. BCE (above, n. 116; Table 20.3).

There is still work to be done on the fluctuating fortunes of the *gené* in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and it cannot be attempted here. The threads of continuity between the classical period and the *genos* revival of the late second century BCE were slim. A prominent family in the Kerykes which can be traced from the second century into the Roman period, that of Themistokles son of Theophrastos of Hagnous, claimed descent from the general Themistokles of Phrearrhioi, but we do not know how the pedigree was constructed (*APF* 6669 VII; Clinton 1974, 2004; *IEleus* 300); this link may be the basis, or a sign, of the closer relations between Eleusis and the Lykomidai of Phlya reflected in Pausanias' statement that he was shown the hymn of the Lykomidai, attributed to Mousaios, by a Torchbearer (9. 27. 2), and by a joint dedication by the Eumolpidai and the Lykomidai around the end of the first century CE, *IEleus* 435. Descendants of Lykourgos' father-in-law Habron of Bate also reappear in the late second century, both as representatives of the [?Apheida]ntidai and as *exégētai*; one of them, Drakon son of Ophelas of Bate, wrote a book *About gené*; another, perhaps Habron V son of Kallias IV, wrote on festivals and sacrifices. The information about *gené* in the lexicographers must derive partly from these antiquarian works of the late second century and partly from commentaries on the orators.¹⁴²

It has been claimed that by this date there was a *genos* Eupatridai, but this is now taken to be a misleading description. References to Eupatrid *exegetai* occur, with other references to *gené*, in the records of the sacred embassies sent from Athens to Delphi in the period 138/7–97/6. The custom of sending a Pythais

¹⁴² *APF* 7856. [Palla]ntidai, [Medo]ntidai, and [Zeuxa]ntidai are less likely, since Pallantidai is known only as a name for the sons of the early king Pallas, the Medontidai are only attested as a phratry (ch. 19 n. 127), and the Zeuxantidai appear only in Hsch. s.v. (the —ntidai of *IG* i³ 247 may be the deme Kydantidai, ch. 24 n. 89). The Apheidantidai sell property in the *hekatostai* texts (Lambert 1997a, *Stele* 4 F 16 A, 19–23). The genealogy that made Apheidas the son of Arkas and of Metaneira, daughter of Krokon, gave them Eleusinian connections (above, n. 127). Drakon: *FGH* 344 (*IG* ii² 2334. 71–3 = Migeotte 1992, no. 20; *ID* 1653, 2614, 2229); Habron (V), *FGH* 359, *FD* III 2. 13 (106/5). They may have been cousins (FBS; cf. Rolando 2004). Apollodoros (*FGH* 244 F 158) may also have written on *gené* in the middle of the 2nd c.; there were later works by Theodoros the Panages, *FGH* 346, on the Kerykes, in the first half of the 1st c. CE, and by Meliton, *FGH* 345, on *gené*, in the 2nd c. On service by members of this family as *exegetai* on the Pythais see Humphreys 2017b, n. 3. Habron IV was appointed *proxenos* at Delphi in 189/8 (*Syll.*³ 585); cf. *IG* ii² 2334. Davies (*APF*) suggests that Lykourgos married into the family that rivalled his fellow *gennetai*, descendants of Drakontides (*APF* 4549), for leadership in the deme Bate; but it is also possible that it was his *gennetic* connections with Bate that brought the Apheidantidai—if that was indeed their *genos*—to his attention. (The names Drakon and Drakontides were evidently both considered to carry suggestions of ancient lineage, and it is unlikely that Drakon son of Ophelas owed his name to ties with the Eteoboutadai.) The family was old—an early Kallias son of Habron set up a bronze dedication on the Akropolis in the first half of the 6th c., *IG* i³ 551—but plays remarkably little role in Athenian affairs except in the Lykourgan period, when Lykourgos' WB Habron served as *tamias stratiōtikōn* in 338/7, and again in this burst of activity in the late 2nd c. On the Hellenistic *gené* see now Karila-Cohen 2005, 2007; Perrin-Saminadayar 2005; Deshours 2011; Ismard 2013.

to Delphi seems to have been revived partly in response to the success of an initiative of the Marathonian Tetrapolis, which had sent envoys to Delphi in 215 to remind the Delphians of their own custom of sending deputations to the sanctuary, and to ask for the renewal of traditional privileges,¹⁴³ and partly in reaction to the Roman presence from 168 onwards.¹⁴⁴ The practice of identifying some members of the Pythais as *genos* representatives may have been begun by the Pyrrhakidai, who had strong connections with Delos. In 138/7 one representative was sent by the Pyrrhakidai, three by the Tetrapolis, and five (four of whom came from the same family) by the 'Eupatridai'. In 128/7 one representative of the Pyrrhakidai was named, and three representatives of the Tetrapolis. In 106/5 we have one member of the Pyrrhakidai, four Eupatridai, among them Habron son of Kallias of Bate, three Kerykes, three Euneidai, and one representative of the Tetrapolis. A member of a Eumolpid family, Sostratos son of Lakrateides of Ikarion, appears among the *pythaistai* chosen by lot, but is not identified as a *genos* representative; a member of the Bate family, a son of Habron, represents the [?Apheida]ntidai. In 97/6 Tetrapoleis, Pyrrhakidai, Kerykes, and Euneidai are joined by an *archetheōros* and three *theōroi* from the Erysichthonidai, another *genos* with Delian ties.¹⁴⁵

This evidence suggests to me that members of minor Attic *genê* by this time were in many contexts content to describe themselves as Eupatridai rather than specifying the name of their *genos*. As in the archaic period, a convincing claim to Eupatridhood would have to be backed by claims to *genos* membership; but standards of proof were probably less strict. Eupatridhood was perhaps becoming what it had been before the introduction of the annual archonship: a claim to be sustained by wealth, pedigree, and an aristocratic lifestyle, and validated by the acceptance of one's peers. Sporadic bursts of corporate activity by *genê* continue, but are probably to be explained by the ambitions of individuals rather than any sustained tradition of collective concern with *genos* business.

¹⁴³ *FD* III 2. 18–20 (*Syll.*³ 541, 637): 215, 204, 178 BCE. The Athenian actors sent an embassy in 130/29 asking for renewal of privileges granted in the 270s (*IG* ii² 1132, cf. 1134). See the important account of relations between Delphi and Athens (and Rome) in Habicht 1995, 275–80. Sacred embassies from Athens to Delos were revived in the same period (Roussel 1916, *IG* ii² 2336).

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Cartledge and Spawforth 1989, 86–7. I wonder whether the revival of the *genê* at Athens was partly prompted by a feeling that they were equivalent to Roman patrician *gentes*, and might therefore impress the Romans (cf. Lambert 2010*b*).

¹⁴⁵ Cf. n. 82; Humphreys 2017*b*, n. 3. The names of the representatives of the Pyrrhakidai were added later to *FD* III 2. 7 (138/7) and 13 (106/5), but in *FD* III 2. 8 (128/7) the record of their representation seems to have been there from the beginning; it is not clear whether the idea of representation of specific *genê*, rather than the whole Order of Eupatridai, came from the Pyrrhakidai, the Kerykes, or the Euneidai. The involvement of the Euneidai may be due to the parallel initiative of the actors (n. 143). The Erysichthonidai listed members of the *genos* in 91/0, *IG* ii² 4991; the 'revival' of this *genos* seems to have been led by the family of Pammenes and Zenon of Marathon (cf. N. D. Robertson 1984; *SEG* 60. 230). See also Jacquemin a. o. 2012, 198–201.

SUMMARY

The complex picture of *genos* history in Attika presented here is paralleled by recognition of the complexity of the history of similar phenomena in other periods: medieval ‘clans’ (Heers 1977), Scottish clans (Cathcart 2006), Chinese aristocratic families (Ebrey 1978). Large-scale descent groups are not a natural phenomenon, as was believed by nineteenth-century historians, but arise from and are sustained by hereditary rights. However, once they are in being—have a name, members, and some collective property—they acquire, to some degree, a cultural life of their own. Their past becomes part of their capital, especially if they are linked to a system of stratification. The history of the *genê* is a story of the role of status honour based on descent in changing systems of power and government.

I have argued here that the system of named, priesthood-holding aristocratic *genê* attested in Attika was peculiar to that state, though similar groups arose elsewhere in Greece in a less systematic way from the same causes. The Attic *genê*, on this view, would have crystallized as a result of the introduction in the early seventh century of annual elections for office in which only members of families that recognized each other as Eupatridai were accepted as candidates. No doubt it was not long before this boundary line was contested; after less than a century, excluded groups contemptuously described by the Eupatrid core as ‘service’ groups (*dēmionurgoi*) or ‘rustics’ (*agroikoi*) were able to gain the right to stand if they met the new wealth criteria defined by Solon.¹⁴⁶

Solon, however, while detaching the right to stand for political office from *genos* membership, left the *genê* a privileged position in their phratries. Their decisions on admission did not have to be subjected to the approval of the phratry as a whole. Increased competition for office, with the removal of the Eupatrid monopoly, probably encouraged ambitious men to make the most of their opportunities for generosity at festivals both in the home of their phratry and in the city; the areas of Attika remote from the central plain had to be roused to make the effort to vote by suggestions that they were not getting their fair share of power, and elaboration of local traditions giving them a place in Attic history. This latter trend harmonized with the increasing interest of leading men all over Greece, who met at Panhellenic festivals, in stories that linked their ancestors into a common mythical past.

Although Solon seems to have made an attempt to systematize the calendar of rituals to which the city was committed, it was always open to additions. Hereditary transmission of priesthods, in a *genos* or a specific descent line,

¹⁴⁶ In Roman terms, the period from 683/2 to Solon is a period of ‘*serrata del patriziato*’ (but this concept is now questioned by C. J. Smith 2006).

was favoured by the use of private wealth in cult in the archaic period, by a sense of the unpredictability of the gods, perhaps best dealt with at close quarters by those who had grown up on familiar terms with them, and probably by the special case of Eleusis, whose leading families established a firm grip on the celebration of the Mysteries at a date when Eleusis was still ritually, though not politically, independent of Athens.

The sixth century, though it may have been a period of intensified cult activity at grass-roots level, was also a time of population movements. Aristocrats and craftsmen moved into the city and its environs; in the 530s–520s the success of silver mining drew other families to the Sounion–Laureion region. By 507/6 the members of many *genê* were scattered across Attika. Kleisthenes' reforms accentuated this dispersal, but it now seems doubtful that his regroupings were prompted by fear that *genê* and other local cult associations might provide the basis for a renewal of regional conflict.

As it turned out, Athenians had very different problems to face. The Persian wars and the growth of empire confirmed the central role of the Assembly and Council of 500 in Athenian politics. When Kimon made a last attempt to use *genos* cults as a basis for personal power he did not build on his own membership of the *Philaidai*, but chose two other *genê*, with bases closer to the city—one in his own deme, *Lakiadai*—and with cultic ties to the city's mythical founder, Theseus.

Perikles had no intention of competing in revival of archaic pageantry. The only bones given ritual burial in Athens after 464/3 were those of men killed in battle during the year; the new buildings on the Akropolis were presented as part of Athens' campaign against Persia. Some older ritual projects were revived in the 420s, perhaps under the influence of Nikias (see however Hornblower 1992)—purification of Delos, invitation to all Greeks to send tithes of corn to Eleusis (if not earlier)—but these were not *genos* traditions. Many of the old *genos* rites by now seemed comic; and prominent young *gennetai* who had grown up listening to the sophists led the mockery.

One might almost wonder that the *genê* survived the repudiation of their traditions and values by both the left and the right wings of the intellectual elite in the second half of the fifth century, and the suspicion of oligarchic sympathies that their members nevertheless faced in the early years after 403. *Genos* cults were favoured, however, by a nostalgia for pre-war country life that we see already in Aristophanes and Euripides (cf. Borgeaud 1979; Humphreys 1986*c*); and the institutions designed by Kleisthenes and elaborated by the proliferation of administrative committees in the years of empire turned out to provide a very suitable niche for a modest snobbery at the local level. To belong to a *genos*, or even to share altars with one, could be a source of satisfaction for the men who served in the Council, held minor office on administrative boards, supported deme activities, built dignified tombs for their families, but did not aspire to

positions of great power: the undistinguished brothers of well-known orators (Hegias of Sounion), the naive husbands of Neaira's daughter Phano. *Genê* became absorbed into the democracy's representations of its past, but also into the routine operations of phratries, demes, and in some cases tribes; patterns of distribution of *gennêtai* and *phrateres* in demes and tribes affected their structure. Some survived even the collapse of collective activity in phratries and demes, but many succumbed. Whereas the *genos* of the classical period succeeded in establishing ties with a popular sense of history, the *genos* of the Hellenistic and Roman periods returned to an elite discourse on privilege, history, and the representation of Athens to a panhellenic or Roman audience. The evidence on the *genê* and their cults in these later periods has much to tell us about conceptions of history and religion, as well as kinship, but cannot be followed here.

The Kleisthenic Tribes and Trittyes

REORGANIZATION

Reforms introduced *c.*507, during the struggle for power after the expulsion of the tyrant Hippias, introduced a new tribal system: ten tribes, named after Attic heroes, each divided into three trittyes. All but the largest trittyes were further subdivided into demes, and every adult male Athenian was required to register in the deme where he lived, ‘deme’ being a common term for a rural settlement, perhaps also for an urban neighbourhood.

So much is agreed; but opinions diverge on the purpose of this restructuring and the sequence of moves by which it was set in place.

Most of the discussion has started from attempts to deduce Kleisthenes’ motives, without first asking what he knew about the distribution of the population of Attika before he started, and trying to reconstruct the sequence of events.¹ Let us start, instead, by asking what Kleisthenes’ mental map of Attika might have looked like, and where he would have looked for information about population distribution (cf. Humphreys 2008, 18).

We do not know where Kleisthenes lived, but he had brothers in Alopeke and Xypete,² and the view of the ‘city’ area that seems to be embodied in his scheme may have a different emphasis from the notion of the ‘Plain’ current in the 560s. Kleisthenes’ city area consists of the Piraeus and Phaleron, the coastal plain, the city, and a rather narrow suburban ring round it. Acharnai and the other villages of the plain north of Athens are ‘inland’, and are not thought of as closely linked to the city.³ This ‘city’ area would presumably be conceptualized by most of its

¹ Andrewes 1977 is an exception. See Humphreys 2008 for a more detailed presentation of this argument.

² It is not certain that he had descendants: see ch. 15 n. 23 on (?) Kallixenos Kleisthenous, and *APF* 9688 on his siblings.

³ Kinzl (1987, 1989) has argued that the city/coast/inland division was not current in 507 but was projected onto Kleisthenes by later sources. But in my view (ch. 18 at n. 48) the relation between the three regional factions of 560 and the scheme of 12 early Attic towns and 3 kingdoms (4 with Megara) goes back to the 6th c. The epigraphic evidence for the classical period, while it indicates that Athenians did not in all contexts think of tribes as divided into 3 sharply distinguished regional blocks, also shows that there was no uniform, institutionalized division into 3 sets of demes producing almost equal numbers of councillors (see below at nn. 25–7).

residents in terms of major roads leading out of the city (the Sacred Way, the Acharnai road, the Piraeus road, the Phaleron road, cf. Korres 2009; the names of gates known from the 5th–4th centuries give us an idea of these road names, even though we do not know the course of the wall, if there was one, in 507), physical and sacred landmarks (Kolonos hill, the rivers Ilissos and Kephisos, the gymnasia with their shrines, the sanctuary of Athena Skiras at Phaleron, the Skiron area which served as a ritual boundary between Athens and Eleusis, cf. ch. 20 nn. 32–3), city and suburban quarters (the Kerameikos, in particular, will already have had a distinctive personality), and substantial settlements outside the city, some or all of which will also have been phratry and/or cult centres (Alopeke, Euonymon, Phaleron, Peiraios, Thymaitadai, etc.). Age, class, and gender will have introduced variations into this mixture of sacred, social, and commercial geography, as will the seasons of the year and the days of the month; and there will probably have been a tendency for those who did not live in sacred centres to overestimate their population as a result of only visiting them at festivals. Phratry size could have been ascertained by consulting phratry priests or other leading men, but Kleisthenes and his contemporaries were aware that phratry membership and residence did not always coincide.

Outside the city area, the mental map of the city resident may well have been sketchier. Eleusis and its plain would seem like a separate unit, and anyone who had made the journey to Eleusis for the Mysteries would presumably have noticed a largish village called Thria on the route. City residents may also have attended festivals in the plain north of Athens, at Phlya and Athmonon, perhaps also at Pallene, known as a key point on the route between Hymettos and Pentelikon to the eastern plain and the northeast, and as the site of a notorious battle against Peisistratos (R. Thomas 1989, 139–43). The concept of the ‘Paralia’, named, probably, for the coast from Aixone to Sounion, but sometimes carrying wider connotations, would have been somewhat modified by the knowledge that the hilly area north of Sounion was now the site not only of the old town Thorikos, but also of increasing activity in silver mining. To the north of the mining area, there were some substantial farming villages, and on the coast ports from which sacred embassies were sent to Delos (Prasiai? ch. 25 n. 73), and sanctuaries of Artemis (Brauron, Halai Araphenides). Finally, the Diakria/Epakria region of the north represented a somewhat problematic border area which had to be secured against Boiotian expansion, especially in view of the death of two prominent aristocrats from Aphidnai at the hands of Hippias,⁴ and the possibility that

⁴ The tradition suggests that Harmodios and Aristogeiton had come to Athens as protégés of the tyrants, but had later turned against them (ch. 20 at n. 47). The net result of the whole affair might well have been to lay Aphidnai open to approaches from Boiotia (cf. the suggestion of Bintliff 1994*b* that—until the late 6th c.?—it was still possible that Athens, like Thebes, would fail to establish institutional domination over her hinterland).

loyalty to the tyrant family still lingered in the Marathon plain. Athens had to fight off Boiotian-Chalkidian attacks on her northern borders in 506, and the Persian decision to land at Marathon in 490 may have been based on hopes that the area would rally to Hippias.

Thus far, a map based on mountains, ports, mines, and defence considerations. Attika, however, was also divided into 48 *naukrariai*, and they must have played a role in Kleisthenes' mental map.⁵ They were, on my interpretation (ch. 18 s. 'Naukrariai'), supposed to represent approximately equal divisions of the population, although that supposition may not have been accurate; they were based on residence; they represented a formalization of arrangements by which leading men in the principal ports of Attika could draw on inland villages for manpower and other resources (food for shipwrights, sacrificial victims, provisions for voyages, leather, metal, etc.) to be used in building and maintaining ships, which would then perhaps be at the disposal of the leading men of the inland villages if they, or their sons, wished to visit sanctuaries overseas, take part in panhellenic games, or mount an expedition for plunder or trade. The area of the city and its plain would support a small fleet based at Phaleron, but in other parts of Attika each port, like the Cinque Ports of southern England in the middle ages, would have its inland 'limbs', connected to it by a mixture of geographical (roads) and social ties. Each *naukraria* would be able to recruit, when necessary, 50–100 young men aged between fifteen and thirty to man its vessel.⁶

So much for Kleisthenes' knowledge. How did he proceed? The decision to create ten tribes and thirty *trittyes* was evidently taken *a priori*, but was this also true for the *demes*? Scholarship has tended to assume that the identity and number of the *demes* was fixed from the beginning, but there are serious difficulties in this view.

There is no evidence that *deme* boundaries were marked in the fifth century. Intensive exploration of the Attic countryside has led to the discovery of an increasing number of rock-cut *horos* inscriptions, many of them in remote spots

⁵ Kinzl 1989 insists that pre-existing structures must have exerted an influence on the development of the Kleisthenic system, but does not think of the *naukrariai*; Siewert 1982 also disregards them. I am grateful to him for the point that mental maps were organized around roads (cf. also Myres 1886, 1943); reviewers have pointed out, however, that this theory works better for some tribes than others and is totally unsatisfactory for city *demes* (cf. especially D. M. Lewis 1983*a*). I suggest here that roads were thought of as connecting inland areas with ports, and not only as running from the periphery to the centre. (Siewert is still followed by Steffebauer 2007.)

⁶ Some discussions of the *naukrariai* (B. Jordan 1975, 1979; Gabrielsen 1985) have had difficulty in believing that Athens had by the late 7th c. a state fleet and a system of taxation to support it. I do not think, however, that we need to dissociate the *naukrariai* from ships in order to solve this problem. The etymology linking them to temples is unsatisfactory (Lambert 1986, 111 n. 26), and we are told that Athens had c.50 ships before the construction of Themistokles' fleet. A system producing both *prytaneis* (ch. 18 at nn. 96–101; pp. 730–2 below) and ships was perhaps given more systematic financial functions under Peisistratid rule. See also Van Wees 2013*a*, 44–61.

where we would not expect to find a mortgage horos or a boundary marker for private or sacred property, but none has been dated earlier than the fourth century.⁷ The earliest records of definition of boundaries between states refer to geographical features (streams, ridges, etc.) and not to horoi.⁸ The existence of many very small demes, producing only one councillor per year or even one councillor every other year, alongside some very large ones (Aphidnai with 16 councillors, Acharnai with 22), and the phenomenon of ‘divided’ demes, suggests that communities could to some extent choose whether to become demes or not. It is hard to see why Kleisthenes should have wanted to have so many small demes, hard even to believe that he was aware of the existence of all the communities that subsequently claimed deme status. ‘Divided’ demes achieved varying levels of separateness. Aristophanes could joke about Nether Lamptrians (*Amphiaraos*, 414 BCE, F 27 K, 27 PCG), but Lamptrai was unusual in being a large deme divided into two substantial villages, producing 5 (Upper) and 9 (Lower) councillors. Even in this case the Upper/Lower description was not part of a demesman’s official name, we do not know whether there were separate demarchs, and there is evidence suggesting that a move from one village to the other could lead to reclassification (*APF* 14329). Upper and Lower Paiania, which were unequal in size, Upper Paiania producing only one councillor and Lower Painaia 11, are listed separately in some lists of councillors and not in others.⁹ The other divided demes are all small, and found only in three tribes:

⁷ Ch. 22 n. 52. Traill 1986, 116–22 plus *SEG* 38. 168–9. Lauter 1982 notes that horoi may have been inscribed in the course of disputes; Traill suggested that deme boundaries were marked when demes were redistributed to create two new tribes in 307/6.

⁸ Hdt. 6. 108, Boiotia, late 6th c.; *SEG* 35. 991 B, Crete, early 5th c.; M/L 42. 26–9, Crete, c.450. However, arbitrators in a territorial dispute between Miletos and Myous c.390 were shown *ouroi* (*Syll.*³ 134. 22; R/O 16) and horoi marking Corinthian borders existed by 392 (Xen. Hell. 4. 4. 6). Cf. Humphreys 2017*b* on *IG* ii³ 292.

⁹ No Athenian epigraphic text modifies the demotic of a member of a ‘divided’ deme when it occurs in a list of full names (name, patronymic, demotic) even when those listed are councillors (e.g. *IG* ii³ 360). In lists erected by tribes (of councillors or ephebes), Erechtheis divides Lamptrai (Upper and Coastal) and Agryle (Upper A. and A.), but not Pergase, in *IG* ii³ 4. 56; *Agora* XV 1 and 21 show no sign of divisions; *IG* ii³ 4. 336 divides Pergase and Lamptrai, and *IG* ii² 1952 (kleruchs) divides Lamptrai. Aigeis divides Ankyle (without modifying the name) in ii³ 4. 76, but not in ii³ 4. 69. Pandionis divides Paiania (Upper P. and P.) in ii³ 4. 29, 55, and (?) 83, but not in ii³ 4. 21 and 26. Leontis divides Potamos in ii³ 4. 25 and 53, but not *Agora* XV 56; Potamos is also divided in Reinmuth 1971, nos. 9 (see now Alipherê 2015) and 15 (*IOrap* 353). In lists covering more than one tribe, *Agora* XV 21, 42, and 56 (whole Council) recognize no divisions; 43 divides Pergase (without modifying the name), Paiania, and Potamos, but may not have recognized all the other divisions (Stanton 1984*b*), and appears to group Dekeleia and Oion Dekeleikon under a single heading (below, n. 103). XV 492, thought to be a list of councillors and alternates (but perhaps kleruchs, see Humphreys 2010*a*) does not divide Ankyle but has a separate heading for Upper Pergase (not adjacent to Lower P.). The lists of *diaitêtai* organized by deme, *IG* ii³ 4. 35 and ii² 1932, do not divide Lamptrai and Paiania (4. 35) or Potamos and Ankyle (1932). These data do not suggest to me that splits in these demes had been firmly institutionalized when the Kleisthenic system was set up.

Upper and Lower Agryle (2 and 3 councillors), and Upper and Lower Pergase (2 and 2) in Erechtheis, Upper and Lower Potamos (2 and 1) in Leontis, and Upper and Lower Ankyle (1 and 1) in Aigeis. If they have been correctly located,¹⁰ the Potamos (?) and Ankyle demes are close to Agryle, and one cannot help wondering whether the division of Lamptraí set off further demands for division in Erechtheis (Agryle, Pergase), which then spread to neighbours of Agryle in Aigeis and (?) Leontis.

The fact that it had by the fourth century become conventional to record these distinctions in some lists of councillors—very possibly because councillors were indeed appointed separately by the hamlets concerned—and sometimes, by an extension readily understandable in the limited domain of the composition of lists of tribe members, in inscriptions listing ephebes, does not necessarily mean that divided demes acted separately in all contexts, still less that Athenians from other parts of Attika were strongly conscious of the division. It was, however, used in the revision of tribes in 307 when Antigonis and Demetrias were created (Traill 1975*a*).

At the other end of the scale, we know that Aphidnai was surrounded by small hamlets that maintained some degree of independent identity into the Roman period, and may even have achieved deme status in some cases; they had komarchs (village headmen) in the late fourth century.¹¹ Acharnai, too, is likely to have had some hamlets in its deme territory that could have been treated as separate if it had been felt important to set limits to deme size (ch. 28 n. 28).

Modern assumptions about Kleisthenes' treatment of the demes are perhaps inconsistent. Historians recognize that demes were in some sense natural communities, but nevertheless cling to the idea that a definitive list of natural communities was produced by fiat in 507. This may have been necessary to some extent in the most densely populated areas of the city, where divisions between Melite, Skambonidai, Kydathenaion, Kollytos, and Koile may have been defined by roads¹²—though it is only an assumption that interdigitation of deme affiliation along the borders of city quarters would have been felt to be problematic—but the same problem did not arise in the countryside. Most are happy to assume

¹⁰ See Traill's notes on location, 1986; chs. 23 n. 64, 24 n. 14, 26 n. 111. The seller from Upper Lamptraí in Lambert 1997*a* F 2. 5 should perhaps be restored as komarch rather than demarch. The position of Agryle and Ankyle is fairly well established, that of Potamos less certain.

¹¹ Lambert 1997*a*; see Traill 1975*a* on spurious and late Roman demes; ch. 31 n. 19. Thyrgonidai, Petalidai, Perrhidai, and Hyporeia appear in the catalogue of demes set up in 200 BCE (Traill 1986); the borderline between 'constitutional' and non-constitutional demes may have been more fluid in the case of small communities than he is prepared to admit.

¹² Note, however, Str. 65 C/1. 4. 7 (Eratosthenes), no markers between Melite and Kollytos; cf. Lalonde 2006*a*, 2006*b*.

that inhabitants of isolated farms (who were perhaps few in number)¹³ could safely be left to decide where they belonged; we should also consider taking a further step, and asking whether hamlets too were not expected to make this decision for themselves.

I am suggesting that Kleisthenes defined tribes and trittyes, the latter by reference to major suburbs or villages, most of which will also have been phratry and/or naukraria bases, and defined the concept of deme, but then left his fellow citizens to work out the rest of the scheme on the ground. Kleisthenes and the other planners of the scheme may not have expected more than 75–100 demes to emerge.¹⁴

Some of the irregularities of the system, both in deme size and in trittys affiliation, will be due to the workings of political ambition at this stage (cf. Kienast 2005, 91–9). It seems clear that the deme would have appeared to powerful families as a new field for exercising political influence; particularly in the suburbs, each leader wanted to have his own deme. Thus the area along the Sacred Way, assigned to Oineis, was split into six small demes producing between one and three councillors each, the two closest to the city being Boutadai (one councillor), residence of a leading branch of the *genos* (Eteo)boutadai, and Lakiadai, where Miltiades would settle when he returned from the Chersonese and Lemnos.¹⁵ The Eteoboutadai and Arynandridai of Bate did not want, or did not manage, to include Kolonos (where there was an entrance to the underworld associated with Theseus and Peirithoos, Oedipus, and the Eumenides; ch. 24 n. 10) in their deme. Phrearrhioi, the base of the family of the Lykomidai from which Themistokles was to emerge, succeeded in recruiting enough inhabitants from the surrounding area to qualify for a council quota of 9, and may have decided on its own initiative to unite with Sounion rather than Anaphlystos or Thorikos (unless this was already the naukraric pattern).

Ethnographic analogy would support this model of a highly schematic superstructure that appears less symmetrical and more flexible when one focuses on relations in the minimal units, on the ground.¹⁶ It will never be possible to

¹³ R. G. Osborne 1985*a*, with the additional observation that isolated farm buildings in SE Attika may have been associated with mining, in which case they would have been fewer in 507. See further ch. 22 n. 84.

¹⁴ D. Roussel 1976 also thinks that much was worked out at the local level. Whitehead 1986*a*, 18 makes the point that if Kleisthenes had assigned ten demes to each tribe (cf. Hdt. 5. 69. 2) there should have been more than six demes in Aiantis; I do not consider it inconceivable that Aphidnai swallowed four neighbouring demes, but in any case an official list seems to me most unlikely.

¹⁵ The location of the other four demes (Perithoidai, Ptelea, Lousia, Epikēphisia) is not certain. On the other hand, it seems doubtful whether Traill can be right in locating Kothokidai in the Thriasian plain (ch. 28 n. 5): on this, and on cults in Lakiadai, see ch. 20 n. 115.

¹⁶ Cf. Barth 1961, Dresch 1989; ch. 22 n. 71. Pre-bureaucratic societies and states are not uninterested in symmetry and ‘rationality’, but their schemes of classification are not imposed on local action by centralized bureaucratic control mechanisms.

reconstruct all the local alliances, local hostilities, and ties stretching over longer distances that came into play at this level. But we can indicate two or three more stages at which adjustment is likely to have taken place before the system became fixed in the form known from epigraphic records, nearly all of which date to the fourth century or later.

Kleisthenes and his collaborators doubtless aimed at producing tribes of approximately equal size; this was a presupposition of the division of the council into ten tribal groups of fifty councillors, and of the use of tribal 'regiments' in the army, to be discussed further below at nn. 34–40. Interest in numerical schemes of troop organization went back to the catalogues of the *Iliad*.

Our capacity to estimate their sources of information, at tribe level, is limited. Lists of councillors show that the same quotas were fairly regularly met during the fourth century, though some small demes may on occasion have failed to find a nominee (Traill 1975*a*); but we do not know how much quotas had altered during the fifth century, nor how accurately they had initially been related to population. From the 330s–320s we have lists of ephebes, eighteen-year-olds joining the citizen body, but the numbers fluctuate quite widely from year to year, partly because some years had an extra month and partly, it seems, because controls on age were rather lax. Lists of sixty-year-olds serving as *diaitetai* (public arbitrators) show even wider variations. Redistribution of the quotas when new tribes were created in 307/6, to honour Antigonos I of Macedon and his son Demetrios, suggest that in a few cases serious discrepancies had developed: Lower Paiania had its quota raised from 11 to 22.¹⁷ It seems likely that larger demes could only gain additional places on the Council (except in these general revisions, which probably took place only when new tribes were created) if smaller demes in the same tribe admitted their inability to fill their quotas. This they may have been reluctant to do, though there are some signs of pairing of small demes to share small quotas (ch. 22 n. 63).

¹⁷ See M. H. Hansen 1985, 2007. Like Hansen and Sekunda (1992), I believe that councillors, ephebes, and arbitrators were all recruited from the whole citizen body (P. Roussel's suggestion, 1941, that lists of arbitrators listed only those who were actually called on to settle disputes, and not the whole panel, should not be forgotten, though the list of 371/0, *IG* ii³ 4. 24, Ruschenbusch 1984, differs from later lists in form). On the question of the over-representation of 'twins' in ephebic lists see Humphreys 2009 n. 2, 2010*a*. Hansen notes that the unfit will not have served; but it is a complicated matter to assess the proportion of 18-year-olds (actually 20-year-olds when listed) who would count as unfit, in a society which (a) exposed the deformed at birth, and (b) had a high infant mortality rate, but (c) may not have treated children's bone fractures very effectively, and (d) placed a high value on the unblemished, well-formed young male body, which might lead to connivance in excusing the unshapely from duty. Lists of arbitrators, where organised by demes, seem to indicate a noticeable under-representation of larger demes, in relation to their council quotas. But the identification of some of these lists is problematic: *IG* ii³ 4. 35 has only three names for Pandionis. Note that since these 'lists' are dedications, a *diaitetes* who died during the year would not figure.

To some extent Kleisthenes could and, it seems, did try to ensure this equality by matching large and small trittyes in a single tribe. Erechtheis had a large coastal trittys, Anagyrous and the two Lamptraí demes, totalling 20 councillors, and a small inland trittys (10). Aiantis also had a large coastal trittys (25), and a small city trittys (Phaleron, 9). Antiochis had a large coastal trittys (27) and a small inland trittys, though Pallene (6–7) being a cult centre, may have turned out to have a smaller population than expected, and the role it had played in the establishment of the tyranny may have made inhabitants of neighbouring villages reluctant to register there.¹⁸ Hippothontis also had a large coastal trittys (20), if Oenoe and Azenia were considered to belong to it, as seems likely (ch. 30 nn. 2, 119), and a small inland trittys (10). Oineis had a huge inland trittys consisting of the single deme Acharnai (22), and a small city trittys (9–10).¹⁹

Nevertheless, when deme and tribe leaders assembled in Athens with their lists and totals, there will have been problems and discrepancies. Some intertribal ‘enclaving’ may well have taken place at this stage. The area between Pentelikon and the Marathon plain seems to have been regarded as particularly problematic, or particularly open to reassignment; the deme centres that emerged here were perhaps caught in tension between the rival claims of the cult centres of the area: the Marathon Tetrapolis, Ikarion and Semachidai with their cults of Dionysos, Anakaia worshipping the Dioskouroi (Anakes), the Apollo cult of the Epakreis,²⁰ the phratry cults of Dekeleia, and the ambitions of Aphidnai. It looks as if the original trittys assignment(s) of this area had left many demes discontented and willing to be reassigned to tribes whose numbers had turned out to be too low.²¹

Leontis, in particular (ch. 26), seems to have had recruitment problems in all areas except the south-east. Both its city and its inland trittys are extraordinarily scattered—though it is true that locations are also very problematic. The core of the city trittys had perhaps been, in original intention, Skambonidai and Halimous, and neither of these had been particularly successful in attracting demesmen. Halimous seems to have lost in competition with its neighbour Euonymon; Skambonidai had a significant metic resident population, and if boundaries

¹⁸ The insistence of the inhabitants of Hagnous that they never intermarried with Pallene may be a sign of this attitude, though the two demes seem too distant for a question of choice of registration to have arisen (cf. ch. 27 n. 38).

¹⁹ These figures have to be treated cautiously, since a significant number of demes are either unlocated, or located at deme sites discovered by survey on the basis of assumptions about trittys assignment. Furthermore, we cannot be certain that inequalities in the representation of trittyes on the council were a feature of the system from the start rather than a result of adjustments and negotiations after the system had run for a generation. No deme would have difficulty in filling a quota in the first years.

²⁰ Possibly a phratry based at Ikarion: see ch. 19 n. 16; below, n. 133.

²¹ The argument here is of course vulnerable to D. M. Lewis’ observation (1983*a*, 432) that to postulate piecemeal tinkering after the main process of registration is ‘a sign of an unsatisfactory hypothesis’. But it is hard to imagine what a satisfactory hypothesis for Leontis, on this standard, would look like.

within the city were not defined by fiat, will have been disadvantaged by its name in competition with the much more prestigious Kydathenaion. Some minor peripheral demes had to be added, perhaps, to this already divided core to make a viable trittys. In the inland trittys, the area assigned to Leontis must have lost recruits to Acharnai; numbers were made up by the addition of two demes from the Epakria area.

I should stress again, at this stage in the argument, that I am concerned with reconstructing the process by which the Kleisthenic tribes were institutionalized. New evidence will certainly produce changes in the location of smaller demes, but I do not think the overall picture of regionally defined trittyes with some anomalies will change. This is certainly the way the Athenians themselves understood the system. Kleisthenes had assigned the demes to city, coastal, and inland trittyes, but he had done it by lot.²²

I suggest, then, that Kleisthenes and his collaborators appointed tribal epimeletai—three per tribe—in 508/7, from men already well known in their phratries or naukrariai, and instructed them to spread the news that each adult Athenian was to register in his deme of residence. Leaders in some demes (Acharnai, Aphidnai) took this as an opportunity to enhance the importance of their own community, others took a more laissez-faire attitude. Problems were sorted out, and adjustments were made, either at the first tribal assemblies at the end of 508/7 or at the end of 507/6 (perhaps both). The new tribes and demes would perhaps already take part in the Lesser Panathenaia at the beginning of 507/6; in any case the procession at the Great Panathenaia of 506/5 would be organized with especial solemnity to represent the new structure of the citizen body. The process of registration would facilitate mobilization of hoplites for the war against Boiotia and Chalkis which was successfully concluded in 506, and since Athens had not had to field a hoplite army for some time it is quite likely that it was organized by new tribes (cf. Eder 1992), even if some of the assignment of demes to tribes were still under review.

While the assignment of demes to tribes had to be settled fairly quickly, adjustments within demes and tribes may well have continued for several more years. A few solitary types living in the hills in interstitial areas may have registered late, or may even have changed their registration. A man who moved his residence and then deme in the early years of the system, before the principle of hereditary affiliation and the permanence of deme membership became firmly established, may have been accepted as a member of the deme into which he moved. Some

²² M. H. Hansen 1987*b* argues that the attested distribution could indeed have been produced by lot, but adds that Kleisthenes might have claimed that he had used the lot even if he did not. Note the suggestion of Polignac 2011 that the assignment of border trittyes to the ‘marginal’ heroes Hippothoon and Ajax was non-random. On ‘trittyes of councillors’ see below at nn. 25–7.

small communities that had eagerly insisted on separate deme status at the beginning may have found it a burden they preferred to relinquish. There were quarrels and splits.²³ The fact that the records of the fourth century show a stable system does not imply that there were no changes in the first generation. Some adjustment in Council quotas is also likely to have taken place during this period. The situation was not unlike that of the early years of the Athenian empire, when small communities that had enthusiastically promised to contribute to the fleet soon found it hard to fulfil their obligations and agreed to pay money instead.²⁴

The requirement that the tribe in prytany, serving its annual turn of duty as leading tribe in the Council, had to maintain a permanent presence in the Agora is likely to have been modified by the construction of the Tholos, which provided new eating and sleeping quarters, but in my view it cannot have originated at that time. The Tholos is usually dated *c.*460. Gschnitzer's study of the history and uses of the term *prytanis* (1973) strongly suggests that in origin the prytanis or prytaneis were officials who represented the community. Their house, the prytaneion, contained its sacred hearth, where visitors to the city were entertained; the deposit of prytaneia by litigants conferred a public character on their proceedings. On this basis I have argued above that the prytaneis of the naukraroi had already functioned as a representative committee of citizens in pre-Kleisthenic Athens, four of them being on duty each month (ch. 18 n. 97; cf. Lambert 1986, 112). They probably ate in the prytaneion with the archons during their term of duty. If that is so, Kleisthenes' tribes must have been expected to provide prytaneis from the beginning to replace the prytaneis of the naukrariai, working on a new calendar in which the year was divided into ten instead of twelve parts. Dating by prytany in the law on ostracism (*FGH* 328 F 30) may provide some confirmation of this view.

We do not have to assume, however, that in the early years the Kleisthenic tribes had stationed a significantly larger number of prytaneis on permanent duty than their predecessors. It is quite possible that the tribe in prytany elected an epistates for each day—among other duties, he took charge of the city's seal—and he chose a small number of companions, who ate with him at the archons' table. *A.P.*'s statement (44. 1), sometimes forgotten in modern reconstructions, that the day's epistates chooses the trittys of councillors that will remain with him in the Agora, perhaps lends some support to this view.

²³ Some of the Upper/Lower divisions may have manifested themselves at this time, though in my view it is doubtful whether any of them developed into two fully institutionally separate demes (cf. n. 9 above; ch. 22 n. 14). On arguments for later reorganization see Ismard 2010, 97.

²⁴ A serious study of the stability of the deme system in the 5th c. would require an analysis of the evidence for small-deme demotics. We do not actually know that Titakidai was not a deme *c.*470 (ch. 20 n. 46). Previous discussions have suggested changes in 403 or even later, but have not considered earlier periods.

We may perhaps assume, then, that inequalities in the size of trittyes' Council contingents did not present a problem until c.460 (it will be argued below that the trittyes were not military units). The dimensions of the problem varied from tribe to tribe, and the evidence suggests, to me at least, that solutions also varied. W. Thompson's suggestion (1966) that tribes had reorganized their internal structure to produce three equal trittyes of councillors rested on the detection of regular patterns in the ordering of demes in lists of councillors. Such patterns, however, are not observable in all tribes (P. J. Rhodes 1972).²⁵ To understand these lists we have to consider three factors: the ease with which a tribe could divide itself into equal council-trittyes, the pressures that may have led some tribes to prefer flexibility, and the influence of aesthetic considerations on the arrangement of inscribed names on stone.

Akamantis may have had trittyes that produced equal numbers of councillors if Eitea (2) was a city deme, but it did not list consistently by trittys in *IG* ii³ 4. 52; the order of demes in *Agora* XV 43, 46, and 56 is not the same as that of 42, which does seem to list by trittys. Pandionis could produce equal council-trittyes by grouping the five councillors of Probalinthos, which in any case was an enclave in an area otherwise occupied by other tribes, with those of the city deme Kydathenaion (11–12). One Pandionis list seems to have had trittys headings (*IG* ii³ 4. 29), and the other lists suggest that this was a fairly stable arrangement. Leontis also produced one list with trittys headings (*IG* ii³ 4. 53), but did not maintain a consistent pattern in its other lists.²⁶ Aiantis could have produced regular trittyes by grouping Rhamnous (8 councillors) with Phaleron (9), but we have no council lists to prove that it did; *IG* ii² 1927 (kleruchs? Humphreys 2010*a*) lists Rhamnous after the other coastal demes, the whole coastal group being preceded by Phaleron and Aphidnai. Oineis must have shifted some of the 22 Acharnian councillors elsewhere, and may consistently have coupled them with the small city trittys, but patently developed no regular mechanism for splitting the deme.

Councillors had families, farms, jobs, and other business to attend to. Some of them filled minor offices while serving as councillors (Hansen 1980). An arrangement that pre-assigned full-time duties in the Agora to a block of councillors for a continuous stretch of days would have been inconvenient and hard to enforce, as well as being difficult to reconcile with the explicit statement of *A.P.* 44. 1 that each day's epistates chose his own trittys. It is possible that in Pandionis he was

²⁵ D. M. Lewis 1983*a* summarizes the history of the debate; P. J. Rhodes 1972, Traill 1978*a*, 1986, 107–10, collect evidence on arrangement of lists by trittys; Stanton 1984*b* makes the point that the arrangement of printed lists does not always accurately represent what is on the stone (cf. id. 1994). It must be stressed that the number of lists complete enough to be usable is small. Cf. Humphreys 2008, 17 n. 27.

²⁶ On the heading *Epakreón trittuos* in *IG* ii² 2490, probably a list of property owned by Aigeis, see below, nn. 137–8.

restricted to a choice from three pre-constituted trittyes, which did not change from year to year, but in other tribes rosters may have been reconstituted at the beginning of each prytany, or even worked out as it ran its course.²⁷

It should not be assumed a priori, therefore, that the officials who drew up lists of names to be inscribed on stone worked from a roster of demes already arranged by trittys. Tribal lists (unlike lists of the whole Council) normally had three columns, but in many cases were designed to produce three columns of equal length rather than three columns containing equal numbers of councillors. *IG ii³ 4. 54* (Erechtheis) has three equal columns, one of which ends with a deme heading; deme lists run on from one column to the next also in no. 21 (Pandionis). In *ii³ 4. 56* (Oineis), where Acharnai runs on from column 2 to column 3, the columns are almost equal in length, but the first contains 13 names, the second 17, and the third 20. Only *IG ii³ 4. 26* (Pandionis) and 4. 81 (Antiochis) suggest that listing by council-trittys was more important than symmetry, since the column lengths are visibly unequal while the number of names in each is 17:17:16. 4. 25 (Leontis) has columns of 17:17:16 names neatly spaced, with a shorter central column and blank lines carefully left for missing patronymics, which may indicate that stone cutters could impose their own design on lists; 4. 76 (Aigeis) has unequal column lengths and names (16:15:18).

This evidence does not suggest that the requirement that a trittys of councillors remained permanently on duty in the Agora each day, whenever it was introduced, led to any institutionalized modification of tribal structure.

On the above reconstruction, which allows for a considerable amount of minor tinkering with the system in its early years, and some fluidity even in the fission and fusion of 'divided' demes,²⁸ speculation about Kleisthenes' intentions may well seem rash. I believe it is; but the question must be addressed. Three main lines of interpretation have been proposed: Kleisthenes was trying to break the power of aristocratic families and traditional religious groupings (D. M. Lewis 1963); he was only interested in an equal division of the population, principally for purposes of military mobilization but also for the Council (Van Effenterre 1976, Siewert 1982); the system was designed to increase the political control of 'the Alkmeonidai' and lessen that of their rivals (the pre-Lewis view, revived by Stanton 1984b).²⁹

²⁷ Dow 1976 argues that each epistates picked his own associates individually. We do not know that there was anything to prevent an older or wealthier man from spending more than his fair share of time in the Tholos.

²⁸ It must again be stressed that we do not know whether recognition or disregard of division in tribal lists corresponds to variations in the way councillors were nominated, or merely reflects the attitude of the officials drawing up the lists.

²⁹ Military organization: Welwei 1983 attributes this motive also to Kleisthenes of Sikyon. Cf. March 2008. In addition, there are still proponents of the ancient view that Kleisthenes was interested in the

The view put forward here draws something from all of these theories, but shifts the emphasis from Kleisthenes' intentions to the influence of earlier institutions (the *naukrariai*) and of local ambitions and rivalries. Thus the arrangement of trittyes along roads (in some tribes) stressed by Siewert is in my view the result of earlier *naukratic* structures; the roads do not lead from the coast through inland trittyes to the city, but from inland areas to harbours. The irregular assignment of demes in the Hekale–Ikarion–Probalinthos area to tribes is taken to be the result of a combination of concern with numbers (Siewert) and rivalry between competing religious centres (a modification of Lewis).³⁰ The strung-out shape of the inland trittys of Leontis is ascribed to unsuccessful competition of villages on the southern and eastern slopes of Parnes against Acharnai in recruiting demesmen, plus compensatory allocation later for numerical reasons of two demes from the Hekale area; the city demes of Leontis will similarly have been affected by Halimous' lack of success in competing with Euonymon.

It remains striking, however, that the city deme Alopeke, in which Kleisthenes' nephew (BS) Megakles IV was registered, was assigned to the same tribe (Antiochis) as a large coastal trittys in the Paralia area with which Megakles II, Kleisthenes' father, had been associated.³¹ We cannot point to any similar linkages in other tribes. In Hippothontis, the only deme outside the Eleusinian plain in which we can trace members of both the two main Eleusinian *genê* is the small city deme of Koile (ch. 20 at n. 101); the Lykomidai of Phlya were separated from the branch of the *genos* in Phrearrhioi, and the Salaminioi found themselves scattered across seven (or eight) tribes.³²

Our information is, however, extremely incomplete, and it is quite possible both that other major city families' ties with coast and hinterland were recognized,

integration of Attika (Levêque and Vidal-Naquet 1964; Chr. Meier 1973; D. Roussel 1976) and in the incorporation of new citizens or those whose status was questionable (stressed by D. M. Lewis 1983*a*). Ismard 2010, 98–100, is over-insistent that earlier groupings were not changed.

³⁰ See also on *naukrariai*, ch. 18 n. 96; Kienast 2005, 78–81.

³¹ The association of Megakles II with the Paralia in 560 does not necessarily mean that his sons and grandsons were well informed about population growth in the area in the period c.530–507. They may however have been aware that the development of silver mining had given SE Attika an unusually high proportion of citizens whose status was questionable (immigrant Aiginetans were to be settled here in the early 5th c., Hdt. 6. 90). Antiochis also received Pallene, which had associations with the tyrants, as its inland trittys; one could argue that Kleisthenes wanted to have the most problematic areas in safe hands.

³² On the reconstruction offered here, the decision to give the name Philaidai rather than Brauron to the deme in which the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia was located will have been made at local rather than central level. It may have been affected by association of the name Brauron with the tyrants, or by contacts with Miltiades in the Chersonese; it is also possible, however, that the main settlement in the area had always been called Philaidai, Brauron in early days being no more than a fishing hamlet with an adjacent sanctuary in boggy, uncultivated ground. There was in 507 no particular reason to suppose that Miltiades or his sons would return to Attika.

and that these were expected to play a positive role in drawing outer areas into more active participation in city politics. The aim, that is, would have been to channel aristocratic competition into an institutionalized framework centred on the city, rather than to impede it.

We should remember that the implications and impact of the new scheme will have varied across classes and regions.³³ There may also have been a sharp division in the minds of leading Athenians between the needs and problems of the elite and those of the rest of the citizen body. The change from tyranny to isonomia will have left some families in a vulnerable position. Any realignment in power relations in a Greek city opened up opportunities to pay off old scores and advance interests (chs. 7, 14). These problems could occur at all levels; aristocratic families had to deal with suspicions that they had been too close to the tyrants, but commoners were more likely to be accused of having gained citizenship on false pretences, especially if they had moved from one part of Attika to another. While members of the elite, especially if they were *gennetai*, might not change phratry affiliation if they moved, it may not have been unusual for commoners to do so. The decision in their case would presumably be affected by the presence of kin in either the old phratry or the new area, and by distance. A resident of Piraeus could return more easily to Alopeke or Halimous for festivals than to Aphidnai or Marathon.

As I suggested above, Kleisthenes and his associates may have seen the social map as an untidy web of strands linking residence to phratry affiliation, some of which had snapped and left individuals without secure proof of status. Though the danger of re-emergence of regional factions had to be taken into consideration, ambitious leaders were only just beginning to re-mobilize regional support after some forty years of political quiescence. Commoner members of rural demes remote from Athens are unlikely to have travelled to the city for elections or assembly meetings during the tyranny. More of them will have come to the city for festivals, some of which included tribal competitions; Kleisthenes and his contemporaries were aware of the integrative functions of ritual. But they had to create a framework capable of mobilizing a steady stream of voters. Rural apathy was perhaps a more immediate problem than the danger of renewed factional conflicts based on regional loyalties (cf. D. Roussel 1976).

³³ For more discussion of the location and trittys-affiliation of demes see Stanton 1994 and chs. 23–32. There has been little attempt to construct a social map of Attika in 507, apart from W. Thompson's analysis (1970*c*) of the regional distribution of families that can be assigned to the highest Solonian census class. Thompson's regional categories are problematic; for example, several of the rich families later economically active in the mining area (Nikias of Kydantidai, Strombichos of Euonymon) may have developed their interests after 507.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION

Further consideration of the implications of the new system requires analysis of the evidence for tribal assemblies, elections, and other activities. Since, however, military organization also had an influence on the sense of tribal solidarity, and played a role in tribal politics, it will be useful first to look at the effect of Kleisthenes' reforms on the army, the fleet, and the military command structure.

Until recently, modern studies paid too little attention to the major changes that took place in Athens' military (including naval) needs and operations between 507 and *c.*300.³⁴ In 507 a Greek city expected to use its armed forces in defence of its own borders and occasional raids on neighbours. Only Sparta had greater ambitions. Owing to the system whereby *helot* labour produced food for hoplites and their families, Sparta could field a large citizen army for prolonged campaigns of conquest, or intimidation of neighbouring states. Sparta, however, was not prepared to commit troops to support the Ionian revolt in 499. Athens' decision to send twenty ships was a bold and unprecedented move.

The decentralized *naukraria* system was geared to local defence. In 506, the Athenians had managed, perhaps using some combination of *naukraric* organization and the new tribal system, to mobilize enough troops first to intimidate a Peloponnesian force that had penetrated into the plain, and subsequently to defeat the Boiotians and Chalkidians, who were perhaps demoralized by the withdrawal of the Peloponnesians. Though no doubt exaggerated in Athenian tradition,³⁵ this was a striking success for such a new regime, and will have strengthened Athenian enthusiasm for it. By 490 there was a fully operational citizen army ready to confront the Persians at Marathon.

This may indeed have been the kind of army Kleisthenes wanted his new system to produce. It was even, perhaps, the kind of army Archidamos of Sparta expected to meet in the field, and defeat, when he first invaded Attika some 60 years later. But most Athenian mobilization in the fifth century was different. It required larger numbers of rowers than hoplites; sea battles played an essential role in it; it took place, usually, overseas; and increasingly, as time went on, the Athenians were engaged on more than one front simultaneously.

³⁴ For local defence see Ober 1985; Spence 1990; M. H. Munn 1993. N. F. Jones' study of the tribe as a factor in solidarity (1999) ignores military organization.

³⁵ Hdt. 5. 74, 77; M/L 15. M. H. Munn 1993, 107 suggests that the Athenians may have mustered at the Aigaleos-Parnes gap. The Boiotians, who had taken Oinoe in preparation to joining the Peloponnesian attack, were perhaps retreating to link up with the Chalkidian forces when the Athenians attacked them, subsequently crossing to Euboea to fight the Chalkidians. The Peloponnesian withdrawal may have well set off dissension among the Boiotian cities, while the Athenian confiscation of land from the Chalkidian aristocrats (the *Hippobotai*), which was given to 4000 Athenian *kleruchs*, suggests that there was internal conflict in Chalkis (were the *kleruchs* those whose claims to citizenship could not be accepted even by the new regime?).

The system set up by Kleisthenes does not seem to have been very well designed to meet these changes, but the evidence suggests that the Athenians adapted to it by ad hoc modifications rather than systematic reform.

We can, if we wish, assume that Kleisthenes expected his tribal army to be organized in tribes and trittyes, but there is no evidence for the trittys as a military unit, probably because the size of the hoplite forces used in fifth- and fourth-century Athenian warfare was too variable to allow for rigid structuring at this level. Tribal taxiarchs seem to have made their own arrangements to divide the forces under their command into lochoi and appoint lochagoi (platoon commanders).³⁶

We are told that the tribe Aiantis held the right wing, the position of honour, at the battle of Marathon, and that the whole army was drawn up by tribes (Herodotus 6. 110). Scattered references in the sources confirm that a man would fight with his fellow demesmen and tribesmen; but we also know that a tribe could be fighting in more than one field in the same year.³⁷ Erechtheis recorded in 460/59 that members of the tribe had fallen on six different battlefields during the year;³⁸ this was no doubt an exceptional boast and in fact only two expeditions were involved (one local, one to the eastern Mediterranean), but it seems clear that the principle of including equal numbers from all tribes in any levy overrode the scheme of fighting in tribal 'regiments'.³⁹ This, as we shall shortly see, must have created problems in command structure. Lists of casualties were organized both by tribe and, quite often at least, by field, although the public funeral ceremony grouped the bones of the dead by tribe, and recognized the significance of campaigns only in the speech in which their achievements were celebrated.⁴⁰

³⁶ Sekunda 1992; on Plat. *Rep.* 475a see below, n. 132. Men from the same deme would group together (ch. 16 n. 64; Whitehead 1986a, 224–6; Van Wees 2004, 107), and in some cases such groupings may have linked neighbouring demes in the same trittys, but these arrangements were informal. Crowley 2012 is too formalistic; at most the evidence shows that de facto hoplites usually fought with fellow-demesmen.

³⁷ Pandionis, Kekropis, and Antiochis passed a decree honouring a Megarian who in 446 had helped their soldiers retreat safely from the Megarid, but this does not imply that only those three tribes were in action there (it may suggest the opposite), or that none of their members were serving on other fronts. On tribal organization in the army see *HCT* on 6. 98. 4, 7. 69. 2. Plut. *Arist.* 5 says that Aristides and X Antiochis were left at Marathon to guard the booty while the other tribal contingents returned to Athens. Athenians buried abroad in the 5th c. (*IG* i³ 1505, 1510–15, cf. *IG* xii 8. 63. 6–8) are identified by tribe as well as deme. Cf. R/O 4, comm., on the listing of (?) isoteleis by tribe in 401/0.

³⁸ *IG* i³ 1147, M/L 33. Clairmont 1983 suggests that the stele may have included the casualties of 2 summers, 459 and 458, but the stress on 'the same year' in the text tells against this idea.

³⁹ J. Ober brought a counter-example to my attention: in 323 the Athenians voted that three tribes should defend Attika while the other 7 prepare for service abroad. See below, n. 47, on *epilektoi*. See also Lambert 2015b on *IG* ii² 1155 = ii³ 4. 260, a dedication by the Kekropis taxiarch and soldiers of 339/8 recording crowns awarded by the *boulê* and the tribe.

⁴⁰ Field-designations are represented on stelai in vase painting (Amsterdam 2455, BArch 42150). Folk memory thought in terms of campaigns more than tribes; bones came back sorted by field as well as tribe, and lists of casualties will also have been made up by field in the first place.

Lists of naval casualties were at least in some instances—where losses had been heavy—organized by ship and not by tribe.⁴¹ A ship was a fighting unit of some size (c.200 men), whose members tended to float, swim, or sink together; its commander was chosen for his wealth and he appointed his own subordinate officers. There were continuities in crew composition, but they were due to choice and not dictated by structure (cf. [Demosthenes] 50).

Athenian soldiers, and the crews of Athenian ships, were paid regular wages from shortly after 480. This may well have lessened the distinction between hoplites and non-hoplites, which was not linked to any formal procedures of inspection. It was ultimately left to demarchs to supply information about hoplites in each deme (though experienced taxiarchs will also have been quite well-informed), and it appears that anyone who had procured the requisite armour could have his name included on the list; the demarch's responsibility was to see that men equipped to serve as hoplites did not escape duty. However, there were many years in the fifth century when the state's demand for hoplites was low and some hoplites may have volunteered for service as epibatai (marines) or rowers, especially during the Peloponnesian War when inhabitants of rural demes had taken refuge in the city. We know that the boundary between cavalry and hoplites was fluid (Lysias 14. 7, 16. 13), and the same may be true of the boundary between hoplites and non-hoplites even though attempts were periodically made to use the distinction for political purposes.⁴²

There is no evidence that conscription was needed in the fleet during the fifth century; we first hear of compulsory recruitment of rowers in 362. It is therefore somewhat improbable that the fifth-century markers labelled with tribe and tritytes names found in Piraeus marked out mustering stations for rowers. An alternative explanation will be offered below at nn. 133-5, in discussion of the markers found on the Pnyx and in the Agora.⁴³

⁴¹ IG i³ 1190, c.411, lists marines (*epibatai*) by tribe, and rowers by ship; this might be an example of oligarchic discrimination, but thetes were used as epibatai (Thuc. 6. 43. 1, cf. 8. 24. 2). B. Jordan (1975) has argued that epibatai were normally hoplites, but it seems better to see them as an ambiguous group, somewhat déclassé, not recognized as true hoplites by those who could afford to forego the wages received for service at sea in years when there was no land campaign. IG i³ 1032 lists crews, including slaves, by ship; if it is a record of casualties from 412 (Graham 1998), the use of slaves as rowers on this occasion would supply an additional motive for disregarding tribal structure (cf. Bakewell 2008). Another crew list, SEG 54. 226 (ch. 16 n. 58). IG i³ 1184, 425/4 or 424/3, lists all casualties by tribe except *engraphoi* (mainly Plataians?), archers, and *xenoi* (metics and other mercenaries). This may be the year of the heavy land casualties at Delion (424/3).

⁴² Sekunda 1990 seems to me to make too rigid a distinction between hoplite guards and light-armed *peripoloi* on the frontiers; Aischines in 2. 167–70 was not boasting of having served in a category associated with inability to afford hoplite armour. Note the honours to *peripolarchoi* in the 330s, IRb 92–6 and IEleus 181; in 302/1, Agora XVI 123; cf. Couvenhes 2007.

⁴³ Demosthenes proposed in 354 that markers should be installed by the shipsheds (14. 22–3); there is no archaeological evidence that his suggestion was put into practice (but markers in this position would

Sources refer to hoplite call-up ‘from the catalogue(s)’, ‘in the parts’ (*en tois meresi*), and ‘by eponyms’, and by age-groups. Catalogues were made up for each campaign by generals and taxiarchs, in consultation with demarchs and/or tribal officials; there was no central catalogue of hoplites.⁴⁴ There were evidently some arrangements for rotating the obligation to serve, even if complaints are heard that they were not rigorously observed (Lysias 9. 4), and there must have been many years in which only small numbers of hoplites were required. There does seem to have been a shift, at some unknown date, from call-up by catalogue to call-up by age-set eponyms. It still seems to me likely that the 42 age-set eponyms whose names were given in turn to each entering class of new citizens, until the members of the first age-set had served (in their sixtieth year) as *diaitetai*, when the cycle recommenced, were instituted by Kleisthenes.⁴⁵ A reform of c.403 or later would probably have been content to refer to age-sets by eponymous archons, which indeed perhaps became the more common practice. There seems no reason to reject the statement of the Suda (s.v. *Terthreia*) that ‘call-up in the parts’ was short for ‘in the safer parts’, and was used of service by the youngest and oldest hoplites, who were normally used on home guard duty. Aischines, then, in claiming to have served as a peripolos and then as a hoplite both ‘in the parts’ and ‘by eponym’, is recording a military career that proceeded from patrol duty to home guard service (which unexpectedly included some hard fighting) and thence to regular service overseas.⁴⁶

by now have been carried off elsewhere or would be under water). He seems to envisage a different procedure from that adopted in 362 ([Dem.] 50. 6–7, 16), when crews were to assemble on the mole, and it seems unlikely that he was inspired by any surviving 5th c. markers used for military purposes, although he may have seen such markers.

⁴⁴ M. H. Hansen 1981; cf. the arrangements made by the 400 to draw up their own catalogue of those able to serve the oligarchy both physically and financially (*A.P.* 29. 5, *Lys.* 20. 13). It is thought that by the end of the 5th c. metics liable for hoplite service had been catalogued by tribe (*IG* ii² 10 + 2403, R/O 4 with comm.).

⁴⁵ Humphreys 1983*b* (the question whether *diaitetai* were instituted in 507, as suggested there, or in 403/2 is immaterial here: see ch. 22 n. 15). The attested age-set eponyms are (probably) Mounichos and Panops (ch. 20 n. 62). The first specific reference to call-up by age seems to be Dem. 3. 4, in 352 (all Athenians up to 45 years to man triremes); but Philochoros (*FGH* 328 F 38) discussed service by eponyms in bk. 4 of his *Atthis*, which covered the years 461–404. Norms of hoplite fighting included ideas about the best position for soldiers of different ages (J. K. Anderson 1970, 243–4; Lazenby 1985, 12–20).

⁴⁶ Aisch. 2. 167–70. It is even possible that the second reference to service *en tois meresi*, usually deleted from the text, concerns service when he was over 50; at the time of his speech he would be 54 if born in 397/6 (D. M. Lewis, *ap. APF* 14625 II), 52 if born in 395/4 (M. H. Munn 1993; E. M. Harris 1988*b*, 1995, defends the text of l. 49 and 390 as birth-year). Christ 2001 does not satisfactorily explain *en tois meresi*. Note that on the view taken here, service ‘in the (safer) parts’ would have begun at 20 (not 18); Aischines on Harris’ dating would still have been ‘young’ in 366, at 24, but not in 362. Van Wees 2004, 103, translates ‘by sections’, ‘whether one or more of the tribal regiments or some other group’, justifying this by reference to Sparta (p. 104) and to *IG* i³ 1505 (but see n. 37). On peripoloi and their

Aischines had also served as an *epilektos*, at the battle of Tamynai in Euboea in 348. Tritle (1989) argues that the Athenians organized a formal corps of picked hoplites, *epilektoi*, perhaps in the second quarter of the fourth century; but it seems to me more likely that each *taxiarch* picked his own squad or squads according to the men available and the needs of the situation. Certainly the decree passed by the older *epilektoi* of Antiochis in honour of their *taxiarch* c.330 does not require us to believe that every tribe had one or more formally enrolled special units.⁴⁷

It thus seems rather unlikely that the Athenian infantry underwent any formal reorganization between 507 and the late fourth century, although informal changes were certainly introduced to adapt it to changing demands and to variation in the size of mercenary forces used alongside citizen troops. In the cavalry, however, there was a change; an initial force of 300 horsemen under three *hipparchs*, elected from the whole citizen body, was expanded in the 440s or 430s to 1000 horsemen divided into ten tribal squads, each commanded by a *phylarch* from its own tribe; the whole force was commanded by two *hipparchs*. In terms of battle order this perhaps represented a change from a plan for two flanking and one reserve unit in a single battlefront to a system more easily deployed when the city was fighting in more than one area, although it must be said that we know even less about the use of the cavalry in the fifth century than about the use of the infantry.⁴⁸

Reconstructing the stages of development of the infantry command structure is more problematic. Eventually—and probably already by the 480s or 470s—the Athenians elected ten *strategoi*, by a process that took some account of tribal representation, as commanders of the whole army, and ten *taxiarchoi* each of whom was responsible for his own tribe. However, *A.P.* 22. 2 dates a change in the system of appointing *strategoi* in 501/0, while Herodotus' account of the battle of Marathon implies both that the *polemarch*, Athens' military leader in

commanders see also Chaniotis 2007; Couvenhes 2011; A. Chankowski 2014. I am not convinced by Chankowski's argument for an early *ephebate*.

⁴⁷ There may have been some reorganization at the time of the institutionalization of the *ephebate* in 335. The state honoured the *epilektoi* of Kekropis for their actions, apparently in defence of Attika, in (?) 318/7 (*Agora* XVI 105; G. J. Oliver 2007a, 180), and a deme praised its *epilektoi* perhaps at about the same time (*IG* ii² 1209). *Epilektoi* and cavalry were sent to resist the Gauls at Thermopylai in 279, *IG* ii³ 1005.

⁴⁸ See Bugh 1988; Spence 1990, 1993. Though it is generally assumed that the office of *phylarch* was created in this reorganization, the ceremonial role of tribal squads of cavalry (*anthippasia*, Panathenaic procession) may well go back to pre-Kleisthenic times, and it is not impossible that ten *phylarchoi* replaced the four *phylobasileis* in 507 (cf. Hdt. 5. 69; Gschnitzer 1968). If so, they may have controlled tribal funds and managed civil business until c.440, when their duties became more exclusively military and the *epimelētai* took over their civil duties. It is far from certain that *IG* ii² 5522 commemorated the dead of a single tribal squadron (Bugh 1988, 136–9; cf. ch. 27 n. 78).

the pre-Kleisthenic system, still played a role of some importance in 490, and also, perhaps, that strategoi at that date were still more closely tied to tribes than in later decades.⁴⁹

Presumably the phylobasileis had at one stage commanded tribal fighting units in the pre-Kleisthenic system, and tribal commanders must have been created for the new tribes from the beginning. It seems unlikely, however, that both strategoi and taxiarchs were created simultaneously in 507. Competition for office was evidently intense in the period of 507–480 (and indeed later), and a number of modifications to the system of distribution of power and authority were introduced during this time. The relation between the new office of tribal commander and the traditional board of nine archons was evidently one of the points of contention. Perhaps at least in part because the new regime faced three serious military emergencies in its first thirty years (506, 490, 480), the traditional system of rotation of office, by which repeated tenure of high office was prohibited, was felt to be impracticable in the case of military commands.⁵⁰ However, the decision to allow tribal commanders to hold office repeatedly inevitably created an unstable relationship between these positions and the traditional archonships, especially the office of polemarch. Out of this conflict emerged, by a process we cannot fully construct with certainty:

- (1) perhaps a temporary stage in which the lot was used to select the polemarch, lasting until at least 490;⁵¹
- (2) the reform dated by *A.P.* in 501/0, which perhaps transferred elections of the strategoi from tribal assemblies to the assembly of the whole citizen body, by which the nine archons were also elected;
- (3) in 487, a further reform by which the lot was used to select all nine archons, and the secretary to the thesmothetai, as part of the process by which holders of minor offices were appointed;⁵²

⁴⁹ Hdt. 6. 109–10. The polemarch's tribe, Aiantis, held the position of honour on the right wing, while the Plataians were on the left wing. The ten strategoi took turns in supreme command (*prytaneîē*); it is not clear whether they shared it with the polemarch, who had an equal vote with them.

⁵⁰ We do not know the exact rules about iteration of office in the pre-Kleisthenic period (cf. Forrest and Stockton 1987), and we do not know whether the ban on iteration had ever applied to phylobasileis. The Romans developed proconsular and propraetorial commands to deal with the same problem.

⁵¹ The current explanation of this change (Badian 1971; but see M. H. Hansen 1985*b*, 57) is that the Assembly elected a board of 9 (or 10) archons and the lot was used to assign specific positions to them. Whatever the solution to this problem, the amount of change in modes of appointment to major office in the early years of the Kleisthenic regime should warn us not to assume that there were no modifications in the tribe/trittys/deme system.

⁵² On the question whether the demes could have produced a panel of 500 candidates (*A.P.* 22. 5) see below at n. 67.

- (4) at about the same time, the introduction or at least the first use of ostracism, a procedure for election-in-reverse by which the man who got the most votes (provided 6000 votes were cast in all) was eliminated from political competition for ten years.⁵³

The decision to elect tribal taxiarchs in addition to the strategoi, and a further modification that made it possible to elect more than one strategos from a single tribe, are more difficult to date and may have come somewhat later. Taxiarchs will have become especially necessary when Athenian forces began to fight on more than one front in the same campaigning season; the election of more than one strategos from a single tribe is first definitely attested in 441, and it has been argued that it was Perikles' long run in the office which made the change especially necessary. Kimon, however, had earlier been elected strategos repeatedly, and it is possible that he had a colleague from his own tribe in 476.⁵⁴

Formal election of taxiarchs presumably accompanied or preceded this modification of the procedure for electing generals, since a tribe that lacked a general could not be left without a senior officer; but there may have been a period in which generals made ad hoc appointments to command in fields which they were unable to supervise personally, before the office of taxiarch was formalized. In any case it appears that ad hoc delegation of responsibilities remained common. We do not know whether the *peripolarchoi* who commanded frontier patrols before the ephebic reform of 335 (Sekunda 1992), were formally elected; fortresses will have had their phrourarchs, also, and both may have been appointed by any generals and taxiarchs left to organize the defence of Attika while others went on campaign.⁵⁵ Needs varied from year to year. There may have been a tendency, in forces recruited for campaigns outside Attika, to select the taxiarchs drafted with them from tribes not represented by generals, but it cannot have been uncommon for some tribal squadrons to have no elected officer with them on campaign; presumably a *lochagos* was chosen to command the squadron in

⁵³ See P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*. The principal justification for the introduction of ostracism, if the institution was invented after the battle of Marathon, was probably that it could be used to remove men suspected of Medism (friends of the tyrants, the Alkmaionidai) without controversial trials. But ambitious men may also have seen it as a means of disposing of tribal rivals for the office of strategos; some of the scatter vote may be due to this factor.

⁵⁴ Ch. 16 n. 3. We do not know for certain that there was a rule of tribal representation after 501/0. Piérart 1974 suggests that double representation came about spontaneously through the Assembly's readiness to accept a second nomination from a tribe already represented on the board (cf. M. H. Hansen 1987*a*, 45–6); CAH V² 86 (P. J. Rhodes) would restrict this to cases in which no candidate from a particular tribe had received a majority of votes in his favour. Piérart's reconstruction of the voting procedure is probably correct, but Plat. *Laws* 759d implies that it was feasible to decide which of a number of candidates had received the smallest majority (cf. Wade-Gery 1958, 110–15 = 1931, appendix B).

⁵⁵ One general was given formal responsibilities for the defence of Attika before 352/1 (*IG* ii³ 292); M. H. Munn 1993, 190–2 suggests shortly after 366.

such cases. Taxiarchs assisted generals also on naval campaigns,⁵⁶ but subordinate commands may well have been given to experienced trierarchs.

Before 355, at least, there was little formal military training in Athens. Perikles' funeral speech boasts that Athenians fight as bravely as Spartans though they do not spend their spare time drilling (Thucydides 2. 39; J. K. Anderson 1970, esp. 210–12; Pritchett 1974). Xenophon (*Poroi* 4. 52) complains that young men get paid for military training only when they are practising for tribal team events in religious festivals. He seems to be principally concerned here with physical fitness, since the main responsibility of tribal gymnasiarchs was to train runners for torch-races, but it was probably also true that phylarchs trained the horsemen under their command principally for the Anthippasia contest. Young men learnt to use the bow, arrow, and spear when hunting, and might practise throwing the javelin in the gymnasium, but these were voluntary activities for the upper class and were not organized on a tribal basis.⁵⁷

FESTIVALS

Teams of runners trained by gymnasiarchs were entered in the torch-races in honour of Hephaistos and Prometheus and at the Panathenaia. Hephaistos' race was undoubtedly a relay race, and one would naturally assume that the same was true of the Prometheia and the Panathenaia. References to a prize for the winning runner, as well as his tribe, do not constitute a decisive objection to this assumption; the runner who completed the final stretch of the course for the winning team—who probably held the title of *lampadarchos*—lit the fire on Athena's altar with his torch, and therefore had a special role in the festival. Nor do we need to assume that Aristophanes' references in the *Frogs* to the residents of the Kerameikos mocking lagging runners implies a sort of Athenian city marathon in which all ephebes of the year competed. Members of the losing tribes, as the teams came into the final stretch of the course, will have been urging on their runners with jeers, trying to spur them into greater effort before it was too late.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Xen. *Hell.* 1. 6. 29; cf. B. Jordan 1975.

⁵⁷ See however Spence 1990, 2010 on the use of cavalry during the Peloponnesian War. Ober 1985 argues for the introduction of more systematic training between the Social War and 335. Hoplomachy ('fencing with hoplite weapons', J. K. Anderson 1970, 86) was a novelty taught by paid specialists in 420s, the dramatic date of Plato's *Laches*. The ephebes from 335 had two teachers of military skills, sometimes foreigners. At this date there may have been a reorganization of the gymnasiarchy, torch-race gymnasiarchs being chosen from the ephebes (Palagia and Lewis 1989), while an older man became responsible for supervising the gymnasia and seeing that oil was provided (*IG* ii² 3206, attributed by Goette 1989 to Nausikles son of Klearchos of Oe; chs. 11 n. 62, 28 n. 76, 32 n. 59).

⁵⁸ Cf. ch. 18 n. 85, 19 n. 52. J. L. Shear 2012 suggests that the torch-races and euandria contest might have been introduced c.500. The cutaxia competition (*IG* ii³ 550), also tribal and probably ephebic, may

The only obstacle to assuming that all tribal torch-races were relay races is an inscription of the ephebes of Erechtheis of 334/3/2 which lists about 50 *lampadéphoroi*, that is, probably the whole annual cohort. This text is not a reliable guide to pre-Lykourgan practice. The tribe could have fielded three or four teams during the year, for the Hephaistia, Prometheia, Panathenaia, and perhaps the Nemesia at Rhamnous, and other torch-races may well have been organized at this time; the institutionalization of the ephebate stimulated a number of religious innovations.⁵⁹

Tribes also competed for prizes in *euandria*, ‘manliness’, at the Panathenaia; we do not know whether they were selected and trained by gymnasiarchs or taxiarchs, but the former seems more likely.⁶⁰ Xenophon’s portrayal in *Memorabilia* 3. 4 of a disgruntled taxiarch who has been defeated in election for the generalship by a rich choregos with no military experience suggests that taxiarchs did not have liturgic functions.

The position of phylarch was elective and not liturgic, and cavalrymen were expected to pay their own expenses, but the ambitious phylarch would buy himself a showy mount and spend time rehearsing the best mounted members of his tribal squadron for the Anthippasia, and probably for their role in the Panathenaic procession. Cavalry displays were much admired, as we can see from the prominence of the horsemen in the Panathenaic frieze (cf. Osada 2011), and successful phylarchs commemorated their victories, sometimes with ostentatious monuments (below at n. 121). They liked to do some of their rehearsing in the north-west corner of the Agora (Bugh 1988, 219–20; Camp 2007). Hipparchs too, to judge from Xenophon’s *Hipparchikos*, were much concerned with making a good show at festivals.

have been short-lived: Lambert 2011*b*, 186 (cf. *A.P.* 42. 4?). On torch-races see *Frogs* 131, 1087–98; Sekunda 1990, Bentz 2007. *IG* ii² 1250, interpreted by Sekunda as a decree of Aiantis honouring a victorious team of 10 *lampadéphoroi* and their gymnasiarch, in the 350s–340s (see also Whitehead 1991), was perhaps set up in the Lykeion: the Zappeion area, where it was found, was not where Aiantis’ decrees were usually set up. Sekunda’s view that the torch-race in honour of Pan was incorporated into the Panathenaia is probably correct, although the Herakleia at Marathon (*IG* i³ 3) may be an alternative.

⁵⁹ *IG* ii³ 4. 336; cf. *IG* ii³ 4. 429, which records 4 gymnasiarchs, each of whom perhaps served for a single festival. On religious innovations of the Lykourgan period see Humphreys 1985*a*, 2004; Faraguna 1992. *IG* ii³ 449 contains regulations for a new festival that seems to have included tribal competitions: Walbank 1982*a* suggested the Amphiarraia, O. Hansen 1985 the Bendideia, but the role assigned to the polemarch still makes me think of the Epitaphia (Humphreys 1985*a*, n. 33); the Nemesia are also possible, Rhamnous being now a garrison town.

⁶⁰ *IG* ii³ 4. 545, from the Akropolis, commemorates victories in the torch-race and in *euandria* at the Panathenaia, and with a boys’ chorus at the Thargelia (cf. Goette 2007*b*). It is dated to the mid 4th c.; in line 1 a tribe’s name should be restored rather than [*chorégôn*]. Monaco 2011, 224 suggests that *IG* ii² 3134 = *IG* ii³ 4. 589 could refer to euandria.

CIVIL OFFICE

Each tribe had to produce, every year, 50 councillors and some reserves to fill places vacated because the original nominee failed to pass scrutiny at the *dokimasia*, or died during the year; 500 men for garrison duty (*phrouroi*); a considerable number of members for boards of officials; and wealthy men to serve as choregoi, gymnasiarchs, and ‘feasters’ (*hestiatores*) for tribal contests.⁶¹

Councillors and *phrouroi* were appointed by demes and *A.P.* 62. 1 says that minor official positions were also at one time filled by demes, but corruption had led to this duty being assigned to tribal assemblies, which also appointed senior officials (after 487, the nine archons and the secretary to the *thesmothetai*), and liturgists. A *terminus ante quem* of c.370–362 has been provided for this change by analysis of bronze allotment plates which were used first to assign jurors to courts (from ? 378/7) and subsequently also for allocation to office (Kroll 1972). Tribal election processes, from this time on, evidently used places where allotment machines were available, in and around the Agora.⁶²

Attempts have been made to use four clay tokens of the late fifth century, three of them found in the Agora, to reconstruct the process of appointment to office when it was done in the demes. These theories seem to me mistaken—these clay objects are recognition tokens and are not likely to have been used in allotment⁶³—but nevertheless the tokens may cast light on the nature of the corruption of which the demes were accused. They are small domino-shaped pieces of clay, cut irregularly across the middle, carrying on one side, across the cut, the name of a tribe, and on the other side, on one half the name of the deme and on the other the letters POL, probably standing for *pôlêtês*. Since so few of these tokens have been found it is likely that they represent an experiment that lasted at most for a few years and may even have been confined to the office of poletes.

Prima facie, these tokens guaranteed that the candidate who turned up with the deme half had indeed been appointed by his deme to fill the office assigned to it. The office of poletes was a sensitive one, since the poletai confiscated and sold property belonging to state debtors and other offenders. They had to decide whether to recognize claims that the land had been leased or that other creditors had prior liens on the property, they ran the sale, and there is some evidence that they did not always make serious efforts to extract the highest possible bids from

⁶¹ M. H. Hansen 1980; P. J. Rhodes 1972. *Agora* XV 492, which contained c.750 names, has been identified as a list of councillors and alternates, but see Humphreys 2010a, suggesting kleruchs.

⁶² See n. 68. In *Aisch* 3. 27 two days are allocated for tribal assemblies, which may imply a succession of meetings in the Theseion. Cf. N. F. Jones 1999, 164–6; A. Chankowski 2014.

⁶³ Herman 1987, 62–9, rightly insists that these *symbola* are recognition-tokens, but in my view goes too far in totally rejecting the association with demes, tribes, and office. Context and letter forms seem to indicate a date near the middle of the 5th c. (*Hesp.* 1951, 51–2). See also Cordano and Grottanelli 2001.

buyers. Friends of the man whose property was being sold would put in claims that part of it was owed to them, or might buy it up, as cheaply as they could, on his behalf so that he could later repurchase it from them. It would, therefore, be very useful to have friends on the board of *poletai*, and suspicions of corruption might well arise.⁶⁴

In the pre-360 system, then, tribal officials notified demes of the positions on official boards that they were expected to fill, presumably taking some account of deme size in their allocation of offices. There must, however, have been considerable changes over time. In 507 the number of boards of ten tribal representatives must have been very small, and some may well have been filled from the Council. It was not uncommon for boards to be filled entirely or partially from the Council later⁶⁵ and the references in *IG i*³ 73 and 224 to ‘the *kôlakrêtai* of the x prytany’ suggest that this financial board, which was certainly already in existence in 507, was closely related to the Council structure.⁶⁶ We are not well informed about the limits on iteration of minor offices, except that an office-holder could not be re-elected until he had successfully passed scrutiny for his previous tenure, but in any case it seems that, as minor boards proliferated in the fifth century, a man who enjoyed office and could afford to spend his time on public business could move from one board to another and find frequent employment. The practice of assigning appointment to the demes might have been introduced to ensure that city residents did not monopolize official positions.

The principal tribal assembly of the year, between 487 and c.370, had to select its representative on the board of archons ‘from the 500 pre-selected by the demes’ (*A.P.* 22. 5; P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 273–4), elect three tribal *epimêlêtai*,⁶⁷ and allocate minor offices to demes. An Eleusis decree of the Lykourgan period (*IEleus* 85) refers to a meeting of the demesmen in the Theseion in Athens at the time of the appointments to office (*archairesiai*) in Metageitnion, but this may well refer to deme elections in Metageitnion; probably the tribes held election meetings some time between the election of military officials, which took place ‘in

⁶⁴ Ch. 14 at nn. 37–40. Since the names of demes and offices were painted on the tokens before firing, the assignation of offices to demes was known in advance. It would not be Athenian practice to have a secret list of assignations known only to tribal officials and potters. On the scheme proposed here, an elected *pôlêtês* could still sell his token to a fellow-demesman (perhaps this is why the system was short-lived), but at least the market was reduced to a single deme.

⁶⁵ Cf. M. H. Hansen 1980. A list of decrees ordering the appointment of new officials, some of which specify that part or all of the board is to come from the Council, is given in Piérart 1974, 134–6.

⁶⁶ Cf. *IG i*³ 36, *kôlakrêtai* of Thargelion; Wilhelm 1939, 52–72; Van Wees 2013*a*, 40–44; Matthaiou 2015 on i³ 224.

⁶⁷ Since *epimêlêtai* were responsible for managing tribal funds used for sacrifice, it is possible that they were elected at a meeting held after the tribe’s main festival of the year rather than at the same time as tribal representatives on city boards. Pandionis held an assembly after the Pandia, *IG ii*² 1140; Kekropis held a *kyria agora* on the Akropolis, ii² 1141. The number of tribal assemblies may have increased during the Peloponnesian War, when more Athenians were living in the city. See below, n. 71; A. Chankowski 2015.

the first prytany after the sixth in which the omens were favourable' (*A.P.* 44. 4), and the end of the year.⁶⁸ Such meetings may have been timed to coincide with festivals that would attract large numbers of country-dwellers to the city. However, there must have been further tribal meetings to select candidates for the position of ephebic sophronistes (*A.P.* 42. 2); the tribe's new members would presumably be presented on this occasion.⁶⁹ Metageitnion would be a suitable date for this, and some purely tribal offices may have been filled at the same time.

Tribal epimeletai are not formally attested before the late fifth or early fourth century, but it would have been apparent soon, if not from the outset, that the tribes needed civil officials to convene meetings, and perhaps to manage tribal property, in addition to their military leaders.⁷⁰ The term *epimelêtês* is first documented in 426/5 (*IG* i³ 68. 38–9), but the deme Rhamnous had *epistatai* in charge of its finances before 480 (*IG* i³ 247 *bis* = *IRh* 181). It was perhaps

⁶⁸ One would expect the appointments to civil office to take place after the elections to military commands, both because the latter were positions of greater power and because military commanders might well have to travel some distance to take up office. Indeed, the rule that elections to military command could take place any time after the sixth prytany, provided the omens were favourable, is perhaps best viewed as a modification introduced to advance the date of these elections when the conventional date at which archons had traditionally been elected was found to create difficulties for commanders assigned to campaigns overseas. In that case the reference to omens—perhaps not taken very seriously, if we can judge by Ar. *Clouds* 579–87—would be explained not by the greater weight attached to military office (P. J. Rhodes 1981*a* on *A.P.* 44. 4), but as the normal precaution taken when a deviation from custom was introduced (Humphreys 1985*a*, n. 29). On the Hellenistic period see Gauthier 1998.

⁶⁹ Ch. 22 nn. 45, 113. After the appointment by the *boulê* of the sophronistai and kosmetes the epheboi processed round sanctuaries (*A.P.* 42. 3) and then (?) took their oath in the shrine of Aglauros (P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 506). This will have preceded their parade at Agrai on Boedromion 6 (the schedule in Humphreys 2004, 184 is too compressed). The presentation of armour to war orphans (cf. Couvenhes 2007) must also have taken place shortly after their dokimasia; it was apparently replaced (cf. Aischines 3. 154) when the ephebate was institutionalized by a parade of all ephebes, receiving a shield and spear, in the stadium (Dillery 2002), at the beginning of their second year of service. Erchia makes its only sacrifices in the city on Metageitnion 12; see Jameson 1980; Mikalson 1975, 36; Humphreys 2004, 183. Myrrhinous, *IG* ii² 1183, seems to have held its euthynai somewhat later. See the discussions in Whitehead 1986*a*, 266–70 and N. F. Jones 1999, 164–6. It should be stressed that appointment was a two-stage process: identification of candidates (volunteering, or agreeing to stand under pressure) at an assembly, followed by sortition if there were competing candidates. The latter process may have involved only tribe/deme officials and the candidates, plus (perhaps) the thesmothetai as supervisors, and any interested supporters; it need not have taken long. Some units may have held assemblies in the Theseion, others elsewhere. *IG* ii² 1164 (early 3rd c., Akropolis, unknown tribe) seems to have been voted before its honorand had passed his euthynai (but after the end of his year in office?) and before the election of epimeletai for the coming year. On dates of deme assemblies see also Papazarkadas 2011, 116–9; ch. 22 n. 115.

⁷⁰ Unless, as suggested above (n. 48), phylarchs performed these functions until c.440. Pace Trail (1986, 79–80), it is extremely doubtful whether *IG* i³ 377. 21–2 (407/6) contains a reference to epimeletai (of Aiantis, in Antiochis' prytany), but they are certainly referred to in *IG* ii² 1138–9 + 2812 + *Hesp.* 1953, 177 no. 1, of the 380s. If *epimel[êtai]* is to be restored in *IG* i³ 252, which is more than doubtful, we would have the term attested c.450.

normal practice to elect one epimeletes from each trittys, but we do not have much evidence. If this principle was adopted in Pandionis at the time of *SEG* 21. 515 (between 332 and 323), Probalinthos was treated as a city deme for the purpose of the appointment, as in council-trittys lists.⁷¹

The change in the mode of appointing minor city officials may have been a matter of technology rather than principle. With allotment machines it was possible to move directly from matching offices with demes to sortition of office-holders (Staveley 1972). It would, however, be necessary at this stage for demes to produce a panel of approved candidates, and it is quite likely that *A.P.*'s reference to 'the 500 prokritoi from the demes' denotes this panel. If so, *A.P.* will have been mistaken in thinking that it was already in existence in 487. In any case several of the tribal boards of officials in the early fifth century required special qualifications: treasurers of Athena had to be *pentakosiomedimnoi*, archons *pentakosiomedimnoi* or *hippeis*, who had not held office as archon previously.⁷² Sortition *ek prokritón* in such cases may mean only that a panel of nominees was constituted and the lot was then used to choose between them; in most cases the candidates' qualifications will have been well known (the *pentakosiomedimnoi* and *hippeis* of a tribe were also its liturgists), and nominators could testify in cases where, for example, an orphan who had recently come into his father's estate was being asked to serve for the first time.

TRIBAL OFFICES AND LITURGIES

We do not know whether choregoi, gymnasiarchs, and hestiatoures were appointed at the same meeting as other officials or another one; perhaps business that could

⁷¹ Above at n. 26. In *IG* ii² 1152 (Pandionis, late 4th c.), the epimeletai come from Paiania (inland), Myrrhinous (coast?), and Kydathenaion (city); in *Agora* XVI 80 (332/1, 327/6, or 324/3; *SEG* 21. 515, 34. 101), from Probalinthos, Paiania, and Kytherros, the latter taken to be a coastal deme by Traill 1986. Aiantis' epimeletai *c.* 342/1 come from Phaleron (city), Aphidnai (inland), and Oinoe (coast): *Agora* XIX P 26. 513–15 (wrongly dated to 346/5 by Traill 1986). In *IG* ii² 1151, however, Aiantis' epimeletai come from Aphidnai, Marathon, and Rhamnous, which is only a 'city' deme if we accept Traill's reconstruction of council-trittyes in this tribe (above at nn. 25–7; ch. 31 n. 60). *IG* ii³ 4. 207 (Leontis, 357/6) has epimeletai from Deiradiotai, Leukonoion, and Aithalidai. Deiradiotai is generally taken to be a coastal deme, but Lewis 1983*a* suggests that Leukonoion may also be coastal (Traill says city); Aithalidai is unlocated, but probably inland. In addition to the epimeletai records collected by Traill 1986, the following reliefs in M. Meyer 1989*a* may represent epimeletai: A 132 (*IG* ii² 2482, 321/0 or 318/7); A 149, from Acharnai (Oineis?); A 163, from the Akropolis. Possible epimeletes in [Dem.] 58. 14–16, see ch. 26 n. 62. Election of epimeletai by trittys did not require assemblies of trittyes (below at n. 131). Epimeletai also appear in *IG* ii² 1142+ (Pandionis), *Agora* XVI 136 (late 4th c.), and perhaps *SEG* 3. 117 (but see *BE* 2012, 160).

⁷² It was probably the introduction of tribal representation that extended the ban on iteration of office to all archons (above, n. 50); this would have increased the size of the Areiopagos.

be fitted into a single meeting in the early fifth century would have required two meetings in the fourth. It may also have been necessary to delay the appointment of tribal liturgists until the city had appointed its trierarchs, and its choregoi for dramatic performances. Each tribe required three or four choregoi for the men's and boy's dithyrambic competitions at the Dionysia and Thargelia (the latter obligation being shared by two tribes, from some date before 420/19). Each also appointed gymnasiarchs for the torch races at the Prometheia, Hephaistia, and Panathenaia. We do not know the number of hestiatores, and the lack of evidence suggests that the post was of minor importance.⁷³

Liturgists would be nominated in tribal assemblies, either by their friends or by opponents who wished to embarrass them or who felt they were not taking their fair share of the burden. There would be a vote if there was competition among willing liturgists, or perhaps if the friends of a man nominated against his will made a counter-nomination. Normally, however, a reluctant liturgist would turn to the archon's court, either to argue that he was not liable (due to other current obligations, service in the previous year, or a grant of exemption) or to challenge another man to take on the liturgy or exchange property (*antidosis*). In 349/8, when the archon was assigning flautists to tribal choregoi in the city Assembly, Pandionis was unable to name its liturgists; the archon rebuked the tribe's epimeletai, who responded by blaming the archon. Evidently there was an antidosis case that had not been settled. Demosthenes at this point—perhaps because it suited his political agenda, perhaps only to take advantage of an unusual opportunity for publicity—volunteered to pay for one of the dithyrambic choruses at the Dionysia.⁷⁴ It does not appear that tribes usually had serious difficulty in finding liturgists; we have more examples of men who boast of doing more than their fair share than of complaints about shirkers.⁷⁵

Tribal assemblies, when not making use of the allotment machines in the Theseion, probably met in or near the sanctuaries of their eponymous heroes; this is where their decrees were set up. *IG ii² 1141* refers to an assembly of

⁷³ J. K. Davies 1967. Possibly the figure of 60 'encyclical' liturgists per year in Dem. 20. 21 refers only to tribal liturgies and belongs to a period when each tribe appointed only one gymnasiarch (cf. Schol. Patm. ad loc., *BCH* 1877, 147) and two 'feasters', one for the Panathenaia and one for the Dionysia. They perhaps had to provide wine and other supplements to accompany the tribe's share of sacrificial meat. Sourvinou-Inwood 1988*a* suggested that the Brauron 'bears' were selected by tribe, but this does not seem probable to me: cf. ch. 9 n. 22.

⁷⁴ Dem. 21. 13. Gabrielsen 1987*a* explains how antidosis suits could be delayed. [Dem.] 42 was written for an antidosis case that came to court in the early 320s (*APF* 14734); this was probably a rare occurrence. Isokrates 15 (354) is a fictional speech of self-justification, Isokrates having ceded to a challenge about two years earlier (*APF* 7716). On the *diadikasia* inscriptions of ? 380/79 see Gabrielsen 1987*b*.

⁷⁵ Is. 5. 35–6 plays down the liturgies of Dikaiogenes III of Kydathenaion, but in 10 years he had served as tribal choregos for the Dionysia and as choregos for tragedy and *pyrrhichistai* (*APF* 3773). Demes may have had more difficulty.

Kekropis on the Akropolis, and Erechtheis, Aigeis, and Pandionis also probably met there. Leontis may have used the Leokoreion, the sanctuary of Leos' daughters on the north side of the Agora, but also erected monuments at Daphne; Akamantis might have used the shrine of Akamas in the Kerameikos, but also set up a decree found in Kallithea (Xypete? *SEG* 23. 78);⁷⁶ Oineis might have met at Acharnai, to which deme almost half its members belonged if Council quotas provide a reliable guide to population. Hippothontis seems to have met at Eleusis, in (or near) the shrine of Hippothoon. Aiantis met in the shrine of Ajax' son Eurysakes, in Melite (Stroud 1998, 85–104; chs. 20 n. 111, 29 n. 2). Antiochis set up decrees in the shrine of its eponymous hero (*SEG* 3. 115. 22–3), perhaps associated with that of his father Herakles in the gymnasium at Kynosarges.⁷⁷

Tribes will have sacrificed to their eponymous heroes, and eventually acquired significant amounts of property that provided income to pay for these sacrifices;⁷⁸ presumably leading members of the tribe, demes (*IG* i³ 244), and in some cases genê will have contributed in early years. Antiochis had property on Lemnos in 303/2 (*SEG* 3. 117), and it seems possible that the first kleruchs had assigned

⁷⁶ Cf. N. F. Jones 1999, 157–61, 321–3. The restoration of a reference to monthly tribal assemblies in *IG* ii² 1165 seems to me very improbable (cf. Jones, 162). D. M. Lewis 1955 collects decrees and dedications of Pandionis (add *SEG* 21. 515, reprinted in Traill 1986, 85); Habicht 1961*b* discusses Akamantis. *IG* ii³ 4. 207, a dedication by the epimeletai of Leontis for 357/6 (to Leos?), was seen by Kirchner (Traill 1986, 81) at Daphni, which has also produced a dedication by a phylarch of Leontis (*SEG* 36. 269; ch. 26 n. 29; *SEG* 47. 197, ch. 32 n. 15, is a different text). Dedications to Hermes would not be out of place in the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios of the Kephallidai, who claimed to descend from Hermes (ch. 20 n. 81); nothing in sources on Attic mythology, however, explains the presence of Leos here. The sacrifice of Skambonidai to Leos, *IG* i³ 244, was presumably made in the Leokoreion, which was in the territory of that deme (D. R. Jordan 1985 questions the common identification of the Leokoreion, but I do not see why Leos, as a hero, or his daughters, as young female suicides, would not be thought suitable as transmitters of curses; see also Weir 1995, Kron 1999). Another sacrifice to Leos in the Agora, Alipherê 2015; perhaps also *Agora* XVI 106E. The suggestion of Papazarkadas 2007*a* that Aigeis met at Teithras is most improbable.

⁷⁷ *IEleus* 63, 67, and perhaps *IG* ii² 1142, were set up at Eleusis; only ii² 1163 (284/3, Tracy 2003, 109 no. 10) specifies that one copy is to be set up in the Hippothontion (Paus. 1. 38. 4), the other in the Asklepicion, the honorand being priest of Asklepios. Note also *IEleus* 119. Hippothontis' city demes were located W of the city, and members of its inland demes could reach Eleusis via the Aigaleos–Parnes gap. Horos of tombstone of an Oineus, perhaps the tribal hero, 4th c., re-used in Agora, *Agora* XIX H 70. The location of the sanctuary or sanctuaries of Herakles at Kynosarges and of Antiochis is still controversial: the X Antiochis decree *SEG* 3. 117 (*ISE* 8) was not found *in situ* and instructions for setting up the stone are not preserved. See Billot 1992; S. Privitera 2002; Culasso Gastaldi 2008, 285–7; Greco (ed.) 2011, 503, 508–9; chs. 24 n. 8, 32 n. 2.

⁷⁸ See Papazarkadas 2011, 99–111. These sacrifices were performed on behalf of the city as well as the tribe (*IG* ii² 1146), but there is only one reference to funds coming from the city. In 304/3 the city gave the councillors of Akamantis 300 dr. for a sacrifice and an offering (*anathêma*) to Akamas (on which, presumably, the decree was inscribed), and voted to give them [200] dr. a year in future for a sacrifice to the Saviours (Antigonos and Demetrios) and Good Fortune, in Elaphebolion—i.e. at the City Dionysia—commemorating the good news that had reached Athens in their prytany (*Agora* XVI 114; see Habicht 1990*b*; Matthaïou 1991*b*). This seems to be an exceptional grant.

temenê to tribal heroes.⁷⁹ It would have been a popular move at the time, when the *epônymoi* were still new, and might have provided a precedent both for later *temene* assigned collectively to the eponymoi of Athens, on Samos, and for the assignment of mountainous land in the territory of Oropos to the tribes perhaps *c.*374 (Knoepfler 2010*b*; BE 2017. 179).

RESOURCES

The Oropian mountains (*orê*) were assigned to tribes in pairs, and non-traditional considerations may well have influenced the decision to use the tribes to exploit this area: the terrain was wild (it was the site of a notorious case of brigandage in the nineteenth century), and the population unfriendly. If Athenian woodcutters, resin-collectors, and charcoal-burners were to move into the area, and revenue was to be derived from their activities, enterprise on a scale larger than that of the individual donkey-owner was needed.⁸⁰ To give the land to tribes was a way of motivating wealthy men to take on management roles.⁸¹ We do not know whether the tribes kept all the revenue for themselves, or were expected to use it for contributions to the Panathenaia, to which other Oropian revenue may have been devoted.⁸² Athens lost Oropos in 322, but recovered it in 307/6; a recently discovered decree of Aiantis refers to the arbitration of a dispute over the tribe's holdings in this second period, perhaps *c.*304/3, and the *syndikos* honoured by Antiochis in 303/2 for representing the tribe in its dispute concerning Lemnos had also been put in charge of its Oropian lands.⁸³ By the third century, and probably well before, tribes also had land in Attika. Antisthenes son of Nikandros of Lamptrai, honoured by Erechtheis in the late fourth or early third century for

⁷⁹ On the history of Athenian settlement on Lemnos see now ASAA 88; Culasso Gastaldi (2010, 248; 2011) thinks it Kimonian, but there is some earlier Attic archaeological material. Practice in awarding *temene* seems to have varied from one part of the empire to another; we do not know who was to own the sacred lands at Brea (Malkin 1984). R. Parker (1994) argues that *temene* of Athenian deities and heroes in the empire were used to support cults in Athens. See now Papazarkadas 2011, 19–21, 24–5, 91–2. On *temene* see Hegyi 1976.

⁸⁰ The *terminus ante quem* for the grant is *c.*330 (Hyp. 4. *Eux.* 16–17; cf. Engels 1989; Whitehead 2000); Knoepfler 2010*b* argues that arrangements made *c.*370 were renewed in 335/4. Perhaps either the preparations for the Amphiarraia of 329/8, or the celebration of the festival, emboldened sanctuary officials to claim that part of the land assigned to the tribes belonged to Amphiarraos (Hyp., *ibid.*). On timber in Attika see Meiggs 1982, ch. 7; Olson 1991. See also Papazarkadas 2011, 102–4; Cosmopoulos 2001, 14–15, 74–6 on survey evidence for the economy of the area.

⁸¹ Cf. below at n. 100, on the role of the tribes in wall-building and other construction enterprises.

⁸² On L. Robert's interpretation (1960, 189–203) of the term *Nea* as referring to Oropos in *IG* ii³ 447 (R/O 81, *Agora* XVI 75), see Knoepfler 2010*b*, 449–54.

⁸³ *Agora* XIX L 8, XVI 84, *SEG* 51. 102; cf. Sineux 2007; Papazarkadas 2009*a*; Knoepfler 2010*b*. Athens had lost Oropos again by 287.

his careful administration of tribal property, had increased the tribe's revenues to more than 3000 drachmas, and had persuaded it to pass a decree regulating leasing procedures and requiring epimeletai in future to inspect each parcel of land personally twice a year to see that it was being properly farmed, and that its *boroí* were in position. These inspections clearly took place in Attika.⁸⁴ *IG* ii² 1168, a lost tribal decree perhaps of approximately the same period regulating leases and providing for publication of a list of lessees, might be part of Antisthenes' decree; its provenance, however, is not known. Earlier, Kekropis had praised Phoryskides son of Epi— for his just behaviour concerning tribal property (*koina*, *IG* ii² 1143); this decree was passed shortly after the Peloponnesian War, at a time when there may well have been difficulties in re-establishing tribal rights to land. *IG* i³ 252, c.450, from the south slope of the Akropolis, may be a tribal lease (Papazarkadas 2011, 100). *IG* ii² 2490 also deals with leases and seems to contain the beginning of a list of estates owned by Aigeis, organized by trittys.⁸⁵ *IG* ii³ 4. 36, another decree of Aigeis, which should probably be dated 313/2, honours three officials and the *tamias* of the tribe. Traill (1986, 91), following Pittakes, took the officials to be [*logist*]*ai*, but since at least two, and perhaps all three, came from Halai Araphenides this seems rather unlikely. It is better to restore [*horist*]*ai*, in which case we might interpret the text as the result of successful resolution of a dispute concerning tribal property in the vicinity of Halai.⁸⁶

Tribes may have also had capital that they lent out at interest to produce income; some of this might have come from fines. Kekropis lent money on land

⁸⁴ *IG* ii² 1165 (Behrend 1970, no. 19; cf. N. F. Jones 1999, 176–7); on the danger that corporate property would be privatized or neglected see ch. 22 at n. 119; on disruption in the period 307–280, G. J. Oliver 2007*a*. Tracy (2003, 96–7) dates ii² 1165 c.286–270; Papazarkadas (2011, 104 n. 22) suggests the late 4th c. *If* Nikandros, father of the honorand Antisthenes, served as treasurer of Athena in 343/2 (ii² 1443. 6), and *if* treasurers had to be over 30 (probable but not certain: Kahrstedt 1936), Antisthenes should have been born by c.340 and his epikleros daughter by c.310, which would suggest a *terminus ante* of c.290. The decree was evidently passed in a period of turmoil (difficulties over tribal leasing, fear that tenants may decamp in the future and that the girl may be orphaned); see G. J. Oliver 2007*a* on the many disruptions of this period. For curse tablets possibly related to intra-tribal disputes see *SEG* 40. 265 + 42. 217 (ch. 14 n. 83, 23 n. 76), *SEG* 44. 226 (ch. 14 n. 71, 32 n. 64) *SEG* 58. 266 (ch. 30 n. 52).

⁸⁵ Cf. n. 138. Dated *ante med. s. IV* on spelling, but the reference to written leases and records of the names of contract-holders might suggest the later 4th c. *IG* ii² 598, a late 4th c. decree concerning the lease of a *hieron*, from the area west of the Akropolis, may be tribal (or from a deme).

⁸⁶ Traill (1986, 91–2) argues that the commission member Philagros came from Erchia, not Halai, but see Whitehead 1986*a*, 433 (*APF* 14208 *bis*); there are two references in this period to a Philagros of Halai whose tribe is undetermined. Since Nikeratos Hal., father of one of the (?) horistai, was diaitetes in 326/5 (*IG* ii³ 4. 35) the date should be 313/2. On the reading in line 1 of *IG* ii³ 4. 36 see *SEG* 42. 151. Cf. also N. F. Jones 1999, 180–1; Papazarkadas 2011, 107 n. 33. They would be (*pace* Knoepfler 2010*b*, 445) a commission set up ad hoc (like *syndikoi* and *klētēres*) not regular tribal officers. Cf. the tribal *geónomoi* at Brea, *IG* i³ 46. 10–15.

security some time before the 360s; Pandionis (or its kleruchic subdivision) lent money on Samos during the period of the fourth century Athenian kleruchy on the island, possibly after an initial allocation of temenos land had been sold.⁸⁷

From these varying sources tribes were deriving, by the second half of the fourth century, quite substantial revenues. Erechtheis' 3000+ drachmas from rents have already been mentioned; Aiantis by the early 340s had an annual revenue of 2000 drachmas, which it had to recover from a delinquent board of epimeletai, the third of whom was still owing his share of 666 $\frac{1}{3}$ drachmas (plus an additional penalty of the same amount imposed in 346/5) c.342/1, when the tribe finally denounced him to the poletai in order to recover their dues from the sale of his confiscated property. Perhaps the most noteworthy aspect of this affair is the lengthy delay before the tribe took formal proceedings against him.⁸⁸ Another delinquent epimeletes, Theokrines of Hybadai, had carried an unpaid debt for several years by 341/0 ([Demosthenes] 58); he had recovered enough standing to be appointed councillor in 328/7, at the age of sixty-two (*IG* ii³ 360).

EXPENDITURE

There is not much evidence about the sacrifices on which these revenues were spent. Some tribal heroes were already worshipped before Kleisthenes' reforms, and in these cases the tribe probably continued to use the services of the genos priest. The Eteoboutadai appointed the priest of Erechtheus; the Amyndridai, probably, the priest of Kekrops. The priest of Hippothoon was allocated money for a *pelanos* (cake or liquid offering) at Eleusis in the Lykourgan period (*IEleus* 177. 419), but this may well be a post-Kleisthenic arrangement. *IG* ii² 1146 = *SEG* 25. 140, a fourth-century decree of Erechtheis, refers to an additional (*epithetos*) sacrifice which the priest selected by lot is to continue to make in future years; since we know that the Eteoboutadai were using the lot to appoint their priest by 325 (ch. 20 n. 132), this text does not necessarily imply that the tribe was appointing its own annual priest.⁸⁹ In the third century Antisthenes of Lamptrai is praised by Erechtheis for seeing that all the sacrifices were duly

⁸⁷ Fines are mentioned in *SEG* 23. 78 A (26. 131; Reinmuth 1971 no. 1), Akamantis 361/0. Property, Finley 1952, no. 146 (*IG* ii² 2670, *APF* 9238); *IG* xii 6. 255 with Papazarkadas 2011, 109–10. Akamantis lends on Lemnos, Culasso Gastaldi 2006 no. 4.

⁸⁸ *Agora* XIX P 26. 498–530. This text covers the activities of the *pōlētai* in 342/1, 341/0, or 339/8, and it is not impossible that the confiscation of the property of the debtor, Nikodemos son of Aristomenes of Oinoe, was prompted by flight after Chaironeia.

⁸⁹ If the Philton who proposed *IG* ii² 1146 (cf. *SEG* 25. 140) was Ph. of Lamptrai, he was on Samos in 346/5 (*IG* xii 6. 261); *IG*'s date for 1146 (before c.350) may be too early. Cf. Blok and Lambert 2009; ch. 32 n. 26 on *SEG* 3. 117.

performed (*IG* ii² 1165, cf. 1150 = *SEG* 36. 178). So far we have no text that can be convincingly identified as a tribe's sacrificial calendar, and the lists may not have been long enough to warrant publication. *IG* i³ 246 (470–50) is considered by the editor, following Prott, to be the sacrificial calendar of a tribe, phratry, or *genos*, but any of these identifications would be problematic, the first especially. The text was acquired in Athens by Elgin, but this does not necessarily imply an association with the Akropolis, which might have suggested that the text was tribal. The names that can be deciphered show a decided preference for the more sinister side of Athenian religion: offerings to Tritopatores and unnamed heroes, a sacrifice on the day before the Thargelia, when the city was purified and scapegoats were expelled, and one to Athena in Thargelion at the Plynteria, another festival of purification.

Presumably tribes that used pre-existing sanctuaries will have made offerings to their deities, even when the tribe had added the altar of its own eponym to the cult complex. We would expect Aiantis to contribute to the cult of Eurysakes, whose priest was appointed by the *genos* Salaminioi, even if the tribe also appointed its own priest of Ajax; Antiochis possibly honoured Herakles as well as Antiochos at Kynosarges (n. 77). Oineis' relations with the deities of Acharnai are less clear; the tribe may also have made offerings at a tomb of Oineus in the Agora.⁹⁰

Pandionis, more ambitiously, seems to have constructed (on flimsy etymological grounds) an association with the Pandia, originally a festival of Zeus. It had come to be associated with the City Dionysia, presumably a result of the expansion of the programme of the latter, and this may have made it seem an appropriate occasion for a tribal assembly and celebration; Pandionis' monument recording the tribe's victories in choral competitions may belong to this complex of associations.⁹¹ It is tempting to suggest that the very generous honours awarded by Pandionis to Demon son of Demomeles of Paiania, who had served as priest of Pandion in 386/5—a gold crown and lifelong exemption from tribal liturgies, to be proclaimed in the assembly meeting (*agora*) held after the Pandia—may have been prompted by his celebration, at his own expense, of a particularly lavish sacrifice that established the tribe's rights in the festival. In any

⁹⁰ *Agora* XIX H 70 (missed by Kearns 1989) seems more likely to be the marker of a hero's tomb than that of a private individual (n. 77). On Acharnai see Kellogg 2013a, 172–4.

⁹¹ *IG* ii² 1138–9 + 2812 + *Hesp.* 1953, 177 no. 1. A later decree of (?) Pandionis (*IG* ii² 1266; Wilhelm 1942, 186–8), of the end of the 4th c., expresses concern that its epimeletai, in managing tribal affairs, ensure that every recipient gets the due *meros*. A share-out of cash income to individuals seems unlikely, and I doubt Wilhelm's restoration [Pandionidai] in line 7. It seems more likely that *merê* of the revenue are being allocated to deities, officials, or, conceivably, demes. On the date of the Pandia see R. Parker 2005a, 477–8.

case the text (*IG* ii² 1140) establishes that Pandionis and the Pandia were associated by 386.⁹²

As this last text indicates, tribes also used some of their revenues to pay for gold crowns awarded to benefactors. Such grants are common in the latter part of the fourth century, but Kekropis awarded a crown of 500 drachmas to a Pyrrhos in 376/5. It is frustrating not to be able to identify this benefactor, apparently father of a Sosibios, whose award was sufficiently controversial to require a secret ballot in the tribe's *kyria agora*, held on the Akropolis.⁹³

Kekropis also awarded gold crowns to its taxiarch in 339/8 (for victory in a small battle before Chaironeia; the value is unknown), and to its ephebes and their *sôphronistês* in 334/3 (500 dr. each). In 333/2 the ephebes and sophronistes of the tribe awarded gold crowns to the general in charge of Piraeus, the general in charge of the country-side, the sophronistes, their taxiarch, their seven lochagoi, and their two instructors (*didaskaloi*). It seems possible that the funds for the crowns were given to the ephebes by the tribe, but it is also conceivable that their fathers contributed.⁹⁴ Pandionis awarded a gold crown of 500 drachmas

⁹² In the 5th c. Plotheia (Aigeis) had contributed 72 dr. yearly to the Pandia (*IG* i³ 258, ch. 24 n. 49); perhaps this text antedates Pandionis' appropriation of the festival. *APF* 3597 II suggests that Demon had given the tribe property to endow future sacrifices. He was Demosthenes' FB, and at this time his brother Demosthenes I, the orator's father, made a questionable marriage to Kleoboule daughter of Gylon of Kerameis. Gylon seems to have been living in the Crimea as a client of the Bosporean royal family. He dowered his daughters generously (Kleoboule got 5000 dr.), but doubts concerning their legitimacy could be raised, and it could also be suggested that debts to the city were owed from his property (*APF* 3597 VII–VIII). Demon's generosity may have been an attempt to distract attention from this marriage, either on his own behalf or in solidarity with his brother.

⁹³ *IG* ii² 1141, *CEG* II 890; the honorands may well have been foreigners. Used in reference to city assemblies, the expression *kyria agora* denoted the principal meeting of each prytany, which was not the only regular meeting prescribed by law (M. H. Hansen 1987a, 25–6); in this text the expression perhaps denotes the meeting held by Kekropis on the Akropolis after its annual sacrifice to Kekrops. It does not imply that the tribe held no other regular meetings; cf. N. F. Jones 1999, 162–4. However, J.'s discussion of the relation between award and proclamation of crowns is problematic. If in *IEleus* 63 proclamation in the [*Hippothonti*]on is correctly restored, this perhaps need not imply that the decree was passed in another location, while the proclamation at *Lamp[trai?]* in *IG* ii² 1161 (ch. 23 s.v.) may well be due to the deme affiliation of the honorand. Aisch. 3. 41–5 (cited by J.) suggests that (additional) proclamations might be made in more (not, as J. argues, less) central locations. (P. Wilson 2010a, 49, implausibly suggests that the text shows the importance of the Rural Dionysia.)

⁹⁴ *IG* ii² 1155–6; Clinton 1988a; Lambert 2015b. The norms of crowning are not well understood. Henry 1983 shows that gold crowns were rarely awarded to citizens before the Lykourgan period. Earlier, crowns awarded by the city to foreigners were sent overseas (R/O 33), but by the late 4th c. foreigners were expected to follow the example of citizens and dedicate their crowns to local deities (D. M. Lewis 1988; cf. Faraguna 1992 on *IG* ii² 1496). After 335 each tribe annually held a meeting of the fathers of the ephebes (of the commencing year?), who elected candidates for the position of tribal *sôphronistês* for the two coming years (*A.P.* 42. 2, cf. P. J. Rhodes 1981a ad loc.; A. Chankowski 2014), and may also have passed resolutions commending sophronistai who had just concluded their term of office (cf. *IG* ii² 1159). On *SEG* 36. 155, restored by Traill 1986 as ephebic, see Humphreys 2010a, 78–81. On unpublished ephebic texts from Panakton see Humphreys 2009, 89.

to a choregos at some time in the second half of the fourth century; in 324/3(?) it praised its epimeletai and gave them 50 drachmas for a sacrifice, and on some other occasion towards the end of the century it did the same, and in addition gave each of the three epimeletai a gold crown worth 500 drachmas.⁹⁵ Leontis in 331 gave its sophronistes a gold crown worth 1000 drachmas, and its taxiarch and lochagoi crowns of 500 drachmas each (Reinmuth 1971, no. 9, see Alipherê 2015). In *c.*303/2 the value of gold crowns was regulated by law (Henry 1983); Antisthenes of Lamptraï got a gold crown of the permitted value from Erechtheis in the first half of the third century, and a *hieropoios* got the same from Akamantis (*IG* ii² 1165–6).

The money lavished on ephebic officials may have come in part from the Oropian territory granted to the tribes, though it probably also came from the ephebes' families and, in the case of subordinate officials, from sophronistai, who will have been wealthy men.⁹⁶ This was a new expense for the tribes, and one which they seem to have embraced with enthusiasm (Humphreys 1985*a*). In other cases crowns may represent the money saved by energetic management of tribal property and/or generous contributions from the honorand's own pocket. The money thus converted into gold was not totally lost to the tribe, since crowns would be dedicated in its sanctuary, and could eventually be melted down and re-used, certainly to make ceremonial vessels and perhaps even to pay for sacrifices.⁹⁷

So far, Kekropis' vote to set up an *eikôn* and stele of an unknown honorand in Kekrops' shrine (*SEG* 2. 8) is unique. The honorand, if not a foreigner, was perhaps a member of the tribe who had special influence at one of the courts of Alexander's successors.

OFFICIALS

The varied picture of tribal officials, other than the epimeletai and those responsible for the ephebes, presented by honorary decrees may well represent variation in practice, even though the evidence is scanty. A *tamias*, treasurer, is attested for Aigeis, and perhaps for Leontis and Kekropis; it is not entirely clear whether every tribe's councillors had to have a *tamias* while in prytany or, if so, whether he also acted as *tamias* for the tribe for the whole year.⁹⁸ The provision in 338

⁹⁵ *IG* ii² 1158, *SEG* 34. 101, *IG* ii² 1152. 50 dr. would buy a large pig (*hus*).

⁹⁶ The sophronistes of Kekropis in 334/3/2 was a parasite of Athena Pallenis: *IG* ii² 1156, Reinmuth 1971, no. 2, R/O no. 89.

⁹⁷ If tribes had other surplus income presumably it would be lent out at interest.

⁹⁸ Aigeis: *IG* ii³ 4. 76; *ibid.* 36. [*Ta*]mias in Traill 1978*b* no. 5, *c.*333, Leontis; but in Reinmuth 1971 no. 15 the tribe's epimeletai are to pay for the inscription. *Tamias* is restored in *IG* ii² 1158, Kekropis; the

that each tribe was to elect a *tamias* for its work on the walls (Aischines 3. 27) may suggest that the functions of the prytany-*tamias* were by that date limited to Council business, which included paying for sacrifices. *Hieropoioi* may also have been appointed for the prytany period rather than the whole year, as in Aigeis in 341/0, when the hieropoioi for the Eleusinian Mysteries were all drawn from the tribe's councillors and included the prytany-treasurer. The *syllogeis tou dêmon* also acted as hieropoioi.⁹⁹ Kekropis may have had a herald (*IG* ii² 1145); a secretary (*grammateus*) is restored for Akamantis in *SEG* 23. 78 B (330s) and for Kekropis in *SEG* 2. 8.

Tribes were also from time to time required to elect small colleges to undertake the organization of public works and other functions. An interesting early example is the provision of *IG* i³ 3 (ch. 22 n. 95) that a commission of thirty men, three per tribe, is to be elected from those present at the festival of Herakles at Marathon to supervise the proceedings, which probably included competitions. The festival was instituted to commemorate the victory at Marathon (the cult no doubt earlier), and tribal representation may have been rather uneven, Aigeis, Pandionis, Leontis, Hippothontis, Aiantis, and Antiochis being widely represented by residents of near-by demes, while representatives of the other four tribes perhaps came mainly from the horse-owning classes.

Aischines, arguing that Demosthenes' position in 338 as *teichopoios* for his tribe was an elected office subject to the usual procedures of accounting (*euthynai*, 3. 27–30), tells us incidentally that tribes had earlier been required to provide commissions to build walls, dig ditches, and construct triremes; the work was sometimes divided up by trittys. While the city presumably provided some funding for such enterprises, they undoubtedly had a liturgic component; Demosthenes, indeed, had donated 10,000 drachmas as *teichopoios* (*APF* 3597 XXII M). Work units in the building trades were usually small, and Athens did not have a large unskilled labour force waiting to be hired. To use the tribes as the organizational framework for such enterprises cast a glow of patriotic competition over them, and encouraged rich men to use their resources and personal connections in mobilizing labour and draught animals, while poorer members of the tribe would be encouraged to work by bonuses and a general atmosphere of festivity.¹⁰⁰

Tribes had also appointed the *dikastai kata dêmons*, a board of three judges per tribe, who travelled around Attika hearing minor cases, perhaps from 453/2

tribe of *IG* ii² 1168 has a *tamias* in the 3rd c. The position of prytany-*tamias* became more important, and more liturgic, in the Hellenistic period.

⁹⁹ *IG* ii² 1257; 1496. 82–3, 113–14; ii³ 4. 72. Akamantis honours a single *hieropoios* in *IG* ii² 1166.

¹⁰⁰ See Burford 1965 on the problems of transporting building materials. This use of the tribes casts a revealing light on the Athenian economy. It goes back at least to 394/2 (*IG* ii² 1658–61); perhaps to Themistokles?

to 403;¹⁰¹ in 411/10 they were required to appoint *katalogeis* to register the Five Thousand to whom citizenship was to be restricted under the oligarchic government of the Four Hundred (above, n. 44); at least in the fourth century each tribe every year appointed three *syllogeis* to supervise Assembly meetings. They could also be charged with the duty of punishing public slaves, and presumably were expected to help keep order during Assembly meetings. They also disbursed payment for attendance, and were presumably expected to see that non-citizens did not infiltrate Assembly meetings, although Aristophanes' *Congresswomen* suggests that controls were not always very strict. From time to time the city honoured the whole board; tribes also honoured their own *syllogeis*, who were apparently chosen without reference to *trittys*.¹⁰²

Tribal honours for *sophronistai* and *ephebic* officers have already been noted. The tribe's *sophronistes* was elected by the city Assembly from a panel of three candidates selected by the fathers of each tribe's *ephebes* (*A.P.* 42. 2), and its *ephebic* *taxiarch* and *lochagoi* were probably appointed by him from among the *ephebes* (ch. 16 n. 52). It is rather more surprising to find tribes honouring their own *thesmothetai*, a term by now probably used for the whole board of nine archons and a secretary (P. J. Rhodes 1981*a* 706, 715). There is perhaps a somewhat defiant tone in the decree of Hippothontis, c.350, honouring Metagenes son of Eukleides of Eroiadai for voting justly and without bribery that his tribe should win at the Thargelia; perhaps the vote was close and there had been some complaints.¹⁰³ A little earlier, Pandionis had crowned a *thesmothetes*, [Kalli?] as son of Lykophron of Kydathenaion, for not taking bribes while in office, perhaps in similar circumstances. Aiantis in 327/6 honoured Teleskopos of Rhamnous for his conscientiousness as *thesmothetes*, in allocating offices and selecting jury panels;

¹⁰¹ It has been assumed that one took responsibility for each *trittys*, but they may have acted as a group of three. The first *dikastai kata dêmons* were supposedly appointed under the tyranny, and it is possible that they continued to function during the period 507–453, having their terms of reference revised in the latter year. They may have ceased to travel during the Peloponnesian War (ch. 22 n. 15).

¹⁰² *IG* ii³ 4. 76 (the *syllogeis* are all councillors); M. H. Hansen 1987*a*, 88–9. We do not know when the *syllogeis* were first introduced; they probably functioned at least for a time as assistants to the six *lexi-archoi* (ch. 22 n. 54). There is no strong reason to restore *synl[ogean]* in *IG* i³ 135 (440–415), especially since the preceding *-tos* may be the name of the proposer of the main decree. Schwenk 1985, no. 18 argues against the view that *IG* ii³ 327 honours *syllogeis* (ch. 31 n. 62). On *syllogeis* as *hieropoioi* see P. J. Rhodes 1972, 129–30; they may have been responsible, among other duties, for obtaining the piglets used for sacrifice before Assembly meetings. It is conceivable that in the 5th c. they were public slaves, their status rising with the introduction of jury pay. Dedication by *syllogeis* to Meter Theon in 324/3, *IG* ii² 1257.

¹⁰³ *IEleus* 67; cf. P. Wilson 2007*b*, 159. The proposer, Polynikos son of Phokiades of Oion (Dekeleikon), probably a descendant of Phokiades of Oion, treasurer of sacred moneys in 425/4, should be the father of Phokiades son of Polynikos, councillor of Hippothontis in 335/4, *Agora* XV 43. 186–7; this section of that list should therefore belong to the inland *trittys* of Hippothontis, and Thrasykles son of Thrasyllus will be a member of the deme Dekeleieis (*APF* 7341; ch. 30 n. 50); the heading [*Dekeleieis*] should be restored in line 177.

the decree was proposed by a well-known figure, Demokrates son of Demokles of Aphidnai, an old man by this time, who occupied one of the two seats reserved for the families of Harmodios and Aristogeiton at the archon's table, and was thus peculiarly well placed to compare thesmothetai.¹⁰⁴ Antikrates son of Lysanias of Probalinthos was crowned by the Council, the demos, and his tribe (Pandionis) in 329/8, and another thesmothetes was honoured by Leontis or Aiantis c.325.¹⁰⁵

PROSOPOGRAPHY

Tribes, then, though they did not lead as full and vigorous a communal life as demes or even perhaps phratries, developed a perceptible *esprit de corps* (cf. Daverio Rocchi 1978). Some prosopographical sketches may provide a clearer idea of the stratum of Athenian society that kept this feeling alive by its generosity in tribal liturgies and conscientiousness in office. While conspicuous performance of tribal duties served for some ambitious men as a way of improving their public image when in difficulties, or as an entry to city politics, it also allowed rich quietists (L. B. Carter 1986; e.g. *APF* 6067, Xenokles of Sphettos) to give the impression of participating in democracy; at a less illustrious level tribal identity provided timid councillors with a sense of solidarity in performing their duties.¹⁰⁶

Those who had political ambitions or careers at city level probably concentrated their attention on the showy performance of tribal liturgies. Commemoration of choregic victories began early: a red-figure sherd of c.480–50 represents a victory monument with the inscription 'Akamantis tribe won' (BArch 212623). Choregoi paid singers while they rehearsed—the speaker of Antiphon 6 had adapted part of his own house for use as a rehearsal room—and presumably had to pay poets and flautists; they might have expensive costumes made, as Demosthenes did in 349/8 (21. 156). The speaker of Lysias 21 spent 5000 drachmas on a men's

¹⁰⁴ Schwenk 1985, no. 61 = *Agora* XVI 86; *APF* 12267 IV; ch. 19 n. 198.

¹⁰⁵ *IG* ii³ 4. 84 Antikrates; *Hesperia* 1946, 189 no. 35. Leontis provides the more promising identifications: he may be Timokrates son of Tele~~s~~onos of Halimous, councillor in 335/4, or Timokrates II son of Timokrates I of Leukonoion, *APF* 2092. Dow 1976 suggested that *SEG* 23. 78 A was a decree of Akamantis for an archon and his *paredroi*, but at present we have no other evidence for tribes honouring archons so early (361/0). *IG* ii² 1163, a decree of Hippothontis of 284/3 (n. 77), honours a thesmothetes who is also serving as priest of Asklepios; c.330 the tribe had honoured the historian Phanodemos (Bardane and Matthaïou 2013).

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Dow 1976; on the class position of councillors see M. H. Hansen 1985*b*. On the sense of solidarity developed among members of colleges drawn from all 10 tribes see Johnstone 2011. N. F. Jones 1999, 174–91, discusses prosopography of tribal officials, decree proposers, and honorands. Tribal affairs may have generated hostility as well as solidarity: for curse tablets possibly provoked by intratribal disputes see chs. 29 n. 135, 30 n. 52. On monuments commemorating victories by pyrrhichistai, another tribal event, see Ceccarelli 1998; ch. 27 n. 27; Appendix 3.

chorus for the Dionysia, 3000 on a tragedy, 2000 on a men's chorus for the Thargelia, 1600 on a comedy, 1500 on a boys' chorus, 1200 as gymnasiarch for the Prometheia (*APF* D 7). Costs must have varied considerably, and the order of expense in this list may not be representative. Victories with boys' choruses seem to have been commemorated more often than victories with adult choruses, perhaps because the choregoi were often older (at least 40) and the whole spectacle more attractive.¹⁰⁷

There may well have been historical as well as biographical fluctuations in such expenditure. When the city was at peace many rich men were free from the obligation of the trierarchy, and poor men were not earning salaries as rowers. By generous payments to his chorus or torch-race team a rich man could increase the cash income of some families in his tribe and escape some of the unpopularity his class earned in such circumstances. The comments on payments of the demos for singing and running made by the author of the *Athenian Constitution* attributed to Xenophon recognize this fact.¹⁰⁸ Close dating of choregoi in the fifth century is scarcely ever possible, but the surviving monuments cast some light on their background and possible motives.

Aristokrates son of Skellias won a victory for Kekropis (and Erechtheis) at the Thargelia c. 440–430. He was to serve as general in 421, and joined the Four Hundred in 411; he nonetheless held office after democracy was restored, being one of the generals executed after the battle of Arginoussai.¹⁰⁹

Pythodoros son of Epizelos of Halai Araphenides was appointed choregos in 415 for the Dionysia of 415/4. He had served as one of the peace commissioners in 421, and as treasurer of Athena in 418/7. His victory at the Dionysia may have preceded his election as general for 414/3.¹¹⁰

Kallias son of Telokles, Andokides' brother-in-law (ZH; *APF* 7840) won a choregic victory for Pandionis, probably in the last quarter of the fifth century. He may have been trying to re-ingratiate himself after being accused of involvement in the mutilation of the Herms (ch. 13 n. 40, Table 13.2).

¹⁰⁷ Koumanoudes 1970*b*; add *IG* ii³ 4. 494, a boys' victory for Pandionis and Akamantis in 344/3 (*APF* 3068). However, men's victory tripods were taller (Amandry 1976). On experiences and motives of choregoi cf. P. Wilson 2000, 87–95.

¹⁰⁸ This may be an argument for attributing the text to a period of peace. Note that Alkibiades' expenditure on horseracing in the period 421–416 came at a sensitive period, when he might well be criticized for not spending his money in a more public-spirited fashion (*APF* 600). Note also Edmonson 1982 on *SEG* 32. 329.

¹⁰⁹ *IG* i³ 964, *SEG* 61. 71; *APF* 1904; on the date of the choregia see also R. Thomas 1989, 133 n. 115.

¹¹⁰ See *AO*, s.v. 414/3; it is not entirely certain that Pythodoros had been formally elected general for this year, in which Aigeis was also represented by Nikias. Choregoi could not count on the elections taking place after the Dionysia, but they could in any case demonstrate their zeal before elections in rehearsing and ordering costumes. The choregic victory ascribed to a homonymous grandson of Aristeides of Alopeke is much more dubious (*APF* 1695; *BE* 1955, 68 on *SEG* 14. 26); ch. 32 n. 6.

Pandionis decided, on the occasion of the second victory by Nikias son of Epigenes of Kydathenaion as choregos, perhaps in the 380s, to erect a monument commemorating all the victories won by the tribe since 403, and to add further names to it when the tribe was victorious in future.¹¹¹ The period was one in which many rich Athenians had cause to feel uneasy; between 403 and 394 there was no fleet, and the demos was complaining of poverty while the rich recovered and restored their country estates; in addition, many of them were suspected of involvement, or at least sympathy, with the oligarchic regimes of 411/10 and 404/3. During these years the victorious choregoi of Pandionis included Andokides, who had been attacked in the courts in 400 for his involvement in the affair of the mutilation of the Herms and parody of the Mysteries (*APF* 828 VI), and Philomelos II son of Philippides I of Paiania, whose father had associated with sophists (*APF* 14670).¹¹²

Association with extreme democracy could also be an embarrassment; another of the choregoi of these years was Kleomedon of Kydathenaion, son of the demagogue Kleon, whose position cannot have been made easier by the circulation of Thucydides' history, in which his father was singled out as typical of the demagogues whose greedy pursuit of personal gain and power had caused Athens' defeat. Eurippides of Myrrhinous (*APF* 5949) may have had to serve because his decree of 393 proposing a heavy tax to finance the ships acquired by Konon made him unpopular with his own class.¹¹³

Similar motives can be identified in other tribes at the same period. Kritoboulos, son of Sokrates' friend Kriton of Alopeke, perhaps won a victory at the Dionysia for Antiochis (*IG* ii³ 4. 448, *APF* 8801, 8823). The speaker of Lysias 21, whose choregic expenditure was noted above, seems to have had to buy himself out of accusations of association with oligarchs both in the period after the fall of the

¹¹¹ *IG* ii² 1138–9 + *Hesp.* 1953, 177 no. 1; the latest dateable addition is the name of Antisthenes son of Antiphates of Kytherros, victorious at the Thargelia of 360/59 (Koumanoudes 1970b no. 4 = *IG* ii³ 4. 485). *Hesp.* 1942, 341–3 no. 1, is the base of this or of another large monument erected by Pandionis c.400.

¹¹² He won another victory in 366/5 or a few years earlier. The son of Eryximachos of Kydathenaion, whose victory (for boys) probably belongs in the years 410–404 (*IG* i³ 966; *APF* 11907 C), may be related to the Eryximachos who was accused of 'staying in the city' with the oligarchs in 404/3 (*PRyl* iii 489; ch. 14 n. 39). Cf. perhaps Lys. F 25b, 26 Carey 2007. On the expenditure and motives of choregoi see P. Wilson 2000, 87–95.

¹¹³ Another victorious choregos of Pandionis in this period was Demon III son of Demomeles of Paiania (*APF* 3737), probably a cousin (FBS) of Demosthenes' uncle (FB) Demon I son of Demoteles, priest of Pandion in 386/5 (*APF* doubts this relationship, but in any case an Athenian would tend to conclude from the names that the two men were related, and awareness of this is likely to have influenced their behaviour). Demon III cannot have felt closely affected by the marriage of Demon I's son to a daughter of Gylon of Kerameis (n. 92), but there may have been some competition between the two men for popularity in the tribe. Demon III's son Demochares may have been elected hipparch in some year between 375 and 369 (Bugh 1988, 226 no. 11).

Four Hundred in 410 and again after 403. He served five times as choregos in the years 411/10–409/8, acted as trierarch continuously from 411 to 405, and performed a gymnasiarchy and three more choregiai in 405/4–403/2, in addition to other liturgies.¹¹⁴

A well-timed and conspicuous choregia may well have played a role in other political strategies. Demosthenes, volunteering to serve as choregos for Pandionis at an assembly held probably in autumn 349/8,¹¹⁵ was already involved in the struggle to persuade Athens to send adequate forces to Olynthos; the choregia allowed him to return to the city in spring 348 from service in Euboia, and this too may have entered into his calculations. Chabrias, who perhaps won his victory as choregos in 359/8, had not been elected general for that year, and may have been trying to win back the favour of the electorate after his lack of success against Kersobleptes.¹¹⁶ Similarly, when Chares won a victory in boys' dithyramb at the Thargelia in 344/3, he may not have been general; he was elected again for 343/2.¹¹⁷ The speaker of Antiphon 6 was elected to the Council in the year after his (second) choregia; his energetic prosecution of officials for corruption shows that he had political ambitions.

Choregoi may also at times have been prompted by strategic demands of a more private nature. If Aisios son of Mnesiboulos of Sphettos, who won a victory as choregos at the Thargelia of 365/4, was the brother of Demosthenes' guardian Aphobos (*APF* 3597 VI), it may well be relevant that Demosthenes' suit against his guardian had been tried in the previous year. Apollodoros son of Pasion of Acharnai won a victory for Oineis in boys' dithyramb at the Dionysia

¹¹⁴ Trierarch for the boat-race at Sounion 402/1, *archetheōros*, expenses for (presumably) his daughter's service as *arrhēphoros*. *APF* D 7.

¹¹⁵ Dem. 21. 156. *A.P.* 56. 2–3 starts with the beginning of the archon's year, his proclamation of the security of property (ch. 1 n. 44) and his appointment of choregoi for tragedy. The account then moves to further duties concerned with festivals: hearing *antidosis* cases and excuses arising from the assignment of tribal liturgies, organization of processions, etc. Some time must be allowed for private negotiations (Gabrielsen 1987) and for processing cases in court before the Assembly meeting at which flautists were allocated to tribal choregoi.

¹¹⁶ D. M. Lewis 1955, 24 suggests that the nomination was punitive, but I suspect he arranged it, especially since he had *ateleia*. There is, however, some circularity in the argument, since the date of 359/8 is based on the assumption that Chabrias had to be in Athens to serve as choregos and therefore must have done so in a year when he was not general. This seems to be an unsafe assumption; Demosthenes' return from Euboia in 349/8 for the Dionysia provoked a charge of *lipotaxia* (desertion), and though the case did not come to court and Demosthenes probably stood on solid ground legally, his return was evidently morally questionable. (The prosecutor, identified as Euktemon son of Charias of Lousia, was *naopaios* at Delphi in the period 346–337, *CID* II 119, and was hardly as corrupt a creature as Demosthenes makes out: MacDowell 1990 on Dem. 21. 103.) We know that a choregos could delegate the supervision of rehearsals (Antiphon 6), and that trierarchs did not always serve in person (ch. 14, n. 39, ch. 5 n. 47).

¹¹⁷ Chares is attested as general in 347/6 but not 346/5, 345/4, or 344/3. This, however, is merely an argument from silence.

in 352/1, commemorated by *IG ii*³ 4. 445; the lease of the family's shield-factory and bank probably expired in 352, and although Apollodoros had no quarrel with the lessees he may already have been planning to sue his stepfather Phormion (the case came to court *c.*350).¹¹⁸

Xenophon in the *Memorabilia* (3. 4) portrays a disgruntled taxiarch, Nikomachides, complaining that despite his military experience he has been defeated in the election for the post of general by Antisthenes, a rich choregos who has never even served on campaign as a hoplite. The two names are aptly chosen: Nikomachides may have been victorious in battle, but Antisthenes has an alternate source of strength. It would be unwise to try to identify them with real people;¹¹⁹ the story shows, however, that both military office at tribal level and service as choregos were considered useful preparation for an election campaign at the higher level.

Aristokrates son of Skellias of Trinemeia (*APF* 1904), whom we have already met as choregos, served as taxiarch under the oligarchs in 411/10.

Sons and younger brothers of well-known generals turn up in subordinate military offices. If the story of Kimon leading his contemporaries to the Akropolis to dedicate their bridles to Athena before the battle of Salamis is true, he may have been serving as phylarch.¹²⁰ Phylarchs may well have been allowed to hold office in their twenties, although the only example so far available is fictional: Moschion, in Menander's *Samia*, held office as phylarch when very young (l. 15). Menexenos I son of Dikaiarchos I of Kydathenaion already had five children when he died on campaign as phylarch in 429, so he was probably in his forties (*APF* 3773); Theophon, who died childless and adopted his niece (ZD) by will *c.*369, may have served as phylarch at a younger age (*APF* 2921 XI). A relief commemorating a victory of Leontis in the *anthippasia* competition shows a bearded phylarch leading a beardless team.¹²¹ Demosthenes son of Demainetos of Paiania set up a monument with a sculptured base in the middle of the fourth

¹¹⁸ *APF* 11672 VII, XI–XII; cf. Trevett 1992. Apollodoros may also have been working his way towards appointment as councillor, perhaps not so easy to achieve in a deme as large as Acharnai; he succeeded in gaining appointment for 349/8. I am aware that all these arguments are thin, and I do not wish to start a fashion for wild conjectural explanations of choregic victories. I use these examples to show the kind of motives that might have led rich men to invest the time, money, and effort needed to secure victory, rather than as biographical facts.

¹¹⁹ Xenophon may possibly also be making a joke at the expense of Antisthenes the Sokratic, who was perhaps an illegitimate son from a wealthy and liturgic family (Humphreys 1974, but the identification with *APF* 1194 is far-fetched).

¹²⁰ Plut. *Kim* 5. 2. 3; Humphreys 1999. He was probably too young to have been hipparch at this time.

¹²¹ Bugh 1988, fig. 7 with p. 60; the beard may however be a mark of status as much as age (cf. Tillios 2010, 91–4). Theophilos son of Evangelos of Hermos, phylarch or taxiarch in 373/2 (*AO*; ch. 27 n. 12), had a son born by *c.*366 (Evangelos Theophilou, councillor in ? 336/5); the son of Antisthenes I of Kytherros who served as phylarch in 349/8 is quite likely to have been born before 380 (*APF* 1194 misses him; add also *SEG* 34. 101). See also chs. 23 n. 75, 24 n. 62.

century commemorating victories with tribal teams in the anthippasia by his father, his brother Demeas IV, and himself. Demainetos may possibly be the Bouzyges who served as general in the Korinthian War; the monument was conspicuously placed near the cavalry commanders' headquarters in the NW Agora (Bugh 1988, Appendix C and fig. 6), and no doubt the sons hoped to follow in their father's footsteps (chs. 12 n. 91, 20 n. 88).

An interesting example of a family perhaps too heavily compromised by oligarchic associations to achieve office in the fourth century is provided by Lysias 20. Polystratos of Deiradiotai (*APF* 12076) was accused in 410/9 of subverting the democracy, and his sons mounted a defence based on his age (seventy or over), his past liturgies, their own military service, and the claim that he had served under compulsion as councillor and tribal *katalogeus* during the rule of the Four Hundred, and had interpreted his duties as *katalogeus* very liberally, enrolling 9000 rather than the prescribed 5000 citizens. His sons had served in both cavalry and infantry; this is just the kind of family from which we would expect phylarchs and taxiarchs to be appointed. However, one of the sons probably left Attika to join the Ten Thousand, while a grandson, Philopolis son of Philopolis—whose brother Polystratos may have died during the Korinthian War—perhaps turns up later in the fourth century as a proxenos and citizen of Olbia (Dubois 1996, 21, absent from *APF*). Despite their patriotic names and strong military tradition, these men apparently had no chance of a career in Attika.

One would imagine that the young man who had served successfully as phylarch often went on to hold the office of hipparch, and we find some members of famous families beginning their careers in this office. Kimon's son Lakedaimonios may have been elected at about the time of his father's return from ostracism in 451; he had to wait until 433/2, according to current information, before he was elected general (*APF* 8429 XIII A). Xenophon son of Euripides of Melite (*APF* 5951) rose more rapidly; he was Lakedaimonios' colleague as hipparch (*IG* i³ 511) but was already general by 441/0. His daughter, who married the rich father of the speaker of Lysias 19, was probably left heiress to a considerable fortune when he died in 430/29. Pamphilos of Keiriadai was hipparch in 395 and general in 389/8 (*APF* 9667). Philokles (of Eroiadai?) had served three or four times as hipparch and more than ten times as general by the time Deinarchos prosecuted him in 323.¹²²

Other young men with military ambitions preferred to rise through service as taxiarchs. Mantitheos son of Mantias of Thorikos was taxiarch in 349/8, when

¹²² See Worthington 1986; Humphreys 2009 on the arguments for dating *IOrop* 353 (Reinmuth no. 15) to 330/29/8. The honorand of *IG* ii² 379 had led his tribe to victory in the *anthippasia* before serving as general in command of mercenaries in 321/0 or 318/7.

he was just thirty;¹²³ his father had been general in 360/59, in the middle of the scandal about the claims to citizenship of his son Boiotos, and Mantitheos was re-opening the affair in 349/8 by suing Boiotos for using the name Mantitheos. Eukrates son of Strombichos of Euonymon served as taxiarch in 356/5; the family had a strong tradition of military command in the late fifth century and again in the 330s; Autokles son of Strombichides, general in 368/7 and 362/1, may have been a cousin.¹²⁴

Families that had recently acquired citizenship had good reason to ingratiate themselves with their tribe by benefactions and service. Apollodoros son of Pasion of Acharnai, already mentioned above, whose father had risen from slavery to citizenship, seems to have concentrated most of his energy and expenditure on trierarchies, but won a victory as boys' choregos at the Dionysia in 352/1 commemorated with a conventional monument (*IG* ii³ 4. 445). Pheidippos II, grandson (SS) of the salt-fish-merchant Chairephilos, who had been enfranchized perhaps in the early 320s, served as tribal epimeletes towards the end of the century.¹²⁵ His uncles (FB) had been the target of many jokes in comedy; he may have been trying to establish a more respectable image.¹²⁶

Demades and Chares, both of whom commemorated choregic victories, may have been the first members of their respective families to reach political eminence (*APF* 3263, 15292).

Other families, however, may have enjoyed prominence at tribal level without making any serious attempt to rise higher. Antisthenes I son of Antiphates of Kytherros won a victory for Pandionis and Akamantis as choregos for boys' dithyramb at the Thargelia in 360/59 and served as priest of Pandion about the

¹²³ Dem. 39. 27; Humphreys 1989. A young man could also start to make a reputation by serving as trierarch on an especially well-equipped ship, which he hoped would be chosen as flagship (Dem. 51; ch. 16 n. 59), or in the elected post of tamias of the *Paralos* (*APF* 3773).

¹²⁴ FBS; *APF* 4386, cf. ch. 16 n. 31, Table 16.1. Nikias' brother Eukrates may well have served as taxiarch before succeeding Nikias as general in 412/11 (he had also won a choregic victory before 415; *APF* 10808 B).

¹²⁵ *IG* ii² 1152; Traill 1986, 87–8; *APF* 15187. I doubt the existence of the elder brother of Pheidippos II, Chairephilos II, postulated by *APF*; there is no reason why Chairephilos I should not have transferred sufficient property to his sons by the late 320s for them to serve as trierarchs (ch. 5 n. 47), especially if he had also equipped them to serve as hippeis, and it is unlikely that an heir with an immature brother would free a slave in his own name alone (*SEG* 18. 36 A 510–13). It is also likely enough that Chairephilos I's sons would not perpetuate their father's name, being tired of the jokes of comic poets about their origins—although they seem to have been insensitive (as were many other 4th c. Athenians) to the comic associations of the name Pheidippos. It should be noted that on the accepted chronology Pheidon II would have married before his father received citizenship, whereas his brothers clearly continued to lead the life of young bachelors about town after the grant. Comic references in *APF*, *loc cit.*; but the suggestion that Mnesimachos' hipparch Pheidon (F 4 K, 4 *PCG*) was one of Chairephilos' sons was rash: cf. Bugh 1988, 277 no. 40, Pheidon of Thria.

¹²⁶ Pamphilos, however, had perhaps served as councillor, and *proedros*, in 327/6 (*IG* ii³ 362; Lambert 2004b no. 22).

middle of the century. He owned land in the mining area in the 340s and is recorded as trierarch in the early 330s, by which time he was over sixty; he had died by 326/5. His sons Antiphanes and Antisthenes II paid off his trierarchic debts in that year, and jointly manumitted a slave, probably soon afterwards. Antiphanes had served as *hieropoios* for Bendis in 337/6; the office did not officially require personal expenditure, but we are already at the beginning of the Lykourgan age, and the feast was a showy one.¹²⁷ He may well have made some financial contribution. Antisthenes II was elected tribal epimeletes at some time in the 330s or 320s.¹²⁸

Saurias son of Pythogenes of Lamptrai had been chosen as arbitrator by Stephanos of Eroiadai in his dispute with Phrynion of Paiania (*APF* 3737) over the courtesan Neaira in the early 370s, when he was presumably a wealthy young man with a somewhat better reputation than his friends. He was honoured by Erechtheis at some time before the middle of the century, with an olive wreath and freedom from tribal liturgies for two years, for his victory as choregos and other services. The short period of *ateleia* suggests both that this was a difficult period (perhaps the time of the Social War in the 350s) and that Saurias was rich. He may have held minor office as epimeletes on Lemnos, but otherwise appears again in the sources only when persuaded to testify about the arbitration for Apollodoros of Acharnai, in the 340s ([Demosthenes] 59. 45, 47; *APF* 12612).

A later example of a rich family that had little ambition beyond the tribal level can be found in Dekeleia. Thrasykles I son of Thrasylos served as councillor in 335/4,¹²⁹ and his brother Thrasylos II was victorious as choregos in men's dithyramb at the Dionysia of 320/19. Thrasylos II was involved in the cult of Ploutos in the 320s, and his son Thrasykles II was elected phylarch for 282/1, serving later as agonothetes, the family's first major post (*APF* 7341).

A clearer view of this stratum of local notables will emerge through discussion of the demes.¹³⁰ First, however, we have to consider the role of the Kleisthenic trittys.

¹²⁷ Procession from the city to Piraeus, large sacrifice, torch-race on horseback: A. Mommsen 1898, 488–90; R. R. Simms 1988; R. Parker 1996, 170–5. The suggestion of O. Hansen 1985 that *IG* ii³ 449 concerns the Bendideia rests on no solid grounds.

¹²⁸ *APF* 1194 + Koumanoudes 1970*b* no. 4 + *SEG* 34. 101 = *IG* ii³ 4. 485.

¹²⁹ *Agora* XV 43. 184–5; cf. n. 103.

¹³⁰ I note here some revisions and additions to choregic entries in *APF* (see also P. Wilson 2000; Agelidis 2009):

IEleus. 66 = *IG* ii³ 4. 504, choregos for comedy, Athenodoros Go— (Hippothontis?).

APF 10798 + 12580 (cf. p. 599), *IG* ii³ 4. 487: Diodoros son of Satyros of Eroiadai won a choregic victory at the Thargelia in 355/4, Koumanoudes 1970*a*; on the service of his BS Satyros son of Nikias as councillor in 303/2 (*Agora* XV 62. 262) see Traill 1975*b*.

10814: see Table 29.4. There is no reason why both Euktaios II and Nikias I should not have been born c.380.

THE TRITTYES

There is not much evidence of activity at this level. Though epimeletai may have been chosen with reference to trittys at least in some tribes, we have at present no evidence that trittyes elected their own officials, or even that they held assemblies.¹³¹

Plato says that a man who failed to gain election as general or taxiarch would at least seek a position as trittyarch (*Republic* 475a); Sokrates at this point is apparently giving an example from Athenian life. But we never hear of trittyarchs as military officials in any other source, and they are not mentioned in the list of elected military posts in *A.P.* 61. If such an office existed it must have been short-lived, perhaps belonging to the period of the Korinthian wars in the early fourth century, when large numbers of Athenians were fighting on land.¹³²

Markers bearing the names of tribes and trittyes have been found in Peiraioi, in the Agora, and on or near the Pnyx. All of them date from the fifth century. They take two forms: some name a single trittys, others mark a boundary between two trittyes. The Pnyx markers are of the single trittys type. Since the 'single' trittys and the 'boundary' types co-exist, the difference should correspond to some difference in function, which tells against the view that the Pnyx was divided into seating areas reserved for specific tribes and trittyes.¹³³ Trittys-markers as mustering

7322: Thrasykles of Eleusis, trierarch before 325/4, is probably the son of one of the brothers Thrasylllos and Megakleides, who appear together as traders, in the early 360s, in [Dem.] 52. 20; his B or FBS Megakleides son of Megakleides won as choregos at the Thargelia of 349/8, *IG* ii³ 4. 493. Cf. ch. 30 at n. 106.

14997, *IG* ii³ 4. 469: Phrynaios son of Phrynichos of Hybadai won at the Thargelia of 352/1 with a boys' choir (see ch. 5 n. 59 on his age at his son's birth).

Add Phormisios son of Menekleides of Thymaitadai, victor with a men's chorus at the Thargelia of 380/79 for Hippothontis and Aiantis (Matthaiou 1991a).

¹³¹ Separate assemblies are not implied in the reference in Aisch. 3. 30 to election of trittys officials for construction projects.

¹³² The recent tendency to project the trittyarchs back to the pre-Kleisthenic army (Wheeler 1991, 135; cf. Lambert 1986, 111) is not an appropriate solution to the problem presented by *Rep.* 475a; nor can we postulate continuity from Plato's trittyarchs to those of the late 4th c., in view of the silence of *A.P.* On the lack of evidence for military division by trittys in the 5th c. see Sekunda 1992; above, at n. 36.

¹³³ Stanton and Bicknell 1987; see M. H. Hansen 1983a chs 4, 5; 1989, chs 5–7; Stanton 1994, 220–1. *IG* i³ 1117–31 does not seem to consider the use of 3- or 4-bar sigma for dating significant. Concordance with Traill (T) 1986: T1 = i³ 1120, T2 = 1117, T3 = 1118, T4 = 1119, T5 = 1126, T6 = 1122, T7 = 1121, T8 = 1123, T9 = 1128, T10 = 1125, T11 = 1124, T12 = 1127, T13 = 1131, T14 = 1130, T15 = 1129. On T14 *IG* i³ 1130 reads *Te*[- c. 5 - o]η; Traill 1986 says *Te*[*trakomo*]η is impossible. Epakreis must be a trittys of a tribe that set up its records on the Akropolis, probably Aigeis. The coastal trittys of Hippothontis is called *Peiraieis* on *IG* i³ 1129 (T15), but this is not the only example of variation in trittys names: the city trittys of Akamantis is *Kerameis* on *IG* i³ 1118 (T3), and *Cholargeis* on i³ 1131 (T13), and either the city (i³) or inland (T) trittys of Oineis is *Pedieis* on i³ 1123 and 1128 (T8–9), whereas the city trittys is *Lakiadai* on i³ 1120 (T1), and one would expect the inland trittys to be called Acharneis. (Pedieus is attested as a personal name in the 6th–5th c., but not later; see however ch. 25

points for members of the Assembly to collect the symbola that would entitle them to pay for attendance would not be improbable for the period after c.403, when pay was introduced, but this is too late for the surviving markers, and it is unlikely that symbola were distributed on the Pnyx.¹³⁴

‘Boundary’ markers present a somewhat clearer picture, of spaces both in Peiraios and in the Agora area marked off into stretches reserved for specific trittyes. Demosthenes may have had existing models in mind when he suggested setting up such markers by the ship sheds, in 354 (14. 22–3).¹³⁵

IG i³ 255 was once taken to be the sacrificial calendar of a trittys, but the dative *trittui* in A 9 (recipient of a payment? of sacrificial meat?) implies that it is not (cf. R. Parker 1996, 103 n. 4). Lambert 2000*b* suggests the Tetrapolis as issuing body; Rhamnous, which certainly had an *archégetés* (B 8; read [*ho*]tan rather than [*glôt*]tan), is another possibility. Since the stone was found in Chalkis it perhaps travelled (as a fragment, in ballast?) from one of the harbours in eastern Attika (Mattingly 1990 ascribes it to the same cutter as *IG i³ 256 bis*, Thorikos, and 258, Plotheia). Perhaps the stone’s most useful contribution is to confirm that Attic had no collective term (such as *phyletai*, *démotai*) for the members of a trittys.

Our only other evidence for trittyes concerns the trittys Epakreis, probably the inland trittys of Aigeis. *IG ii² 2490*, a text of the first half of the fourth century containing regulations for publication of a list, probably of tribal property, preserves the heading ‘*Epakreón trittuos*’. This however does not imply that the trittys itself owned land; it is more likely that tribal lands were listed by trittys. The officials mentioned in the text, who have something to do with the collection of money, are almost certainly [*démar*]choi and not [*trittuar*]choi.¹³⁶

n. 62.) Evidently trittyes had not been officially named; changes in the demographic importance of deme centres (Peiraios) or in the reputation of deme members (Perikles of Cholargos, Kimon of Lakiadai) will have affected conceptions of the ‘leading’ deme in each trittys. Ismard 2011, 169–71 thinks these horoi indicate that trittyes were more important in the 5th c. than later; but they do not prove that the t. acted as a corporate group.

¹³⁴ M. H. Hansen 1989, ch. 5 suggests an area below the Pnyx temporarily fenced off on Assembly days for checking by the syllogeis (but if temporary, why stones?).

¹³⁵ Raubitschek’s suggestion of a connection with grain distribution (1956) still deserves serious consideration. His model of ten entrances through which members of the ten tribes entered both to receive grain rations and to cast their votes in ostracism, with further markers inside each entrance to divide trittys from trittys, needs modification: the text of the markers (‘Here trittys A ends and trittys B begins’) indicates that they divide up a stretch of ground: they are not gateways. But we do hear of grain or flour distributions associated with citizenship, *FGH 328 F 119*; *Ar. Knights* 855–7, *Congresswomen* 686; cf. [*Dem.*] 34. 37; ch. 22 n. 18, whereas we have no evidence of military musters in the Agora (hoplites assembled in the Lykeion: Jameson 1980) and would not expect trireme crews in the fifth century to assemble by tribes. That permanent markers to be used in such distributions should have been set up in market areas in the city and Piraeus does not seem improbable.

¹³⁶ The text is not stoichedon and the length of line is unknown. *Epidekata* are to be handed over; in Attic texts the term elsewhere denotes tithes of confiscated property, given to the gods (Andok. 1. 96,

We are left with a decree recording honours granted to the archon of the Apollonia (no doubt a liturgic position) by a deme and the Epakreis. It belongs to the second half of the fourth century, and was found at Mygdaleza.¹³⁷ The combination of this text and *IG* ii² 2490 might suggest that the deme should belong to Aigeis, in which case it would be Plotheia, whose contributions to the Epakreis in the fifth century are documented in *IG* i³ 258. However, the fact that Epakreis is attested as a trittys name does not prove that the Epakreis who celebrated the Apollonia were a trittys. They may have been a phratry, uniting villages that in the Kleisthenic scheme were assigned to several different tribes. We should remember that Ikarion had a Pythion as well as a cult of Dionysos (ch. 24 n. 20); we have a dedication of c.520 from Ikarion to Dionysos which also mentions Apollo.¹³⁸

Finally, for a short period from 301/0 to 295, Athens had officials called trittysarchs (Henry 1984, 63–8). They work in conjunction with the *exêtastês*, and their duties are financial. They produce funds for the publication of decrees, and it seems likely that they replaced or supplemented the *syllogeis tou dêmou*.¹³⁹ The exetastes also pays mercenary troops (*IG* ii² 1270. 3, 298/7), but the combination of this text with the reference to trittysarchs as military officers in *Republic* 475a does not warrant the common statement that the trittysarchs of this period had military functions. The character of Athenian government at this date is

Xen. *Hell.* 1. 7. 10, [Dem.] 43. 71, etc.). In *IG* xi 161 A 79 it is used of the final payment on a building contract, held back until the completed work has been approved. See also Jameson 1998 n. 20.

¹³⁷ *SEG* 32. 144 (cf. 36. 189). Mygdaleza has been identified as Hekale, Anakaia (Traill 1986, 137, putting the trittys Epakreis in Hippothontis), or possibly Plotheia (Whitehead 1986a, 386–7). *IG* i³ 258, a decree of the Plotheieis of c.420, has no provenance. If the Epakreis are a phratry, the case for assigning *SEG* 32. 144 to Plotheia is weak, and the tribal affiliation of demes becomes irrelevant. On Papazarkadas' suggestion (2007b) that they were a pre-Kleisthenic trittys see ch. 18 n. 52, 19 n. 16.

¹³⁸ *IG* i³ 1015 (*Hesp.* 1948, 142 no. 2). Epakria is named as one of the 12 towns in *Lex. Rhet.* Bekker 1814–21 259. 9 (Epakria, located near the Tetrapolis). It remains puzzling, especially on Traill's view of the trittys-divisions in Aigeis, that the name Epakreis should have been chosen for a trittys mostly located in the Mesogeia, on the south side of Mt Pentelikon. However, in Traill's prytany-trittyes, above at nn. 25–7, Ikarion is added to the city trittys while Diomeia is taken out of it and put with the coastal demes, which seems an improbable scheme and is not particularly strongly supported by Council lists (Traill 1986, 107, 55; *IG* ii³ 4. 76 has Ankyle with the coastal demes, while the deme-list *IG* ii² 2362, which lacks most of the inland trittys and all the coastal trittys, has Diomeia and not Ikarion with the city demes). We do not know the precise location of Phegaia and Myrrhinoutta, and it does not seem impossible that they were associated with Ikarion and Plotheia, in the tribe's conception of space, as well as with Araphen and Halai Araphenides. This would give a coastal trittys Epakreis (Plotheia, Ikarion, Myrrhinoutta, Phegaia, Araphen, Halai) with 16–18 councillors, an inland trittys producing 18–22 councillors (Ionidai, Kydantidai, Gargettos, Teithras, Erchia, Philaidai), and variable arrangements for making up equal council-trittyes (the arrangement of demes in *IG* ii³ 4. 75–6 and *Agora* XV 42, 43, and 492 does not to me suggest any regular pattern).

¹³⁹ Traill 1986 suggests that they replaced the tribal epimeletai, but their duties seem closer to those of the syllogeis; neither syllogeis nor epimeletai are so far attested for the 3rd c.

controversial;¹⁴⁰ a modification of arrangements in the Council by which each trittys of councillors has its own leader, responsible for its share of the funds allotted to Council and Assembly, does not seem impossible.

Trittyes, then should probably be left out of our picture of the groups and group identities that shaped the local loyalties of Athenians. They were categories which for the most part lacked any formal organization (Stanton 1994, 169–70, rightly points out that they were ignored in the reorganization of 307/6). Some tribes allocated demes to council-trittyes more regularly than others; there were no rules. Kleisthenes' scheme for weakening regional allegiances was so successful that at least by the fourth century (when many Athenians no longer lived in their demes), trittys affiliation was of little interest. Tribes, on the other hand, did inspire some loyalty, above all through the variety of competitive events that pitted teams or choirs from one tribe against the rest.

Kleisthenes' success in unifying Attika must in large part be ascribed to developments he could not have foreseen—empire and wars that gave every citizen an interest in Assembly business. But the vitality of the new tribes also stemmed from a factor usually neglected in discussions of his aims and motives, the grafting onto his rationalistic numerical scheme of traditions of athletic competition and aristocratic patronage. The author of the *Athenian Constitution* ascribed to Xenophon was well aware of this: the rich pay for choruses, the demos has its singing paid for. The text leaves it unclear whether the demos sings or merely provides the audience. Did the tribes function like the circus factions of Constantinople, or did they become a framework within which music and athletics, as well as political activity, became democratized? And if so, was this an intentional or unintentional consequence of Kleisthenes' reforms?

The increasing incorporation of athletic and musical competitions into religious festivals was a characteristic phenomenon of the sixth century; in Athens the foundation of the Great Panathenaia preceded the tyranny, but the tyrants had extended the model of festival competitions, and had probably introduced the first torch-races (ch. 18 n. 87). Presumably the teams were initially recruited from the upper-class boys who frequented the gymnasia. We have no evidence that any systematic attempt to democratize the search for athletic (and musical) talent was made before the reform of the ephebate in the Lykourgan period; the exceptional enthusiasm of tribes for their ephebes may support the view that there was a real change in the recruitment of torch-race teams at this time. The situation in musical competitions may have been somewhat different, since choirs were also used in dramatic performances, where they were trained by playwrights in a milieu developing in the direction of professionalization, and since the contexts in which informal musical activity took place were not as distinctively

¹⁴⁰ T. L. Shear 1978, 52–5; M. J. Osborne 1979.

bounded as the gymnasium.¹⁴¹ Although there was an increase in specialization in athletic competitions from the fifth century onwards, the line between amateur and professional came to be more sharply drawn in drama and music than in athletics. In any case, tribal teams and choirs in the first half of the fifth century may well have been drawn from elite families; the popularity of *kalos*-inscriptions on vases in this period may be related to the tribal competitions that allowed these boys to become pop-stars on view to the whole city.

Any attempt to understand Kleisthenes' motives must examine both the conceptions of demography, space, and population distribution current among leading Athenians in 507, and their conceptions of their own relations to the rest of the citizen body. We shall now turn to look at the second question in a more intimate context, that of the deme.

¹⁴¹ However, we should recognize that symposia provided a context for displays of both amateur and—at least by the second half of the 5th c.—professional talent in singing and dancing.

PART SIX

The Demes

The Demes: Introduction

The Attic demes have been the focus of considerable attention during the last half-century. Exploration of Attika and search for demes and roads, which entered a new phase in the 1960s with the work of Eugene Vanderpool and others at the American School in Athens, later developed into programmes of more intensive survey accompanied by excavation, in which the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut for a time played a leading role.¹ Discovery and excavation of farm sites has exploded the view, once argued by Robin Osborne, that scattered farms were unusual; peak sanctuaries have been explored, and a large number of new rock-cut inscriptions in upland and coastal areas have been discovered; areas that were still relatively free from modern development (Atene, the Koundoura valley, the Skourta plain) were surveyed in detail.² More work on towers and fortifications has led to more secure dating and distinctions between ancient and medieval or early modern constructions, and to a lively debate on the varied functions of towers.³ Some comparative data on settlement size and agricultural production from the Ottoman period have been analysed (Kiel 1987; Zarinebaf a. o. 2005); nevertheless, it remains a serious drawback that we do not yet have in-depth studies of settlement history, place-names, and patterns of exploration (including the re-use of building materials) from antiquity to modern times. The location of demes will remain very insecure until we have a better understanding of the movements of population and of stones, especially the practices of the builders of medieval churches and monasteries and of the early collectors of antiquities.⁴

Intensive exploration (and development) of the countryside has uncovered a crop of new deme inscriptions which allow us to ask more detailed questions,

¹ See annual reports by H.-R. Goette in *AA* 1991–2003; *AR*; Bintliff 1994*a*. The earlier work of the 1880s and 1890s remains essential, as will be seen from references to it in this chapter; *AGC* is still worth consulting for early discoveries. See also Lohmann 2010*b*.

² See works by R. G. Osborne, H. Lauter, H. Lohmann, M. Brunet, M. Langdon, M. H. and M. L. Z. Munn, cited in Bibliography. Important new discoveries by Langdon of rock-cut inscriptions are yet to be published; see Langdon 2015, n. 52. Survey in the Oropos area, Cosmopoulos 2001.

³ See Lock 1986; Schattner 1990; Brunet 1992; Lohmann 1993*b*; Langdon 1995; Lock and Sanders 1996; Seifried and Parkinson 2014 on towers in the Karystos area. Lohmann is preparing a study of towers.

⁴ For examples of diachronic studies see Eliot 1962; Hatzesotiriou 1973; Alcock 1993 for changes in the Roman period. See also Forbes 1995; Chang 1994 on post-classical patterns of land exploitation. Lock and Sanders 1996, which deals with other parts of Greece, shows that much remains to be done.

especially about the demes' religious activities and responsibilities.⁵ John Traill's analysis of records of Council membership (1975*a*, 1986) has raised new questions about the purpose of Kleisthenes' reforms and the organization of his trittyes (ch. 21 at nn. 25–7). Some of this new material was already digested in R. G. Osborne 1985*a* and Whitehead 1986*a*. Nevertheless, more remains to be said; in particular, the availability of an up-to-date prosopographical base for Attica in the form of the *Lexicon of Greek Proper Names*, vol. II (1994), usefully supplemented by R. Develin's list of office-holders to 321 (AO), has made work on deme prosopography much easier. As will be seen, this has implications for dating deme documents and understanding the internal dynamics of deme politics.⁶

Until recently the main trend in research on the demes, originating in the nineteenth century, was to emphasize discontinuity between the deme system and the groupings that preceded it. Maine (1861), Fustel de Coulanges (1864), and L. H. Morgan (1877), saw Kleisthenes' reform as instituting an epoch-making change from kinship to residence as the principle of social organization, which extended to grass-roots level the territorial conception on which (they assumed) the state was based. They thus regarded the demes as 'municipalities', microcosms of the state in which citizens became familiar with civic procedures and absorbed the civic values and norms of the public sphere.⁷ 'La vie municipale est une école de la vie publique, de la vie politique': this Napoleonic idea was Haussoullier's justification for studying deme organization (1884). A radical break is still assumed in David Lewis' seminal article (1963), which claims that Kleisthenes deliberately tried to weaken earlier links based on regional cult associations, and in a valuable article by Jochen Martin (1974), in which the creation of the deme system is seen as a means of breaking earlier ties of patronage.⁸

With the discovery of new documents, and new evidence on settlement patterns, it has become clear that a more processual approach is needed. The effects of Kleisthenes' reforms were influenced by events that he could not have foreseen: the Persian invasions, the growth of the Athenian empire, the Peloponnesian War, etc. As Christian Meier has emphasized, the period between 507 and 450

⁵ Baumer 2004 collects references to rural sanctuaries (cf. also Vikela 2011). It would be interesting to compare the activities of demes on Kos (IG xii 4. 91–119), but I cannot do this here.

⁶ J. Traill's *Persons of Ancient Athens* (1994–2012) shares with LGPN the disadvantage (probably inevitable) of taking a very conservative attitude towards the identification of individuals and family reconstruction. The prosopography in Whitehead 1986*a* is limited to persons mentioned in deme inscriptions; the prosopographies for individual demes compiled by Lohmann (1993*a*, Atene), Giannopoulou-Konsolákē (1990, Aixone), and Antoniou (1980, Philaidai) too often rely on outdated references. C. Clairmont's *Catalogue of Attic Tombstones* (CAT, 1993, with supplement 1995, has also been very useful, as have AEE, AEE², SEMA, and the reprinted *KvA* (*Karten von Attika*, c.1995; cf. Lohmann 2010*b*).

⁷ Cf. L. H. Morgan 1877, 270–6; Droysen 1847.

⁸ Cf. also Chr. Meier 1993, 192: creation of new networks.

was crucial for the development of Athenian political practice and ideology.⁹ Previous studies of the demes have been organized by topic and have devoted relatively little attention to change over time and to local variation. The present analysis, consequently, stresses change, process, and variability. This introductory chapter summarizes the main historical events that affected the demes during the period from 507 to c.300, the articulation of the demes with other corporate groups (the state, tribes, phratries, etc.), and the main factors influencing local variation. It is followed by a deme-by-deme analysis (organized by tribe and, as far as possible, tritty)¹⁰ which focuses on local history and peculiarities and on evidence for communal activity, disputes, the distribution of power, and the residence patterns of leading local families.

HISTORICAL EVENTS

As I have argued in ch. 21, Kleisthenes did not create the demes *ex nihilo*. We may have a graffito of a resident of Attika who identifies himself as Eroiades from the seventh century; Peisistratos may have introduced ‘deme judges’, *dikastai kata dêmous*, and the system of naukrariai was probably formalized during the sixth century; Hipparchos set up inscribed stones (Herms) marking half-way points between some of the more important rural settlements and the city, using place-names and not phratry names.¹¹ The factional disputes of c.594–548 had already been based on local ties; phratries and other religious associations were centred on local sanctuaries. I have also argued, however, that Kleisthenes offered the smaller settlements a choice: they could opt for independent status as demes, or their inhabitants could register in a larger settlement nearby; this produced the range in the size of demes that is one of the major elements in their variability. Presumably there was some threshold below which neighbours would have considered it ridiculous for a hamlet to claim deme status; but some demes may have contained as few as thirty adult male citizens.¹² It is not at all improbable that

⁹ Chr. Meier 1980, 1993; for a different view of the development of democratic ideology, Humphreys 1999. Cf also Humphreys 1988 on changing conceptions of law and legislation, 1993*a* on the public sphere.

¹⁰ My trittys designations do not always agree with those of Traill or Stanton (1994), as will be made clear in individual instances.

¹¹ Storey 2003 has an appendix on the meaning of *dêmos* in the 5th c. (cf. N. F. Jones 1999, 311–13 on Solon’s law on associations; ch. 1 n. 56) Eroiades, Mastrokostris 1983; cf. *IG* i³ 1023–4. For *dikastai kata dêmous* see n. 15.

¹² Humphreys 2008; below, at n. 65, on size. The absence of a list of communities that were to be recognized as demes might also explain variations in behaviour in border areas, or borderline cases: inhabitants of Salamis (if they considered themselves Athenian) registered in the mainland communities with which they had ties, inhabitants of Eleutherai remained outside the system, while inhabitants of small villages in northern Attika affiliated themselves with Aphidnai (or Boiotia?). Cf. ch. 20 n. 52; Camp 1991, 199–207.

some fission and fusion took place in the early decades of the system, and also some adjustment in Council 'quotas'—the number of councillors each deme was entitled to appoint each year. Lohmann has argued that the three hamlets of the deme Atene were not yet settled in 507, and it seems likely that some migrants in the early years after the reform, especially perhaps those moving to the silver-mining region and to Piraeus, changed their deme affiliation when they moved. Quota-adjustment and even deme status may well have been negotiated at the tribe rather than the state level; we shall return to this question below, in examining the articulation of demes with the state and with their tribes.¹³

During the period from 507 to c.450, then, some adjustment of Council quotas will have been needed; some small settlements may have decided that deme status was more of a burden than a privilege, while others may have insisted on asserting their independence after disputes with other communities in the same deme. However, on current evidence it seems that fission and fusion were often only partial, resulting in the division of some demes for some purposes into upper and lower sections, or in arrangements for collaboration, rather than in fully institutionalized changes in status.¹⁴

In 453/2 the Athenians decided to re-instate or re-organize the panel of thirty travelling judges, the *dikastai kata demous*, whose function was to travel round the countryside hearing small claim cases. This move was perhaps prompted by the effects of the institution of jury courts in the city in 461, which may have tempted too many disputants from outlying areas to try their luck in reviving old grievances or local feuds.¹⁵ Experience of Council service (and service as hoplites or rowers) will also by this date have given many rural demesmen an introduction to the procedures of the public sphere in the city. However, the *dikastai* are hardly likely to have had a major impact on deme life. The demes were more directly affected by Perikles' citizenship law of 451, which instructed them only to admit

¹³ On quota-adjustment note P. J. Rhodes 1976; n. 63; ch. 32 n. 90 on Atene; the area is not entirely devoid of 6th century material and Lohmann's view (1993*a*) has been criticized by Bintliff 1994*a*. Lohmann's suggestion (*op. cit.*) that Piraeus was not yet settled in 507 (cf. Amelung 1995; ch. 30 n. 4) is much more dubious, but an increase in deme membership as well as population during the early 5th century seems very likely. Surface survey at Myoupolis (ch. 30 n. 115) has not so far produced evidence of habitation before the 5th c. (Edmonson 1966, 31–3).

¹⁴ See split demes, especially Lamptraí (ch. 23 nn. 64–5), with ch. 21 n. 9, and on the partnership of Ionidai and Kydantidai (ch. 24 n. 92); ch. 30 n. 4 on Peiraios; n. 63 on changes when new tribes were introduced.

¹⁵ *A.P.* 26. 3. See Humphreys 1983*b*; I thought then that the public arbitrators, who also handled minor cases, were Kleisthenic, but I now think they must be later than the jury-courts; they may have been introduced in the early years of the Peloponnesian War. Whitehead (1986*a*, 262; cf. Scafuro 2004), on the basis of *IG* i³ 2, suggested that demarchs judged some cases in their demes, but I think this would only be institutionalized where the case arose from deme affairs (cf. Kienast 2005); in other disputes, I assume that those who did not wish to travel to Athens chose a local arbitrator. P. J. Rhodes (1981*a*, 331) thinks that one *dikastês* served in each trittys, but it is perhaps more likely that a commission of three was assigned to each tribe (cf. Whitehead 1986*a*, 262–3).

to membership boys who were of citizen parentage on both sides. Discussion of the effects of this law has focused mainly on well-known aristocratic families, the sons of whose marriage alliances with peers in other cities would henceforth be classed not merely as *metroxenoi*—matri-alien, a term perhaps already carrying negative connotations—but as *nothoi*, bastards. I have argued elsewhere that some boys in this category who were not yet eighteen in 451 may have lost their right to citizenship.¹⁶ Less attention has been paid to the impact of the law at lower levels of the citizen body. By directing demes and phratries to require evidence that candidates were born in wedlock and that both parents were of citizen origin, it may well have had the effect of reviving the role of phratry membership (with sacrifice of the *meion* for infants, perhaps of both sexes, and of *gamelia* for wives) in the mechanisms for acquiring and validating citizenship, of imposing a more restrictive conception of marriage on all levels of society¹⁷ and, in the long term, of discouraging migrants within Attika from changing their deme affiliation (although there may well have been some attempts in the years immediately following the law to pass off boys whom it excluded by presenting them to demes where their background was unknown). If we can trust Philochoros' report of a general scrutiny (*diapsêphisis*) in 445/4, prompted by a distribution to citizens of corn from Egypt, in which many claimants were struck off the rolls,¹⁸ we may perhaps infer that some of these were *metroxenoi* who had been accepted by demes despite Perikles' law, while others perhaps were men who had changed demes on migrating, or even the sons of 'men of obscure descent',¹⁹ who had

¹⁶ See Humphreys 1974; Carlier 1992; Ogden 1996; C. Patterson 2005; Béarzot 2005; Bertazzoli 2003, 2005; ch. 19 n. 77; below, n. 45. In 403/2, when the Periklean rule was reimposed, it was specified that only boys born after this date were to be affected; but the situation was different, one of the concerns of the period being to limit 'backlash' attacks on oligarchs (cf. the attack on Theozotides' proposal to extend the benefits of war orphans to those whose fathers died in the civil conflicts of 411 or 403 (Matthaiou 2011a), on the grounds that the *dokimasia* he proposed would prejudice the question whether the boys concerned were legitimate or not: Lysias F LXIV Carey 2007, VI Gernet/Bizos 1926, with Stroud 1971; ch. 2 n. 75).

¹⁷ C. B. Patterson 2005, 282; cf. Brooke 1989 ch. 6; Duby 1978; Helmholz 1978.

¹⁸ FGH 328 F 119, with Jacoby's commentary; Plut. *Per.* 37. 4; Fantasia and Carusi 2004; Pébarthe 2006, 193–6. The grain distribution from Egypt clearly parallels events in Philochoros' own day (L. Pearson 1942, 123); his 5th c. source may well be comedy, often misinterpreted by ancient scholars. The figure of 4760 for those who lost citizenship is linked to a total of 19,000 citizens, and Philochoros is clearly influenced here by the disenfranchisement of 322 and the census carried out by Demetrios of Phaleron. The most we can deduce is that Philochoros has made sense in his own terms of *some* evidence about conflict, scrutiny, and disenfranchisement in 445.

¹⁹ A.P. 13. 5. The *diapsêphisis* after the fall of the tyranny is surely—*pace* many commentators—Kleisthenes' reform, not a separate operation (Pébarthe 2006, 180–3, also seems to take this view, but A.P. will not have known how formal the proceedings were; Welwei 1967, associating the report with the expulsion of 700 households in Hdt. 5. 72, points out that the term *diapsêphisis* would not have existed in the 6th c.). B. Strauss (1994) thinks that many immigrants who came to Attika during the 6th century were disenfranchised, then re-enfranchised by Kleisthenes. Bakewell 1997 suggests that the status of metics was only defined c.460.

entered demes in 507 but had never been admitted to phratries; yet others may indeed have succeeded in gaining citizen credentials merely to benefit from the grain distribution.

The idea of maintaining close control over admissions to the citizen body at all social levels was new in Athens and probably generally rare in Greek city-states with the exception of Sparta; phratries, even after Solon's legislation, had probably been less strict. The growing separation between Athens and her 'allies', coupled with the presence of large numbers of traders and rowers from allied cities in Athens and Piraeus, may well have contributed to this sense of a need for restriction.²⁰ While we do not hear of any further troubles between 451 and 431, the period of the Peloponnesian War disrupted life in most of the rural demes, and made the maintenance of controls problematic. In the Archidamian War of 431–421, the plains of Eleusis and Athens were regularly subjected to Spartan invasions, and there were also Boiotian raids in border areas;²¹ the inhabitants of many exposed villages took refuge, at least during invasion periods and often year-round, in local forts, in the hills, or inside the walls linking Athens and Piraeus. Since pay was regularly available for service in the fleet (and on quite frequent campaigns, also, in this period, for hoplite service), and since Spartan troops will often have damaged crops, trees, and buildings, in addition to killing any livestock they found, farmers whose land lay in their path may well have given up the struggle to continue even a part-time existence in the countryside.²² Those who migrated to the city had to find accommodation where they could, settling with kin or friends or camping out on open ground; members of a rural deme would thus be scattered, would have less knowledge of each other's affairs, and might well be too demoralized to put up a strong resistance to the registration of candidates with doubtful credentials. Losses in the plague years (430–426) would have exacerbated this situation; witnesses would be fewer, a blind eye might be turned, out of sympathy, if a man who had lost sons in the plague later presented a boy of dubious origin. Many rural demes probably took to holding their meetings in the city during this period; some of our fifth-century deme inscriptions

²⁰ Heavy Athenian losses in Egypt in the 450s may have contributed to public support for the law by generating attempts to pass off the children of unions between Athenian girls and metics as citizens (Ruschenbusch 1979*a*, 83–7), or creating anxiety about competition for husbands between Athenian and metic girls (Stewart 1996).

²¹ Note Aristoph. *Ach.* 1022–8, a farmer from Phyle has lost his plough to Boiotians; see M. H. Munn 1989 on Phyle and the Skourta plain during the war. On the question whether Plataians were assigned to demes in 427 see Trevett 1992, 188–9; Kapparis 1995; Canevaro 2013, 196–208.

²² Debate on the extent of war damage: V. D. Hanson 1983, Pritchett 1991, 198–203, 352–8; note that the question how long it took to build up farm operations again after 403 is not the same as the question of the psychological effect (on women as well as men) of yearly attacks. Aristophanes' *Acharnians* perhaps live in the city but return to the deme to make charcoal; market gardening near and inside the city walls would certainly continue. On the use of forts see Lauter 1992.

may have been set up when demesmen returned home in 421, after the Peace of Nikias, eager to make a fresh start on rural life.²³

The second period of war was even more disruptive, especially after the Spartan occupation of Dekeleia in 413, which put many more demes at risk of attack and protracted that risk over most of the year.²⁴ The war ended with civil strife between oligarchs (many of them wealthy landowners who resented the financial losses they had sustained during the war years) and the demos; the bitterness left by this episode was exacerbated and prolonged by the economic problems of the post-war years, in which men who had adjusted to living as wage-earners, paid for rowing and/or service as jurors, and finding part-time employment in the service sector of a money-flush economy (like Aristophanes' sausage-seller in the *Knights*) found themselves with no fleet and no empire, and consequently no wages and no customers. Members of this class who decided to return to rural demes and smallholdings will have found it harder than their wealthier neighbours to re-establish themselves on the land, and there must have been friction at deme meetings. On the one hand, commoners had gained confidence in the public sphere as a result of the war years, and the rich were under suspicion of collaboration (or at least sympathy) with the oligarchs; on the other hand, rich men may have acquired land, covertly or openly, from poorer neighbours, which they were unwilling to relinquish; and it was recognized that during the latter part of the war Perikles' law had not been strictly applied and some unqualified candidates had acquired citizenship.²⁵ Athmonon had conflict over liability to contribute to deme finances in the early years of the fourth century; Halimous held a deme scrutiny of all members' credentials in the 390s or 380s, on the grounds that the deme register had been lost; similar conflicts in phratries at Dekeleia and perhaps Paiania have already been noted.²⁶

In the fifth century, then, the demes went through a period of innovation and experiment from 507 to 431, during which their political culture was gradually modified as more members gained experience of Council membership and of the

²³ *IG* i³ 253–4 (Ikation), 258 (Plotheia), 256 *bis* (Thorikos); admittedly these are not the demes most obviously at risk before 421. Some influence of city institutions (eg. choregia) is also likely. Demes may also have acquired new cultic responsibilities due to the effects of the war and plague on other bodies (small local genê?). Archaeological evidence of reoccupation and rebuilding: Deme house, Vari house (J. Jones a. o. 1962, 1973). Effects of city residence on attitudes to exchange, Reden 1995*a*, 106–11, 131–5; squatting, Papazarkadas 2011, 217–18.

²⁴ Note the evidence in Eupolis' *Demoi*, probably produced in 412 (Rivier 1966; 418–11, Storey 1990, 2003) for hostility between members of rural demes and those of demes within the Long Walls.

²⁵ See ch. 19 at n. 81 on comic references to illegal entry to the citizen body, most of which come from the Dekeleian War (but *Wasps* 715–18 is earlier), and on the 'amnesty' of 403 concerning Perikles' law. Hostility to cavalry, Bugh 1988; Spence 1993, 216–24; see also ch. 24 n. 10 on Kolonos.

²⁶ *SEG* 24. 197, Athmonon; Dem. 57. 26, Halimous (generational calculation would suggest the 380s, but the precise date is unknown). Cf also chs. 7, and 14 at nn. 39–40 on the anti-oligarchic backlash.

procedures of the public sphere in the city, and more took part in military expeditions overseas.²⁷ We have very little direct evidence of deme activities from these years, and the little we have suggests a wide range of variation, with the character of deme initiatives, where they are attested, depending very much on local circumstances and pre-existing cult traditions. After 421 there was probably widespread eagerness to return to patterns remembered from pre-war days as ‘normal’;²⁸ but rural settlement was even more severely disrupted between 413 and 404. By the end of the war most Athenians were thoroughly familiar with the political norms and procedures of Council, Assembly, and courts, many of which were adopted in handling deme business. Thus while it may be true to some extent in the fourth century that young men got their first experience of public affairs in the demes, the idea of the deme as a miniature polis had to be constructed, and may well have had to make headway against a counter-tendency to contrast the relaxed and informal character of deme interaction with the more intimidating atmosphere of the city’s institutions. The development and internalization of the norms of the public sphere, and their subsequent adoption—perhaps only intermittently—in the more faction-ridden and more problematic context of smaller groups, was a gradual business. It may well be that it was precisely when they were appealing to, imitating, or trying to impose norms borrowed from the city that demes resorted to writing on stone—which never became a routine procedure for them.²⁹

Return to normality (of a new kind) in the demes, after the war, may well have taken some time, but was perhaps completed by c.380. After this it is hard to identify any event that would have had a widespread impact before the general scrutiny of citizens imposed on all demes in 346/5, the motivation for which still remains obscure.³⁰ Our evidence for negative votes comes only from a handful of

²⁷ Chr. Meier (1980) has stressed influence of war on conceptions of citizenship and the public interest; demes did not play any formal role in the organization of the army and fleet on campaign, but they may have played some role in recruitment, the army was divided into tribal contingents (ch. 21 nn. 37–9), and soldiers and rowers had considerable freedom to choose their own associates when not in action (ch. 16 nn. 64–8). Shared service may have formed the basis for alliances (especially between age-mates) that later influenced deme politics (cf. Whitehead 1986a, 224–6).

²⁸ Cf. Aristoph. *Ach.*, *Peace*, and perhaps *Dnitalis*.

²⁹ Imitation: form of decrees, from the first examples c.460 (*IG* i³ 244–5); euthynai in Thorikos c.420 (*i*³ 256 *bis*); choregia in Thorikos and Ikarion c.420? (*i*³ 258 *bis*, 254); antidosis in Ikarion, 254. V. Chankowski (2005) and P. Wilson (2015) suggest that in some cases deme innovations may have influenced state institutions, but I am sceptical (cf. Humphreys 1993a, xii).

³⁰ See now Fantasia and Carusi 2004; Pébarthe 2006, 196–200; Feyel 2009, 143–8; G. J. Oliver 2011, 128. Concern over the cost of the theoric distributions? Scandals could be cited (Dem. 57. 49), but someone must have worked them up into a case for reform (the affair of the basileus’ marriage to Neaira’s daughter was originally hushed up by the Areiopagos, [Dem.] 59. 80–4). What was the implication of introducing a major distraction of political attention in the year of the peace negotiations with Philip? Carlier 1992, 116 suggests that a law penalizing unions between Athenians and foreigners was passed at this time. Cf. ch. 19 nn. 76–7.

cases that went to appeal and produced speeches that have survived; it may be only the tip of a sizeable iceberg of bad feeling, which took some time to melt.³¹

Philip's advance southward may well have caused anxiety in some demes; Rhamnous issued at least two new leases of deme land in 339/8, possibly adopting a new system in which the risks of ensuring regular revenues for the deme were divided between a number of panels (*merê*) of the wealthier demesmen.³² Confidence was restored, however, under Lykourgos' administration, from 336 onwards, and the period between 336 and 322 probably produced a high proportion of the decrees passed by demes, many them honouring benefactors for their generosity. The introduction of formal training for epheboi, the young men who had just been admitted to demes, was a popular measure which stimulated a number of demes to pass decrees honouring the ephebic corps and its officers, especially those demes where epheboi were stationed or had played a role in cult.³³ The records of the hekatoistai sales—public auctions of land belonging to corporate groups, on which a one per cent tax was levied—may also belong to this period.³⁴

Restriction of citizen rights in 322 to those whose property was valued at more than 2000 drachmas, and the emigration of some of the disenfranchised to Thrace, may seriously have affected some of the smaller demes. There is evidence of depopulation and desertion of some rural areas in the late fourth or early third century, to which the insecurity of the years 319–317 and 268–262 may also have contributed.³⁵ Deme decrees were still passed and inscribed under the rule

³¹ Dem. 57, possibly Is. 12 (see ch. 24 n. 75); [Dein.] *kata Kerykôn* (F XXXI Conomis 1975) and *kata Moschiônos* (F XXXII) may come from such cases, as may Is. (?) *pros Boiôtôn* (F VI Thalheim 1903; but see ch. 30, n. 30); honours granted by demes to *syndikoi* in IG ii² 1205 (Epikephisia) and Aixone (ii² 1197) might have come from appeal cases on this occasion, but rejection and appeals could also occur in other years. Timarchos, Aisch. 1. 114–15, can hardly have been a prosecutor in 346/5; he made an initial denunciation in the deme assembly and perhaps subsequently appeared in court as a witness (Fisher 2001 ad loc.); it is not clear whether the oath he took was voluntary or was specifically required in cases of some kinds (e.g. when the defendant stood to lose his freedom if convicted?); cf. A. R. W. Harrison 1971, 150 with n. 7.

³² See ch. 31 n. 77; the dating may be coincidence, especially since the deme may have used an analogous system earlier for handling money lent at interest. Cf. also n. 102 below; ch. 25 n. 64.

³³ On demes and epheboi see Humphreys 1985*a*; on honorary decrees, Lasagni 2004. For a partial list of deme inscriptions of this period assigned to cutters working between 340 and 290, see Tracy 1995, 58–9: IG ii² 1176, 1187, 1189, 1192, 1194, 1195, 1196 B, 1198, 1260, 1274, 2493–4, 2500, plus SEG 21. 519, 28. 103.

³⁴ See below, n. 62; Appendix 2.

³⁵ On the disenfranchisement see Poddighe 2002; O'Sullivan 2009. Bintliff (1994*a*) suggests that soil exhaustion in marginal areas may have been a contributing factor. Atene (Lohmann 1993*a*); Azenia (Koundoura valley), Lohmann 1989, ch. 30 n. 119; Lamptrai (Kiapha Thiti), Lauter-Bufe 1990; Thorikos, ch. 27 n. 68. G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, 44–5 argues that the Sounion/Laureion area was not deserted. See also Moreno 2007, 28–32. Cf. the need for repairs at Brauron c.250, and the uncertainty whether they were carried out (Themelis 2002, 112–6). Possibly the book on demes of Diodoros the periegete, late 4th c. (FGH 370 F 4) indicates awareness of change. Small urban demes presumably continued to exist as neighbourhoods. SEG 38. 124 (Halai Axionides) is dated c.265 by Tracy 1988; ch. 29 n. 132. On the Roman period see D'Aco 2013.

of Demetrios of Phaleron (317–307), when the census qualification was lowered to 1000 drachmas, but in the third century only the ‘garrison demes’ Eleusis and Rhamnous remained consistently active. By this time many of the outlying smaller demes had probably de facto become city-based. As active corporate groups, therefore, the demes had a life of about two centuries.

ARTICULATION WITH OTHER CORPORATE GROUPS

The demes were given their new status by the state, and decisions of the state continued to affect them, as we have seen. The author of the *Athenaion Politeia* believed that Kleisthenes had also prescribed a change in Athenian naming practices: henceforth an Athenian citizen was to be known by his personal name and demotic, rather than his personal name and patronymic. It is unlikely that the writer had any documentary evidence for his statement; he was probably trying to account for the introduction of the demotic as an element in Athenian names. Whatever the background to his view, the question he raised is an interesting one. Use of the demotic as part of a citizen’s name would increase consciousness of the deme system and a sense of identification with one’s deme.³⁶ But how widespread was the use of demotics in the early years of the system? Ostraka provide some data on this point.

A large proportion of known ostraka come from votes held in the 480s and 470s. Since the candidates who received the largest number of votes were well-known men, use of demotics is probably under-represented in this sample; many voters wrote down only the candidate’s personal name, or added only abusive comments. Analysis of the evidence provided by ostraka for Athenian naming practices is still in its infancy; early research concentrated on identifying candidates, without paying any specific attention to the form of name used, and publications were erratic in the information they provided.³⁷ Only the publication of

³⁶ This is not a statement about Athenians’ subjective feelings but about the effects of being labelled in interaction with others. On *A.P.* 21. 2–4 see also ch. 18 n. 41. Note that Athenians buried in the 5th c. outside Attika (*IG* i³ 1503–1517) may identify themselves by both tribe and deme (ch. 21 n. 37). Restoration of tribe-name on the woman’s tombstone *IG* i³ 1294 *ter* (Agora) is highly questionable. *IG* i³ 1136, 425–400, tomb horos, *Glykēs Marathónothen en astē oikousēs*.

³⁷ Ostraka also provide useful information on writing skills and spelling (cf. Wachter 2007, Immerwahr 2007). An analysis of the correlation between writing skills and name forms (e.g. use of patronymics) might be interesting. Pébarthe 2006, pp. 65, 310–11, is rather disappointing on ostraka. Excellent analysis of the evidence from decrees, dedications, and ostraka in Winters 1993, suggesting initial enthusiasm for the demotic c.507–475 (evidence mainly from ostraka, which are not typical in all respects); demotics rarer than patronymics, no sign that the demotic took the place of the patronymic. E. A. Meyer 1993 studies the use of demotics on tombstones, but fails to compare use patterns in other contexts. Keesling 2009 compares dedications and ostraka; she notes that the same man may use various forms. See also Grouschin 2009. As on ostraka, the pattern of naming on tombstones in the 5th c. is irregular, and the three-name form is rare (cf. p. 785 on *IG* i³ 1260). Addition of father’s name and father’s demotic seems slightly commoner for women than for men, but the numbers are very small.

the ostraka from the Athenian Agora in 1990 by Mabel Lang (*Agora XXV*) has supplied a body of properly published material. This, together with what is known of the Kerameikos material, suggests the following conclusions:

1. Voters were not conscious in the 480s and 470s of any 'official' form of the citizen's name. The form used most commonly is personal name and patronymic; this probably reflects the use of patronymics, with and without personal names, in conversational address and reference attested all through the fifth century.³⁸ There is variation among individual candidates in the proportion of name/patronymic and name/demotic identifications. Use of all three names is rare in the period down to 470, and becomes more frequent on later ostraka.
2. The form of demotics was not yet fixed, and the early ostraka show a number of deviations from forms that later established themselves as canonical: *Acharnêthen*, *Agrylêthen*, *Amphitropaieus*, *Kerameus*, *Kollytôn*, *Konthyleus*, *Kriôthen*, *Lamprathen* (with *Lamptreus*), *ek Melitês*, *Oathen*, *Phlyêthen* (with *Phlyeus*), *Thoraiês*, *Thorikôi oikôn*, *Xypetaios*.³⁹
3. Voters made mistakes and jokes, and they also struggled with the problem of distinguishing homonyms. Mistakes might be revealing if we could be certain of identifying them correctly. The voters who ascribed Aristides son of Lysimachos to Koile (not Alopeke) and Agasias son of Arximachos to Agryle (not Lamptrai) seem to have been mistaken. In the first case it is conceivable that the voter was not sure where the boundary between Koile and Alopeke ran; in the second case it is possible that Agasias owned property in Agryle as well as in Lamptrai, which was further from the city. On the other hand, it is

³⁸ See, for example, Plat. *Laches* 180d–e (Sokrates addressed as 'son of Sophroniskos' by his father's friend Lysimachos) and discussion in ch. 8. Invented patronymics are used in comic abuse (e.g. Ar. *Wasps* 325 with MacDowell 1971, 178). Wilamowitz 1893, II ch. 7 noted that patronymic and demotic are often treated as alternative rather than complementary in the 5th century data, and that demotics are hardly ever used in address (Apollodoros of Phaleron, Plat. *Symp.* 172a, was presumably white-haired, cf. LSJ s.v. *phaleros*). My calculation on the Kerameikos data available to me (they are still not fully published) was: N/patronymic 84, N/Demotic 51, 3 names 27, N alone 21. Fraser 1995, using a sample of 143 candidates, has N/Patronymic 53, N/demotic 47. I think we have to count writers rather than candidates, though there are problems in either approach. For comparison, the Themistokles sherds from the Agora (omitting the mass-produced North Slope deposit) gave: N/Demotic 149, N/Patronymic 138, N alone 73, three names 5. In the mass-produced group, Hands A–I used N/patronymic and Hand K N/Demotic; Hands L–O were unclassifiable.

³⁹ Some of these forms still occur in the 4th c. when deme-identifications are given to women, see Linders 1972, 7–9 n. 5. It is possible that in some cases relatively frequent use of the demotic in writing and talking about ostraka and voting in ostracisms contributed to fixing forms such as *Alopekethen* that in other demes yielded to the spread of –eus as the appropriate demotic suffix (*Alopekeus* is also attested, cf. ch. 32 n. 6; *Amphitropaieus* in Lys. 13. 55; reverse development in Kerameikos from *Kerameus*, IG i³ 465. 123–4 (434/3), Wagner 2000, 284, to *ek Kerameôn*, presumably to distinguish demotai from potters). Boon son of Kason is identified as Thorikios on two Kerameikos ostraka and as 'living at Thorikos' on one. I take these as simple variants, the latter carrying no derogatory implications about Boon's status.

quite likely that there were two early candidates called Hippokrates: the son of Alkmeonides, who belonged to Alopeke, and another, identified either as the son of Anaxileos or as Hippokrates of Phaleron. But other cases are less clear. Is a single ostrakon naming Menon of Kolonos evidence that Menon of Gargettos had a house at Kolonos, or an expression of hostility towards another Menon? Were the two surviving sherds naming Isthmonikos of Skambonidai and Isthmonikos of Kothokidai directed against two men, or one man with two homes?⁴⁰

4. Meiggs and Lewis (M/L, p. 41), following Raubitschek, suggested that in the early period ‘country-demotics came more readily to mind as a means of identification than the new, artificial town-deme’; I doubt if the evidence now available allows us to say this. In any case, it is far from certain that city demes—even the five located wholly or partly inside the walls—were either new or artificial. It is more likely that they existed as loosely-defined urban districts with their own name and character before 507; and all the ‘city’ demes in this restricted sense are named on early ostraka. We would probably expect that politically ambitious men liked to acquire houses in or near the city, that voters who lived in or near the city turned out in higher proportions to vote than those who had to make longer journeys, that (consequently) men frequently seen in and around the city were more likely to be targeted, and (perhaps) that in 507 a man who had property both in the city area and in a rural deme would prefer to register in a city deme. The data in any case do not lend themselves very well to statistical analysis, since they tend to be polarized between very large numbers of sherds naming a few plausible candidates and a substantial scatter vote in which numerous candidates are represented by one or two sherds each.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Voters seem genuinely uncertain about Aristides’ demotic: the Agora has 3 sherds with Alopeke deleted (the only demotics in a total of 69 sherds); the Kerameikos collection one sherd with Alopeke deleted, one with Koile, 120 without demotic. The presence of another Aristides (Xenophilou) in Alopeke may have contributed to this situation. Alopeke and Koile were probably contiguous in the part of Koile outside the walls (see ch. 30 n. 33). Kerameikos has 2 sherds for Agasias Arximachou of Agryle, 17 for A. Arximachou of Lamptrai, 16 for A. Arximachou, 7 naming Agasias alone. Plutarch *Arist.* 13 names a contemporary Agasias of Acharnai (cf. F. D. Harvey 1984). Hippokrates Anaxileo, 8 Agora, 37 Kerameikos; Hippokrates Phalereus, 3 Kerameikos. Names referring to horse-racing victories such as Hippokrates and Isthmonikos were probably commoner in the archaic period than later. The Kerameikos collection also has one vote against Philokydes of Kolonos, 17 against Philokydes Pheideleou of Lamptrai. Note also one Kerameikos sherd naming Pausiades Salaminios, probably a reference to residence. Homonyms and/or erroneous demotics or patronymics must have presented a problem also to vote-counters; did they simply assume that the best-known candidate was the target? For a possible scene of ostraka-counting see the Pan Painter’s RF Kylix Ashm. 1911. 617 (BArch 206398).

⁴¹ The scatter vote illustrates a phenomenon also noted (*mutatis mutandis*) in the analysis of large curse tablets (ch. 14 n. 70), namely the tendency of a writer contemplating an act of hostility (cf. Kosmin 2015) to be distracted from his initial target into a more general consideration of grievances and enemies. The writer of a curse tablet could add names, whereas the voter in an ostracism could only name one man; but homonyms occur in both genres, and additional comments on ostraka convey the aggressive feelings mobilized in voting.

Such data as we have from other examples of name-writing c.507–470 tend to support the above conclusions. In informal writing, to judge from Immerwahr's analysis (1990), demotics are extremely rare in this period. Tombstones are uncommon at this time; only *IG* i³ 1260, of c.500–480, from the Marathon area, has a demotic (*Ἀπ ἡ[δ]ναῖος*). On dedications, patronymics are commoner than demotics in this period, while the full three-name form appears only at its end. The use of patronymics may well have been favoured by the tendency of fathers and sons to join in making dedications (ch. 12), and the conception of dedications as a contribution from a familial estate or enterprise; in the case of sculptors' signatures, it was favoured by the hereditary character of the professions (ch. 6).⁴² The demotic and not patronymic is used in the posthumous dedication to Athena after Marathon of Kallimachos of Aphidnai (*IG* i³ 784; cf. Keesling 2010*b*); a board of officials identifies its members by demotics (i³ 723); the dedication of Telesinos of Kettos (i³ 728) may have been made while he was serving as archon in 487/6. Other dedications dated between c.507 and c.480 that use demotics (Cholargeus, Acharneus, Lamptreus, Ikarieus, Kephisieus, Kollytides) seem to be more private in character, and we may have a woman identified as Athmonothēn.⁴³

The primary functions given to the demes in 507 were to admit new citizens, to appoint councillors, and to fill some minor offices.⁴⁴

Boys were admitted to demes at about eighteen years old; they had to be legitimate sons of Athenian fathers and (after 451) mothers. Candidates admitted by demes were paraded before the Council of 500, which could decide to compel a boy to re-apply to his deme the following year if he looked physically immature. There may have been an opportunity at this public *dokimasia* for other objections also to be made, but we do not have evidence of any cases; our evidence on appeals heard in court relates to candidates rejected by their demes.⁴⁵

⁴² On *Kerameus* see n. 39. The sculptor Lykios son of Myron, of the mid-5th c., describes himself as *Eleuthereus* (*IG* i³ 511, 892); this is taken to signify that he came from the border town Eleutherai, which did not have deme status. It is perhaps closer to 'ethnic' signatures by sculptors (cf. *IG* i³ 683, 756, 830 *bis* Chios; 752–3 Aigina; 952, 1018 Paros; 885 Kydonia) than to a use of the demotic (see Prandi 1987 on uses of *Eleuthereus*/*Eleutherathen*).

⁴³ *IG* i³ 695 (CEG 239), 698, 702, 704, 728, 742, 779, 800, 808; cf. also perhaps 622, 804*b*; 748, a Salaminios.

⁴⁴ Cf. n. 20. Just how demes were instructed to proceed in registering members (let alone how they actually proceeded) is unclear (cf. C. B. Patterson 1981), and there seem to have been rumours that freedmen and immigrants had crept in (Ar. *Pol.* 1275*b* 34–9; perhaps this, if true, might explain the high Council quota of Peiraios, cf. n. 13). However, in rural demes residents would know who belonged to a well-established family. The distribution of minor offices has already been discussed in ch. 21 at n. 67. On the statement in *A.P.* 22. 5 that in the early 5th c. 500 candidates for the archonship were selected by the demes see P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*.

⁴⁵ *Oktōkaideka etē gegonotas* seems (*pace* J. M. Carter 1967) to mean 'aged 18'; see P. J. Rhodes 1981*a* on *A.P.* 42. 1–2. But in any case Athenians did not celebrate childrens' birthdays (interest in birthdays seems to derive from astrology, though paradoxically commemorative birthday celebrations are first

It is not clear whether there was a two-year gap between admission to the citizen body and the acquisition of full legal capacity and the right to attend assembly meetings already from 506 onwards, or whether this liminal period was introduced only with the formalization of the ephebate in 335; it seems likely, however, that it existed from the beginning and was associated with a period of service in border areas, like the similar institution in Sparta.⁴⁶

Each deme also appointed members to the Council of Five Hundred. By the fourth century quotas had become fairly standardized, with some of the smaller demes taking it in turns to appoint a councillor every other year. It is likely, however, that this quota system—which was probably a matter of tribal norms and not of state regulation—took some time to emerge. Councillors were appointed by lot, presumably from a panel of nominees and/or volunteers; unsuccessful candidates perhaps formed a reserve panel of *epilachontes* from which replacements could be drawn if an appointed councillor failed his dokimasia or died during his term of office.⁴⁷

attested among the Epikoureans, cf. D. Clay 1986; Humphreys 1983*a*/1993, 88). It is not even clear by what date the boy would have had to have passed his 18th birthday. There was clearly some flexibility; see ch. 16 n. 53, B. G. Robertson 2000, on brothers serving together as epheboi. Moreover, the idea that the Council dokimasia was a control on age may be a later interpretation of an institution that initially had primarily ritual purposes (in this sense the view of Feyel, 2009, 73–81, that young orphans did not go through the usual dokimasia process—*sc.* in the Council—might be correct for the 5th c. Of course they had to be formally admitted with their coevals to demes. The re-institutionalization of a ritual parade of adolescents, at the end of the first year of the ephebate (ch. 21 n. 69) is a characteristic example of ritual change. It is now fairly widely agreed (*pace* Carawan 2008, 387) that nothoi did not become citizens even if they claimed that both their parents were citizens (Humphreys 1974; P. J. Rhodes 1978; C. B. Patterson 1990; Ogden 1996; Bertazzoli 2003); in any case, legitimate sons were likely to oppose attempts by their fathers to admit paternity of nothoi, and the male kin of Athenian women would also be unlikely to support claims made in this form (see ch. 7 Case 1; Dem. 39–40). If disputes over the age of candidates came to court, as seems to be implied by Ar. *Wasps* 578, it would perhaps be because a deme wished to avoid paying a penalty (*A.P.* 42. 2; but some of these rules may belong to the 4th c., see Diller 1935); it would not be in the interest of parents to appeal a Council decision on age (cf. Todd 2010). If there was an ephebic oath before 335 (see R/O 88; R. Parker 2005*a*, 397–8, 434–7; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 28–9; ch. 18 n. 89) it would presumably have been sworn after or at the end of the Council dokimasia (I do not find Siewert 1977's arguments for a pre-Peisistratid date compelling; see also Daux 1965 on the interpretation of *emphronōs* in clause V of the oath).

⁴⁶ Cf. chs. 19 n. 47, 21 n. 46; Vidal-Naquet 1968. In the pre-Kleisthenic system admission to the phratry might have come at the end of this period of border service, if that already existed (cf. A. Chankowski 2014).

⁴⁷ Cf. n. 13. The only 5th c. Council list, *IG* i³ 515 (408/7), does not conform to later quotas but in any case does not have room for all 50 councillors of the tribe (I). On variations even in the 4th c. see Traill 1975*a*. Stanton 1984*b* emphasizes that we have no evidence for continuity of quotas from the 5th–4th c (cf. ch. 21 at nn. 23–4). See Humphreys 2010*a* for arguments that *Agora* XV 492 does not list councillors and alternates, but kleruchs. On the clustering of kin in council service see ch. 17. For changes in Council quotas (no discernible pattern or principle of distribution, apart from the separation of ‘split’ demes) in 307/6 see Traill, *ibid.*

Some aspects of the adjustment of Council quotas may have been left to tribes even in 307/6, when two new tribes were created and the Council was increased in size from 500 to 600 members. Tribes were also responsible—after a period of experiment with nomination by demes—for the allocation within their membership of places on tribal boards of ten officials, although demes may have forwarded names of men willing to serve.⁴⁸

Demarchs had various responsibilities laid on them by the state, and it was perhaps a requirement from 507 that each deme had to appoint a demarch every year. The procedure of appointment in the fourth century was sortition, presumably from a panel of candidates who had volunteered their names or had been pressed into standing.⁴⁹ There were reasons for preferring that the demarch should be a deme resident, although there is no evidence that this was a formal requirement.⁵⁰ The demarch of Peiraios was by the late fourth century appointed by the state (*A.P.* 54. 8), presumably from candidates put forward by the deme. We do not know whether a man could hold office as demarch more than once.

In the classical period, demarchs were evidently expected to provide information about the ownership of property in the deme; they collected tithes (*aparchai*) of wheat and barley in the (?) 420s (*IG* i³ 78 = *IEleus* 28); they were also expected, at least in some cases, to report property owned by offenders whose estates had been confiscated by the state. They also needed to know which demesmen served as hoplites and which as rowers; and some demes collected taxes from residents who were not demesmen.⁵¹ These functions raise questions about deme boundaries and deme registers.

⁴⁸ *A.P.* 62. 1. According to Andok. 1. 82–4, 500 nomothetai were appointed by the demes in 403/2 to approve revisions of the law-code. Aisch. 3. 30 refers to the election by demes of commissioners for wall- and ship-building; ch. 21 n. 100; n. 13 above.

⁴⁹ On demarchs cf. Georgoudi 2007. It would, I think, be wise to assume that when sources speak of sortition they mean that if there was competition for a post the result was decided by lot. I do not imagine that small demes insisted on drawing lots if there were only just enough candidates, still less that sortition ever implied putting the names of all eligible candidates into the draw.

⁵⁰ This may explain the comparative obscurity of demarchs (Whitehead 1986a, 114–15); ch. 5 n. 19, see also below on Erchia (ch. 24). Pace Whitehead (*ibid.*), *hairesis* does not necessarily mean election rather than sortition (Aisch. 3. 29. 3, Is. 8. 20). On *FGH* 228 F 31 (Demetrios of Phaleron, *ap. schol. Ar. Clouds* 37) see *id.* pp. 12, 37.

⁵¹ See Whitehead 1986a, 130–4, with ch. 21 n. 46 on the hoplite katalogos, and Gabrielsen 1994. It may be a mistake to think of the demarchs' role in taxation as gradually being transferred to other systems. In the 5th c. peer pressure and the use of antidosis may have sufficed to provide a supply of liturgists, at least until the introduction of eisphora in 428 (Gabrielsen, p. 116). During and after the Peloponnesian War, as more rich Athenians acquired land outside their own demes, local information became more necessary. Apographai of confiscated property by demarchs is only attested for the religious offenders of 415 and the condemned oligarchs of 411 and 404/3; it is quite conceivable that demarchs did not play a role in reporting the property of state debtors. On metics see Whitehead 1986a, 81–2; Faraguna 1999, 89. This tax was kept by the deme. [Dem.] 50. 8 (Apollodoros' property reported in three demes) shows that demarchs continued to have responsibilities in 362, perhaps in relation to the proeisphora. *Aparchai*: see Cavanaugh 1996; Pritchett 2001, 171; Clinton 2010.

Archaeologists are discovering increasing numbers of rock-cut boundary marks (horoi) on ridges that may well have separated one deme from another. These inscriptions are, however, difficult to date, and on present evidence it still seems likely that they belong in most cases to the fourth century BCE, when we have some evidence for demes collecting dues for the use of pasture land (*IG* ii² 1196 = *SEG* 57. 120). The current evidence does not support the view that deme boundaries were marked, or even, necessarily, defined in 507.⁵² We have as yet no deme boundary-marker from the plains areas where deme boundaries ran through densely occupied agricultural land, and we have an explicit statement from Eratosthenes (Strabo C 65/1. 4. 7) that there were no markers inside the city between Kollytos and Melite. The second edition (1985) of Finley's *Land and Credit in Ancient Athens, 500–200 BC* (original 1952) lists 165 'mortgage' horoi from Athens and Attika, and we also have horoi marking sacred land and tombs, as well as trittys-markers from the city (ch. 21 at nn. 133–4). If deme boundaries in the city and agricultural areas had been marked, some of the markers should by now have been discovered. Since they have not, we should face the possibility that deme 'boundaries' in areas where demes were contiguous were defined only by the deme affiliations of property-owners, which may have produced a tendency to interdigitation of property and deme membership in border areas.

⁵² General discussions of horoi in Ritchie 1984; Ober 1995; Jameson 2004; Lohmann 1993*a*, 55–9, 2010*b*. In the 6th c. the Skourta plain still seems to have been a no-man's-land between Boiotia and Attika (M. H. Munn 1989, 2010). The question is how the demes' territoriality was conceptualized. It is clear that demes distinguished between property 'in the deme' held by demesmen and that owned by non-demesmen; both had to be reported for the eisphora tax, and Peiraios, at least, taxed the latter (*IG* ii² 1214. 25–8). I am not convinced by Faraguna's argument (2000) for land registers. Demes also owned property, which might be marked by horoi (cf. the Salaminioi). It seems likely (as noted by Papazarkadas 2011, 158) that property sold by them in the hekatostai sales would be so marked; the same may well be true of land on which a deme collected pasture dues (*ennomia*, *IG* ii² 1196 = *SEG* 57. 120; cf. Stanton 1984*a*, 1996; Krasilnikoff 2010; Papazarkadas 2011, 134, 157 n. 273). None of this, however (*pace* Papazarkadas 156–60) proves that demes marked their boundaries (as opposed to specific areas) with horoi—still less that this had been done in 507; nor, *pace* Steffebauer 2007, does the registration of metics by deme of residence prove this. (Note that the 'horos marking a boundary between Athens and Eleusis' of *PAAH* 1937, 37, recently rediscovered, *AD* 53 B1, 77, is an uninscribed stele base, cf. also ch. 29 n. 128; *SEG* 48. 163.) There was interest in measuring distances in the late 6th c. (Hipparchos' herms, *IG* i³ 1092 *bis*; Salviat and Servais 1964, in fathoms, Thasos; Sintès 2008), but definition of boundaries in the 6th–5th c. seems to refer only to landmarks. Rousset 2002 stresses that even when boundaries are defined they may not be marked or even identified continuously (and definition by reference to landmarks continues: *SEG* 36. 336, Argos 338?; Istros *FGH* 334 F 17; horoi on borders 183/2, *SEG* 58. 370). For general surveys of boundary-marking and territoriality see Gschnitzer 1994; Rousset 1994; Ager 1996; Gehrke 2000; Daverio Rocchi 2007; on terminology (Crete), Van Effenterre 2010. Note also references to *horistai* (boundary commissioners), *IG* ii³ 4. 36 (ch. 21 n. 86), Hyp. 4 *Eux.* 16, and to *orophylakes*, Chaniotis 2007, 139–42 (stationed on roads). 5th–4th c. deme horos in Euboia, *SEG* 41. 723, cf. *IG* xii 9. 78. Horoi from Akraiphia, dated late 4th c., *IG* vii 2792 and *AR* 1994/5, 28; Van Effenterre 1985, 182 dates Cretan horoi 2nd c. BCE and later. Possible boundary walls round (kleruchic?) farms at Karystos, classical period, Keller and Wallace 1988. Bibliography on boundary disputes, Arnaoutoglou 1998 no. 89.

Boundary-marking should not be seen as a ‘natural’ human activity with roots in animal territoriality (Olshausen and Sonnabend 1994), nor (at this period) as one of the ways in which the state inscribes its presence in the consciousness of subordinate administrative divisions, but as one of the means that may be adopted by a group already conscious of an inchoate identity in order to define more clearly at some points the distinction between its own members and activities and those outside it.⁵³

What of deme registers? In the fourth century it was probably normal, though perhaps not legally required, for there to be two lists of members for each deme: the *ekklesiastikos pinax*, assembly-list, used by tribal officials for checking the credentials of citizens in public contexts, and a list kept by the demarch in the deme. In Otryne, according to [Demosthenes] 44. 35–7, the demarch’s *grammateion* was only opened on the occasion of deme assemblies—perhaps only the meeting at which new members were admitted—whereas it was possible *de facto* (if not *de jure*) to get a name entered on the *ekklesiastikos pinax* on other occasions (the Panathenaia).

Since the two lists should have contained the same names, there was no need for a strict terminological distinction, and the name *léxiarchikon grammateion* may have been applied to both. It probably originated, however, in the city context, since it is derived from the title of the *lexiarchoi*, tribal officials who were concerned with the Assembly and, presumably, with the allocations of offices by lot.⁵⁴ It could apparently be assumed by c.440 that every deme had a

⁵³ Cf. Introduction; Luhmann 1984. It is unlikely that roads formed boundaries (in most cases): in the country, because they would lead from one deme centre to another (and demesmen would be buried on both sides), and in the city because communities might form round roads rather than being divided by them (n. 61).

⁵⁴ Hondius 1921 stresses looseness of terminology (*koina grammateia* in SEG 2. 7, cf. Dem. 57. 26, 60); gradual development of procedures is emphasized by C. B. Patterson 1981, 13–14, 25–8; cf. also Manville 1990. Halimous c.390 (?) had only one list, in the keeping of the demarch, or did not trust the Assembly copy (Dem., *ibid.*). Ogden’s wording (1996, 122–3) misleadingly suggests that the *lex. gr.* was given to each deme member. *Léxiarchoi*: this etymology was already argued by E. Koch 1894; the counter-arguments of Toepffer 1895 can, I think, be met by supposing that *kléroun* is used of the presiding magistrate, *lanchanein/léxis* of candidates, and *léxeôs archein* of the subordinate officials who manage the details of procedure. Confusion was introduced by Harpokration (s.v. *léxiarchikon grammateion*, repeated by Pollux 8. 104, Suda s.v., *Lex. Vindobonense* (Nauck 1867) p. 119 no. 14), who met the term in Aisch. 1. 103 à propos the registration at 18 of the orphan Timarchos of Sphettos and explained *léxeôs archein* as ‘control one’s inheritance’. However, most boys did not inherit property at 18, because their fathers were still alive (Photius s.v. *léxiarchikon grammateion* is better, but still partly wrong, since boys of 18 were not yet eligible for office; Pébarthe 2006, 183–5, following Van Effenterre 1976, is also confused; Faraguna 2015 is undecided). The number six may derive from association with the thesmothetai, but this does not necessarily imply that the office was pre-Kleisthenic. Pollux 8. 105–6 says that the *epheboi* were registered in the *lex. gr.* at 20, which might be true for the period after c.335. The account in [Dem.] 44. 35–7 (chs. 7 Case 12, 24 s. ‘Otryne’) is deliberately confusing, but the sequence of events seems to be: (1) Leostratos gets his name on the *ekklesiastikos pinax*, and starts to attend festivals

register;⁵⁵ the *diapsêphisis* of 445/4 is likely to have encouraged record-keeping and may even have required demes to set up registers of approved demesmen and add new members regularly in future. We should not, however, assume that checks were conscientiously made. Aristophanes' *Ekklesiiazousai* (of 392) suggests that it was conceivable for a group to pass into the Assembly without being challenged. Demesmen would normally attend Assembly meetings, city festivals at which meat was distributed, ostrakophoriai, etc., in groups, each of which would be likely to contain at least one man known to the officials in charge; it would be assumed that such clusters exercised their own control over membership. If an official queried a man whose face seemed unfamiliar, it would be enough for his companions to vouch for him. Athenians trusted witnesses rather than documents.⁵⁶

Demarchs also had cultic responsibilities towards the state. They organized their demes' contingents in the Panathenaic festival, and may have had similar duties at the Hephaistia; they collected the tithes of grain due to the Eleusinian goddesses, and were responsible for some other payments.⁵⁷

It is possible that a state-wide cult of Herakles, organized by demes, was introduced in 507 or at some later date.⁵⁸ Krates, in his work on the Attic dialect, preserved part of the

(*metechein tôn koinôn*) as a member of Otryne; (2) his opponents protest, and raise the issue at the deme's election assembly (the 'archons' agora'); (3) nevertheless, Leostratos secures agreement from the demarch and a few demesmen that he will be entered in the lexiarchikon grammateion (the speaker implies that this meeting was completely informal, but it may have been a deme assembly or small sacrifice attended by only a few men); (4) Leostratos claims his share of the theorikon at the Great Panathenaia but is thwarted by his opponents; (5) as a result of their protests, he is not entered in the lexiarchikon grammateion (presumably, when the 18-year-olds are examined).

⁵⁵ *IG* i³ 138; the fact that demarchs were to collect dues for Apollo only from cavalrymen and hoplites, while toxarchoi were to collect from archers, does not imply that only those of hoplite census and above were entered on deme registers (in the 'Themistokles decree' M/L 23. 21–30, the names of Athenian rowers are to be taken from the *lêx. gr.*); nor should we assume that all registers contained notes on census class and obligations to military service. When a hoplite call-up was made 'by eponyms' (ch. 21 at nn. 44–5) a demarch had to know not only who was liable for hoplite service—probably a matter of common knowledge in the smaller demes—but also their age-class, which could be derived from the register, on which each new age-set of demesmen would be entered under its eponym (*A.P.* 53. 4; cf. schol. Dem. 21. 83 Dindorf 1851, Dilts 1983–6, where we are told that *diaitetai* are taken from the *lex. gr.*, although the age is corrupt in the MSS).

⁵⁶ Humphreys 1985*b*; cf. R. Thomas 1989 on the absence of an 'archive mentality'. Informal subgroupings of demesmen had by the 3rd c. been formalized in Peiraios, where the deme was divided into *triakades* (*IG* ii² 1214).

⁵⁷ Whitehead 1986*a*, 134–7; *IG* i³ 78, 138, 258 (ch. 24 at n. 47). Deme contingents also travelled to Athens (Agrai) for the Diasia, but this seems to have been a less formal occasion: cf. Jameson 1965, 159–72; Humphreys 2004, 180, 186; Henrichs 2005. The demarch's responsibility to inter the unburied dead may perhaps derive from the plague years; at other times cases must have been very rare (it is not certain that in *Agora XIX* P 5. 25–30 Isarchos of Xypete was acting as demarch). See Makres 2014*a* for a possible role of deme representatives in the Theseia (*IG* i³ 82).

⁵⁸ Perhaps in association with the reorganization of the Herakleia at Marathon after 490, attested in *IG* i³ 3 (n. 95; ch. 31 nn. 45–6).

‘law of the basileus’, which required him to supervise the appointment of ‘archons’ and the election by the demes of parasitōi who were to collect barley-offerings to be used for a feast ‘in the sanctuary’. Kleidemos and Philochoros both mentioned parasitōi of Herakles, possibly referring to the cult at Marathon; Diodoros of Sinope, in his comedy *Epiklēros*, claimed that the city had instituted sacrifices to Herakles in all the demes, for which twelve parasitōi (per deme? per tribe?) were selected from propertied men of citizen parentage on both sides. Diodoros regarded this as an ancient institution, and contrasted it with the use of the term *parasitos* to denote freeloaders at private dinners. It is possible that Aristophanes’ *Daitaleis* has a chorus of parasitōi of Herakles, and that a fragmentary decree of the late fourth century passed by a group of Daital[eis] is connected with the same institution.⁵⁹

The attraction of postulating a state-wide cult of Herakles instituted in the late sixth or early fifth century and organized by demes is, firstly, that it would show the innovators of the early period of ‘Kleisthenic democracy’ responding to a recent Peisistratid innovation by restructuring it (parasites appointed by demes and not by personal patronage, reference to Marathon instead of Pallene?), and secondly, that it would provide a plausible background to the concession to nothoi (in 451?) that they could pay their dues (*telein*) to Herakles at Kynosarges. The sources, however, are problematic.⁶⁰

The state could, and did, affect the life and resources of individual demes in a variety of ways: by building fortifications, stationing garrisons, regulating the exploitation of mines, stimulating production at quarries, or intervening in the management of local cults. It is unlikely, however, that there was any consistent

⁵⁹ Krates (1st cent. BCE) *FGH* 362 F 7, cf. 374 F 1. This ‘law of the basileus’ contained both a resumé of the basileus’ traditional duties and provisions for building repair. It may come from the ‘codification’ of 410–399. The feasters are perhaps *tous <par>ontas* (or *<epidēm>ontas*, cf. *IG* i³ 3) *Athēnaiōn*; see the apparatus criticus in *FGH*. I suggested in ch. 20 (n. 57) that the parasitōi of Athena Pallenis were instituted by Peisistratos, and thus were not tied to the deme system; however, a reorganization by Kleisthenes is not impossible, and Wilamowitz’s suggestion (1893 II, 43) that *Themisōn en Pallēnidi* should be emended to *thesmion en Pallēnidos* (sc. *hierōi*) has to be taken seriously. Kleidemos, *FGH* 323 F 11; Philochoros, *FGH* 328 F 73, from the Tetrapolis; Diodoros (3rd c.), *PCG* 5. 27 F 2. 21–30 (‘doubtless an exaggeration’, R. Parker 2005a, 473). Aristophanes: *PCG* III 2, 122–48, Cassio 1977; cf. Solders 1931. The association of the play with Herakles comes from the lexicographic tradition and not from the preserved fragments, which seem to concern the contrast between traditional and sophistic education, and a prosecution for *xenia* in the court of the *nautodikai* (F 32 Cassio, 237 *PCG*; related to the requirement of legitimacy and citizenship for parasitōi?); there is also mention of Erechtheus and Aigeus (F 15 Cassio, 217 *PCG*), acting as witnesses, suggesting an involvement of the tribes.

⁶⁰ Nothoi: Humphreys 1974; Bertazzoli 2003 suggests (implausibly in my view) that there was a similar registration system at Kynosarges for nothoi similar to that of the demes. *Telein*, however, may be a kind of metaphor (de facto contributions rather than formal registration). It is a difficulty that the Herakleia at Marathon have not left much trace in our sources after their early decades, and that we are unclear about the relation (if any) of the parasitōi of Herakles to such local shrines as that of Herakles at Porthmos, run by the genos Salaminioi with some public funds *ek kyrbeōn*, ch. 20. It is likely that the sources contain some antiquarian speculation, and possible that there was some re-institutionalization under Lykourgos or Demetrios of Phaleron.

overall conception of a division of responsibilities between central and local government. We know nothing about responsibility for roads; when a new aqueduct for Athens was constructed in the late fourth century, the work was contracted out to a partnership of private entrepreneurs, who made individual agreements with the owners of land through which they wished to run their pipes. There is no evidence that the demes in which this land was situated played any role.⁶¹

At some date (or dates) in the Lykourgan period or later the state encouraged demes and similar corporations (phratries, *genê*, *orgeones*) to sell some of the land that had come into their hands. Evidently they were not compelled to sell all their property, since we find some of them leasing land or buildings later. Since the state benefited only by collecting a tax of one per cent on sales, which was given to Athena, the operation was perhaps designed to help the sellers rather than to raise revenue. By organizing a public sale and recording payment of the tax, the state offered the sellers a chance of attracting buyers outside their own membership, and guaranteed buyers security of title; in addition, the public nature of the sale may have put some pressure on buyers to offer a fair price. The device of levying a tax on sales and making a public record of the payments is paralleled by requirements laid down in the Lykourgan period and later that liturgists, and perhaps the parties involved in manumissions, should dedicate silver cups on the Akropolis; Theophrastos' *Nomoi* (F 97 Wimmer 1854–62) referred to a one per cent tax levied on all property sales in Attika; such a scheme would not be inappropriate for the Lykourgan era.⁶² Proponents of the scheme could no doubt at any date have cited evidence of irregularities in the management of deme property (cf. Demosthenes 57. 63–4); most demes' financial affairs were probably run by a small oligarchy of 'benefactors' who saw little reason to draw strict lines between public and private property so long as they paid their share of deme expenses (ch. 24 n. 125). Deme inscriptions about property leases and financial management will have been produced by crises in which this gentlemen's agreement broke down. It is more difficult to reconstruct the specific occasion and motives that made conversion of property into cash (which would produce revenue in the form of interest on loans) seem desirable. It seems possible, however, that since many

⁶¹ Lauter 1992 argues that some fortifications may be due to local initiative. Cult: it is hard to discern any principle in state policy, even in the case of the valuables moved to Athens and stored under the care of the Treasurers of the Other Gods (Linders 1975; below, nn. 98–100), where proximity to Athens seems to be more of a determinant than exposure to attack. See discussions of individual demes, chs. 23–32, and R. Parker 1996. Roads: see D. M. Lewis 1990, 249 (= 1997, 64); Korres 2008; Y. Y. Lolos 2002 for terminology. Aqueduct: *IG* ii² 2491, 2502; *SEG* 19. 181–2, 21. 643, 54. 80; Koerner 1973; Camp 1979; Matthaiou 2009*b*. More evidence is now emerging about deme water supplies: see *AD* 46 B1, 1991 (1996), 49 (Halai Aixonides), 64 (Euonymon); Georgousopoulou 2013.

⁶² See Appendix 2.

of the properties sold were outlying parcels (*eschatai*) the disenfranchisement and emigrations of 322 had created anxiety about controlling lessees in remoter areas, and recruiting resident demarchs to collect rents; the sales, that is, may be a symptom of the tendency of many rural demes, after 322, to transform themselves *de facto* into city-based associations. Further survey and excavation in rural areas might give us a clearer idea of the extent of rural depopulation in the late fourth and early third century.

It was probably inevitable that scholars of the late nineteenth and the twentieth century would tend to overestimate the extent of ‘government’ interference in municipal affairs. Correlatively, the extent of regulation by the Attic tribes has perhaps been underestimated. Each tribe was responsible for sending fifty councillors to the Boule every year, and thus had to arrive at a viable quota system for its constituent demes. While there may have been some adjustment in the allocation of demes to trittyes and tribes in the first years of Kleisthenic system, it seems unlikely that further modifications—the arrangements by which small demes appointed councillors in alternate years, ‘split’ demes made separate appointments, or a deme’s failure to fill its quota in a specific year was made up—were referred to any central authority. Such details were surely worked out when tribes met to finalize their appointments for the coming year. If in the early years of the system some communities acquired or relinquished deme status, this may also have been approved by the tribe.⁶³

A new form of involvement of the demes in tribal decisions was introduced with the ephebic system, in which the fathers of boys about to serve as epheboi voted in the election of the tribe’s short list of candidates for the position of *sophronistes* (*A.P.* 42. 2). Ephebic monuments also record tribe and deme decrees in honour of ephebes on the same stone.⁶⁴

VARIETY AND DEME INDIVIDUALITY

The range of variation among demes is startling. In size, they ran from Acharnai, which regularly appointed twenty-two councillors, to small villages that could only

⁶³ Some cases of quota irregularity may be due to use of the panel of *epilachontes* to fill gaps. The decision to ‘split’ for the purpose of appointing councillors—or to merge for other purposes, as in the case of Ionidai and Kydantidai (ch. 24 n. 92)—was probably taken at deme level (n. 14). There was presumably some consultation of tribes when 100 councillors for the two new tribes were added in 307, although the figures—especially the absence of any contribution to the new units from IX Aiantis—suggest that a state commission was involved.

⁶⁴ *IG* ii² 1156 = R/O 89, a dedication by the epheboi of Kekropis citing decrees from the tribe, from Athmonon, and from Eleusis. One might also expect that demes would contribute to tribal cult expenses (ch. 21 n. 78), but *IG* i³ 258 (Plotheia) does not support this view.

field a candidate in alternate years.⁶⁵ Physically, they ranged from Kydathenaion, the deme of ‘ancient glory’, which probably had its centre in the early core of the city east of the Akropolis, to Atene, a collection of hamlets occupying three small plains and an island in southeast Attika, perhaps only settled in the early years of the deme system; or from Skambonidai, ‘Crooktown’⁶⁶ which probably started as an artisan quarter and rose in status when the centre of political activity shifted from Kydathenaion to the new Agora, to Rhamnous with its well-established cult of Nemesis and Themis; or from the mining demes of the Laureion area, with a high proportion of slaves among their residents, to Eleusis with its periodic influx of visitors from all parts of Greece for the Mysteries.

Deme names themselves provide good examples of the variety of factors that gave demes their individual identities. Some were named for characteristic economic activities: Halai, Kerameis, Aigilia and Aixone, Krioia, and perhaps Boutadai, Pambotadai, and Keiriadai; many for features of the countryside, local plants, or animals—Auridai, Besa, Potamos, Deiradiotai, Phrearrhioi, Koile, Poros, Prasiai, Rhamnous, Phegous and Phegaia, Ptelea, Thria, Myrrhinous and Myrrhinoutta, Korydallos, Acherdous, Elaious, Alopeke; some perhaps for man-made landmarks (Kolonos and Kolonai, Hermos?). Some had euphemistic or self-advertizing names—Euonymon, Eupyridai (?), Epeiekidai, Lamptrai, Kydathenaion; more names, however, were derogatory: Skambonidai, Aithalidai (smoky, sooty), Cholleidai (ch. 26 n. 54), Hybadai, Sybridai. Eponymous heroes are attested for 44 demes, but many of the sources are very late, while in other cases the hero is associated with a *genos* or *phratry*. Heroes and heroines worshipped in demes were, as we shall see, often nameless. Some demes were named for deities: Anakaia, Hestiaia, Paionidai and Paiania, and perhaps Pallene and Iphistiadai.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Halimous, with 3 councillors, had about 80 demesmen in 346/5 (Dem. 57. 9); Myrrhinous, with 6–7 councillors, has a deme quorum of 30 (*IG* ii² 1183, see ch. 25 n. 46), while Paiania, with 12 councillors, had a quorum of 100 (*IG* i³ 250). P. Wilson’s suggestion (2015, 122) of a quorum of 100 in Ikarion seems to me unlikely. The quorum for city decisions (6000) seems to have been calculated as one-fifth of the citizen body, but demes may not have been aware of any norm (cf. Feyel 2007, 23 n. 14). Lohmann (1993) estimates that Atene, appointing 3 councillors in the 4th c., had about 50 farms on deme territory; however, these may not all have belonged to deme members, and there will have been deme members resident elsewhere. The society of Plato’s *Laws* has an average of 35 households per deme (W. Thompson 1965). If the ratio of councillors to demes had been constant (which is unlikely except in very broad terms), on the conventional figure of 30,000 for the citizen population c.507, demes would have ranged from c.1320 members (Acharnai) to c.30 in the smallest demes. Note that the problem of finding enough men to fill Council places would not arise immediately, and we do not have enough Council lists from the classical period to determine how many men served twice. On the figure of 3000 Achaean hoplites in Thuc. 2. 20. 4—perhaps to be emended to 1200—see Whitehead 1986a, Appendix 5; ch. 28 n. 28.

⁶⁶ *Skambón* means bow-legged and would be associated via the relation between diet and rickets with poverty, menial occupations, and thus low morals (cf. Humphreys 1999).

⁶⁷ See ch. 20 n. 4 on the variety of names using the suffix -idai or -(i)adai, not all of which are derived from the names of heroes; Kearns 1989, 92–102, with useful list, on deme heroes and cults. Kearns misses the hero Angelos, *MDAI(A)* 1937, 9 no. 8, and the *archégèteion* mines at Thorikos (*Agora* XIX P 5).

By 507 demes were already diverse in their history as well as in size, resources, and topography. Some—among them the ‘twelve ancient towns’ discussed earlier (ch. 18 s. ‘Twelve Towns’)—had their own historical myths. Many had Bronze Age remains; in some cases the Bronze Age akropolis had become a sacred space, while in others the rediscovery of tombs had prompted a hero-cult.⁶⁸ Centres with long-established cults were likely to be phratry bases, and might also have priest-hoods held by aristocratic genê. The Eumolpidae and Kerykes of Eleusis provide a particularly well-known and illustrious example, but they were not alone; a number of the smaller demes may owe their existence to the residence in them of aristocratic families who insisted on independent deme status. Boutadai was the home of a leading branch of the genos Eteoboutadai, who probably distinguished themselves as ‘the true descendants of Boutes’ only after the creation of the deme. Ionidai and Kydantidai, small demes probably located in the neighbourhood of Erchia (Spata: see ch. 24 n. 90), show a rather high proportion of names attested in the archaic period and rare later (Philoitios, Melieus, and Ilioneus in Ionidai, Spinthon in Kydantidai), and may perhaps have opted for independent deme status because of the presence of ‘old’ families; the archaic tomb monuments of Vourva may belong to one of these demes. In contrast, Sounion may not have acquired its resident genos, a branch of the Salaminioi, until the introduction of coinage in the sixth century generated interest in silver-mining; the cults of Athena and Poseidon on Cape Sounion, which had perhaps originally served passing ships and a small local community engaged in fishing and small-scale trade, may have attracted attention from the city authorities when the system of *naukrariai* was formalized.

We have no reason to assume, however, that all deme cults and myths were pre-Kleisthenic. Kleisthenes’ reforms encouraged ambitious politicians to create new foci for deme activity: Themistokles founded a cult of Artemis Aristoboule in Melite (though it was not his own deme), Kimon reshaped myths and cults round the figure of Theseus at Phaleron and in his own deme Lakiadai, Sophanes of Dekeleia perhaps exploited the legend of Theseus’ capture of Helen. The early fifth century was a key period for reinterpretation and rationalization of mythical traditions in texts on local history. Mycenaean tombs could be rediscovered at any date, and not all offerings would leave archaeological traces. Thorikos’ sacrifices to Zeus Kataibates were presumably prompted by lightning-strikes, one of which may be mentioned in Aristophanes’ *Clouds* (l. 461). The special relation

65–6) and at Besa (*Agora XIX* P 5. 72–3, 75–6); the term *archégêtês* seems to be used of deme eponyms (cf. *SEG* 41. 21; ch. 31 n. 70); however, Phegaia terms Meneleos and Herakles *archégêtai* in *IG* ii² 1932 (ch. 24 n. 117).

⁶⁸ Akropolis: Erchia, Vanderpool 1965*a*; Lamptrai (Kiapha Thiti), Hagel and Lauter 1987, 1989; cf. (though much lower) Marathon, Plasi (Themelis 1974, 233). Tomb-cult archaeologically documented at Acharnai; literary references to heroes’ tombs (Kearns 1989) may indicate traditions arising from other discoveries. See Polignac 1995.

of Dekeleia with Sparta, based on the tradition that the deme and genos eponym Dekelos had helped the Dioskouroi in their search for Helen, may have been developed only in the 470s or 460s.⁶⁹ Skambonidai by c.460 has a deme programme of religious activities that seems to have had little or no local traditional basis. The major cults of Peiraios were fifth-century foundations.⁷⁰ Other demes may have taken on cultic responsibilities gradually, as the leading families in local *genê* died out, became impoverished, or moved to the city and began to neglect their rights and obligations. Demes, in most cases, were not developing a communal identity and pattern of collective activities in a vacuum, but in interaction with other groups that shared their territory—or a part of it—and had their own agendas. Balances of power shifted over time and were affected by conflicts and factional alignments, and by the success or failure of individuals and lineages. Initiatives and opportunities varied from deme to deme.⁷¹ It is a mistake to generalize. However, it may be worth pointing out here that one source of deme festivals seems to have been the festivals of the city. Demes ‘recognize’ that it is appropriate for them to celebrate on the occasion of city festivals (Skambonidai), or that local cultic activities are ‘related’ to city festivals (Dionysia, festival of Demeter, Plynteria); a new dialogue between countryside and city begins, of which theatrical performances at the Rural Dionysia are the clearest instance (n. 103). Initiatives could also come from individuals who became possessed or had dreams or visions, as in the case of Archedemos of Thera, who was ‘seized by the nymphs’ and made a garden and dancing place for a cave cult in Anagyrous (Vari),⁷² or the mother of Sostratos in Menander’s *Dyskolos* (260 ff.), who frequently made sacrifices in response to her dreams (ch. 12 s. ‘Women’).

Clearly the larger and older deme centres were more likely also to serve as phratry bases. Phratry documents from the countryside have been found at Dekeleia, Myrrhinous, Paiania, Kephale, Alopeke, Charvati, and Kypseli; horoi naming phratries as creditors suggest that there were phratries at Rhamnous and (?) in the Anavyssos area. The phratry Thymaitis was presumably based in Thymaitadai, and may perhaps have served more than one of the four villages of the Tetrakomoi (the others being Peiraios, Xypete, and Phaleron). The Dekeleia phratry included members of the deme Oion Dekeleikon, and the Alopeke phratry also had members in neighbouring demes, as well as members who had moved further afield

⁶⁹ See chs. 19 n. 39, 20 n. 46, and Humphreys 1999.

⁷⁰ See ch. 30 n. 12.

⁷¹ Cf. Geertz 1964, Geertz and Geertz 1975, for exemplary analysis of such articulations in Balinese villages.

⁷² *IG* i³ 977–80; Connor 1988*b*, Schörner and Goette 2004; Jim 2012; Graf 2013, 123–7. Archedemos did not start the cult (there is evidence of worship from c.600), but he probably made it more widely known.

before 507, including perhaps the Sounian members of the *genos* Salaminioi. Phratries are likely to have retained control of the altars at which they celebrated the *Apatouria* throughout the classical period, but some of them may in pre-Kleisthenic times have controlled other cults, responsibility for which in some cases passed sooner or later to the demes. This would perhaps be most likely to happen where there was a large overlap between deme and phratry membership; Rhamnous may be an example.⁷³ It is noteworthy that the sanctuary of Apollo Zoster in Halai Aixonides, which seems to have been managed by the deme in the fourth century, shows little sign of activity before c.500; it may never have been a phratry centre.

Even this small collection of examples illustrates the range of variations in the articulation of demes with phratries and *gene*. Aphidnai was a large deme on the northern frontier of Attika containing several constituent villages that retained a sense of independence, sold property separately in the public sale of (?) c.321,⁷⁴ and eventually became demes; two of these villages, Titakidai and Thyrgonidai, may have been the bases of the local phratry and/or *genê*. Another *genos*, the Gephyraioi, had become prominent in the city as a result of its relations with the Peisistratidai. Its prestige, and the peripheral position of Aphidnai and its villages, may have influenced the latter in their decision not to seek independent deme status. On the other hand, Kleisthenes' reforms encouraged the division into independent demes of other clusters of settlements—the Tetrapolis of Marathon, Oinoe, Trikorynthos and Probalinthos, the Tetrakomoi Peiraios, Phaleron, Xypete, and Thymaitadai, and some smaller groups. This did not put a stop to the activities of such local *amphiktyonies* (if any were destroyed by Kleisthenes' reforms, we would not know about them), but it encouraged a sharper division of financial responsibilities between their constituent demes, and may have accentuated other lines of cleavage created by phratry and *genos* affiliations.⁷⁵ Questions of articulation between demes and other bodies still seem to leave their traces in the politics of the early fifth century. When (as argued in ch. 20) Kimon incorporated the *Oschophoria*, a *genos* festival of the Salaminioi, into his cult of Theseus in the 470s, he strengthened in the large city demes Alopeke and Phaleron a group that had been weakened by the migration of many of its members to Sounion in the late sixth century, and had lost ground in Alopeke to

⁷³ See however ch. 31 n. 72.

⁷⁴ N. 62. Lambert 1997*a*, Stele II F 7 B, col. 2. 3–26, sales by the *komarchoi* (n. 89) of Hyporeia and Petalidai; ch. 31 n. 19.

⁷⁵ See ch. 24 nn. 47, 70, on Plotheia and Erchia and 26 n. 48 on Eupyridai. Probalinthos may have been in conflict with Marathon over access to the sea and control of the Herakleion; Phaleron may have been drawn away from the other members of the Tetrakomoi, to some extent, by rivalry with Peiraios and by its relations with the *genê* Phoinikes and Salaminioi and perhaps with the phratry based at Alopeke.

the prestige of the Alkmaionidai and of the Kallias/Hipponikos family of the Eleusinian Kerykes.⁷⁶

Demes were differentially affected by processes of migration that continued after Kleisthenes' reforms, as well as those that preceded it. An early process of migration from the city to the countryside had in the ninth to eighth centuries repopulated areas left empty after the crisis at the end of the Bronze Age; the leaders of this movement probably continued to look towards Athens as the prestige centre of the region, and the development of formal competition for political office in the seventh and sixth centuries had drawn many ambitious men back to establish themselves in or near the city.⁷⁷ A second outward movement took place in the second half of the sixth century, as the introduction of coinage and the discovery of sources of silver in south-east Attika encouraged settlement in the narrow valleys of that area. The growth of trade in the sixth century probably also encouraged internal migration to Phaleron and Piraeus. These two movements were still continuing at the time of Kleisthenes' reforms, and persisted throughout the classical period, as did the tendency of ambitious men in rural demes to move to the city, or at least acquire second homes there. Themistokles—who belonged to the *genos* Lykomidai, was a demesman of Phrearrhioi, and lived in the city, in Melite—perhaps illustrates this double movement of migration, his father having moved from the Phlya area (the *genos* base) to Phrearrhioi as a base for mining operations, which were successful enough for the son to compete successfully in politics and acquire a town house.⁷⁸ Purchase of land in the mining demes and of town houses in Piraeus and the city continued throughout our period; movement from the urban area to rural demes, and from one rural area to another, was rarer but by no means unknown. Surprisingly, we find upland Ikarion obliging resident non-demesmen to undertake choregiai in the later fifth century.⁷⁹ Both migration to the

⁷⁶ See the arguments in Humphreys 1999 and ch. 19 s. 'Oschophoria'. I recognize that parts of this reconstruction are built on thin ice. What I would stress here is that we should expect discrepancies in the boundaries of demes, phratries, and *genè*, migrations of phratry and *genos* members, and competition between leading families with varying sources of prestige, to play an important role in politics in the early decades of the deme system (cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 5).

⁷⁷ See the discussion of movements of *gennetai* in ch. 20 at n. 57. D'Onofrio 1995 remains valuable on migration.

⁷⁸ We do not know that Themistokles' father engaged in mining, but Themistokles was clearly well-informed about the discovery of new lodes of silver at lower levels c.483 (A.P. 22. 7). Again, I am more interested in probable patterns than in biographical facts. Family success in mining might explain the characterization of Themistokles as a *novus homo* picked up by Hdt. (7. 143).

⁷⁹ IG i³ 254, cf. P. Wilson 2015. There are a number of studies of internal migration in Attika, based on literary evidence and on tombstones: see R. G. Osborne 1985a (p. 60, Table 5), Damsgaard-Madsen 1988; Etienne and Muller 2007; C. Taylor 2011. They construct their own regional categories, which makes comparison impossible. It should be recognized that burial in the Kerameikos does not necessarily imply residence in or near the city, and (in studies of marriage) that some in-deme marriages take place between families from rural demes that form part of the same diaspora community in the city or Piraeus,

urban area and the purchase of rural land by outsiders evidently intensified during the Peloponnesian War. The wealthy young men condemned in 415 for mutilating Herms and parodying the Mysteries had property scattered both in Attika and overseas.⁸⁰

There was thus a range of variation from demes with a high proportion of incomers—metics as well as citizens in the case of urban demes, slaves in the mining demes—to rural demes that were much more homogeneous in population. There will also have been a difference between rural demes whose leading families had mostly migrated to the city area, keeping up at best a tenuous and intermittent participation in deme affairs—as we shall see, Paiania may be an example—and others in which there was a solid core of well-to-do resident demesmen (Rhamnous). Some demes were flooded with temporary visitors on the occasion of festivals: Eleusis is the most conspicuous case. A deme that put on theatrical performances for the Rural Dionysia could probably expect to draw part of the audience from neighbouring villages, and might well bring in playwright-producers and actors from outside. Most demes would probably have at least one assembly meeting in the deme, perhaps timed to coincide with a major festival,⁸¹ and could expect a fair proportion of non-resident demesmen to attend. However, a small deme like Philaidai, which hosted a major festival only once every four years (the Brauronia) may have been (at least from a man's point of view) a sleepy little place the rest of the time. A building programme could also create a period of heightened movement, bustle, and economic activity, both in the deme where construction was taking place and in others where high-quality stone was available.⁸² The regular presence of garrisons of epheboi and other troops became a significant element in the life of Eleusis, Peiraios, and Rhamnous; smaller detachments were also stationed elsewhere.⁸³

No deme in Attika could really be termed isolated. Demesmen served their term in the city as councillors, and travelled as hoplites or rowers; wealthy men

while some marriages between families from different demes are endogamous from the point of view of residential community. Osborne (*ibid.* ch. 6 and appendices 8–10) also studies land-ownership in the mining demes (cf. Bissa 2008). The stories of large slave forces owned by rich men in the 5th c. (Hipponikos, Nikias) may imply that there were fewer landowners in the mining area in that period.

⁸⁰ *IG* i³ 418–430; individual cases are discussed below under the owners' demes (see especially ch. 24 n. 32). The landowners among the accused had presumably already inherited from their fathers, but may also have acquired some plots themselves.

⁸¹ See below nn. 115, 117 on dates of deme meetings.

⁸² Quarries on Mt Pentelikon were exploited for marble used in city projects, but demand for stone was always erratic, and there was little attempt to exploit quarries systematically; hence the question of 'ownership' may not—*pace* Papazarkadas 2011, 229–30—have arisen. Good quality building stone was available in many parts of Attika, and deme projects mostly used local stone. See Goette 1991; ch. 30 n. 75. Tracy's work on stone-cutters shows that some of them worked for rural demes as well as carving inscriptions in the city.

⁸³ Whitehead 1986*a*, Appendix 6; see also Aphidnai (ch. 31 n. 20).

walked or rode to and fro between their town houses and country estates; poorer men, or slave mule-drivers, carried charcoal from Acharnai, firewood from Kytherros, salt and fish from coastal demes, and farm produce from all over Attika, to the urban area; pedlars and craftsmen travelled round the countryside. Wealthy young men went on hunting expeditions in the hills, and references to the game available in city markets suggest that hunting may also have been a profitable part-time occupation for poorer inhabitants of upland demes.⁸⁴

The individuality of a deme came from a combination of its topography and ecology, settlement pattern, cults, sacred and public buildings (on *leschai* see ch. 20 n. 3, 32 n. 98), inscriptions and monuments, myths, the occupations of its population, and the character of its leading families. Rhamnous has recovered some of its distinctive identity through excavation of the fortified town by the shore, the tomb-lined street leading from it to the temples of Nemesis and Themis, and the extension inland of this monumental road. At Halai Aixonides the layout was different: the deme's inhabitants lived in at least two separate hamlets, both separated from the coast by the lagoon from which the deme got its name, while its religious centre, used for the publication of deme documents and perhaps for deme meetings, was the sanctuary of Apollo Zoster on the narrowest part of the peninsula on the west side of the bay of Vouliagmeni, where the harbour would also have been (map, Goette 2001 fig. 51). There were also burials by the road from the settlements to the sanctuary. Ikarion, where archaeologists in the 1890s found the deme centre more or less untouched by post-classical activity, was situated on the north slopes of Mt Pentelikon; the centre of the settlement contained an area used for theatre performances (with a row of marble seats for dignitaries, probably donated in the fourth century), a colossal archaic statue of Dionysos, monuments commemorating choregic victories, and a Pythion, containing other monuments recording participation in ceremonial embassies to Delphi. The deme claimed that its eponymous hero Ikarios had learned to make wine from Dionysos and had introduced the drink to Attika, and also that the earliest Attic theatrical performances had taken place here. The settlement, scattered over the hillside above and east of the main square and along the Plotheia road, may have looked a good deal less formal in its layout than Rhamnous or even Halai. The main route across Pentelikon from the Athenian plain probably passed further west and north. Nevertheless, grave monuments were set up along the tracks that

⁸⁴ Xenophon, *Econ.* 11. 15–18; *Lys.* 1. 11, 20; R. G. Osborne 1985*a*, 16. Discussion of types of residence in rural areas—year-round home of proprietor, bailiff's house, temporary occupation—in R. G. Osborne 1992; Jameson 1994*a*; Lohmann 1992*a*, 2010*b*; Nevett 2005. Firewood from (?) Kytherros (plus grain and wine), [Dem.] 42. 5, 7, 20; cf. ch. 21 nn. 80, 82 on Oropos. Game: e.g. Ar. *Peace* 1149–50, 1195–7, 1313. Salt was not only produced in the two demes called Halai: see chs. 26 n. 90; Langdon 2010. Whitehead 1986*a*, ch. 11 collects references to deme products in comedy. *SEG* 35. 229/38. 51b, Timarchide[s] Anaphlystios on a tile at Rhamnous, a travelling craftsman?

linked Ikarion with neighbouring demes.⁸⁵ It may well have been normal to approach a deme centre along a road lined with tombs. On might also, however, see tombs perched above the road at conspicuous points in hilly areas, tomb-terraces on hillsides, or even walled enclosures not unlike modern cemeteries.⁸⁶

Family and community histories were embodied in the landscape. Classical Athenians were almost as distant in time from the oldest structures visible in Attika as we are from them, and had their own ways of domesticating the past. Hills, some perhaps with visible remains of Bronze Age settlement, might be reserved for the use of the gods (the Pagos and Polis at Erchia, Kiapha Thiti and Thiti at Lamptraí, perhaps the low mound of Plasi at Marathon). This was also, of course, the pattern in Athens itself. Primitive-looking archaic statues became a source of pride, as at Myrrhinous, and were repaired, as at Ikarion. The hero-tombs pointed out to Pausanias and other tourists had probably contained Mycenaean burials. Cult was attracted to peaks and caves by a numinousness we would class as natural; we would perhaps come closer to Greek culture by thinking of a felt affinity between the work of interpretation of the remarkable and the possibility of communicating with its level of reality (or indeed of telephone cable-posts in remote areas where mobile phone reception is poor).⁸⁷ Mines, too, received names linking them to the protection of deities and heroes, Artemis being considered especially appropriate.

Sub-settlements within demes, and even farms, had their own cults. Archaeological research has identified three settlement areas in Sounion: on the promontory, by the sanctuaries of Athena and Poseidon; in the Agrileza valley, exploited for silver and stone; and at Pasa Limani, perhaps the Porthmos where the *genos* Salaminioi had its cult of Herakles. The balance of population seems to have shifted between these settlements over time, Pasa Limani becoming more important in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, while the Agrileza valley probably reached its greatest density in the fourth century BCE; but even here, where the motives for settlement seem strictly economic, one of the farms had its own sacred calendar, and there surely must have been some cultic activity in the agora.⁸⁸ The use of *kômachidês* as a term of address for a country neighbour in

⁸⁵ For more detailed topographical discussion and references see e.g. chs. 24 n. 20, 29 n. 129. A good collection of air photographs in Vlachopoulos 2010. The Suda's statement (s.v. *Thespis*, 282) that Th. was a demesman of Ikarion probably derives only from an attempt to reconcile conflicting traditions on the origins of tragedy.

⁸⁶ Tomb enclosure at Anagyrous, Humphreys 1983a/1993, 100, fig. 2; terraces at Vari and Thorikos; conspicuous isolated tombs in Ikarion area (Buck 1892, 43, 50) and mining district (Salliora-Oikonomakou 1985, 132). For possible burial areas shared by demes cf. Paiania (ch. 25 n. 18) and Erchia (ch. 24 n. 67).

⁸⁷ Cf. ch. 14 n. 68 on communication-points for powers of the underworld.

⁸⁸ See below, ch. 26 s. 'Sounion'; on the movement of population centres over time, S. B. Sutton 1994. Multiple-centre demes: see also Prospalta ch. 27 n. 45; Kephale *ibid.* n. 53; Azenia ch. 30 n. 119; Atene ch. 32 n. 90; Phrearrhioi ch. 26 s. 'Phrearrhioi'; Halai Aixonides ch. 29 n. 129.

Aristophanes' *Peace* (1142) suggests that residential (political?) identity was often anchored in a hamlet rather than a deme-centre.⁸⁹ Villages and hamlets, too, may have varied in form, some clustering relatively tightly round a sanctuary or cross-roads, while others consisted of farmhouses spread out along a narrow valley or scattered over a small plain. Archaeologists engaged in survey work increasingly emphasize that all forms of settlement can be found in Attika, from an isolated building on an *eschatía*—at the end of the track, perhaps only used intermittently—to a densely-packed urban warren of streets.⁹⁰

Specialization also meant that the cultic map of Attika was a network of overlapping local *amphiktyonies*. Deme calendars not only show us that demesmen moved round their territory in the course of the cultic year, sacrificing to different gods in different sanctuaries; they also, explicitly or by their gaps and omissions, tell us that on various occasions demesmen left their deme, either to visit sanctuaries in neighbouring demes or to attend festivals in the city. Some deme texts might almost be classified as treaties, specifying the mutual obligations of the deme and the cult personnel of a sanctuary that it does not control (see ch. 25 n. 19 on *IG* i³ 250). 'Control' is perhaps in any case a misleading term. Sanctuaries were owned by gods.⁹¹ It was the responsibility of their mortal managers to see that priests or priestesses succeeded each other without any hiatus, that a regular pattern of sacrifices was kept up, and that perquisites from these sacrifices were duly apportioned. Groups responsible for management, in this sense, were hardly entitled to exclude outsiders from participation, and may well have had some ambition to attract visitors, if their funds could provide a sufficiently generous

⁸⁹ Cf. the division of Peiraios into triakades, 'thirties', in *IG* ii² 1214; N. F. Jones 2000; Kakavogiannes 2001 on the mining area. The term *kômarchos* is sometimes difficult to interpret, because it seems to have been influenced both by *kômê*, village, and by *kômos*, dance/revel (see P. Roussel 1941, and ch. 29 n. 28); however, the two meanings were probably linked because in demes containing more than one settlement centre demesmen would tend to group themselves by village and hamlet at festivals. We do not know whether the trikomai (and trikomarchos) of *IG* ii² 1213, found at Spata (Erchia) were subordinate hamlets of a single deme or separate demes. The dedication by an Acharnian komarchos *IG* ii³ 4. 234 seems to be related to a komos competition; see ch. 28 n. 28, on the absence of evidence for subordinate villages in this deme. Komarchos occurs as a personal name in *IG* i³ 1160. 8 (c.450) and elsewhere.

⁹⁰ Cf. R. G. Osborne 1992; Lohmann 1992a, 35–8; Lohmann 2010b; Steinhauer 1994a.

⁹¹ See the discussion of sacred property in Papazarkadas 2011, 240–3. The relation between sanctuaries and territory is more complex than some versions of Polignac's hypothesis (1984, revised 1994) suggest. Ritual boundaries shift over time (ch. 20 n. 20; Jameson 2004), and communities may reach out to centres of numinous energy beyond their borders before they (in some cases) appropriate them. In Attika there is considerable evidence of cultic activity in the 8th–7th centuries at peak sanctuaries (Langdon 1976), which can hardly have figured in territorial claims at that date, and attracted less attention in later centuries (although Erchia continued to send an annual deputation on Thargelion 16 to the sanctuary of Zeus Epakrios, probably on Hymettos, *LS* 18, E 58–64). In the emptier landscape of the early archaic period the counter-attractions of incorporated and unattached divine power may well have been more distinctly felt than in later ages (cf. Fowden 1988 for parallel phenomena in late antiquity).

supply of meat.⁹² In some cases neighbouring demes were expected to contribute: the small deme Plotheia (one councillor), which perhaps had its own sanctuary of Herakles and cult of Aphrodite, also made financial contributions for the Apollonia celebrated by the Epakreis, perhaps a local phratry, and for the Anakia, perhaps celebrated in the neighbouring deme Anakaia; in addition, contributions were sent to Athens for the Pandia, and to the centres where penteteric festivals were held; and a contingency fund was set up to cover any irregular demands, perhaps to buy victims for sacrifices made in crisis situations.⁹³ The expectation that many demesmen will travel to Athens or Eleusis for major festivals such as the City Dionysia and the Mysteries is also visible in calendars in cases where sacrifices in the deme before and/or after such festivals bracket a gap in which there is no cultic activity in the deme (cf. Mikalson 1977). Silences in calendars are as significant as prescriptions. For example, the absence of any reference to a local cult of Demeter in the Erchian calendar requires us to ask where Erchian women celebrated the Thesmophoria (more research on women's amphiktyonies is needed; cf. chs. 12 n. 31, 31 n. 50).

As I have argued elsewhere (Humphreys 2004, 134–5), the attribution of agency in the development of cult to the gods left space for negotiation in the relationship between cult activities at deme level and at 'state' level, with many of the initiatives perhaps coming from below. Collective participation by demes in city festivals is unlikely to have been regulated by law in any detail, if at all. Distributions of meat at the annual Panathenaia were made by deme, in proportion to the size of the deme's contingent in the procession; this arrangement probably relates not only to the variations in deme population but also to some freedom for a deme to determine the size of its contingent each year.⁹⁴ Such negotiation seems to be visible in the arrangements for celebration after 490 of the Herakleia at Marathon,⁹⁵ for payments to the sanctuary of Poseidon at

⁹² At the Apatouria each phrater was expected to travel to his own phratry centre, although there may have been some use of city altars (cf. ch. 19 n. 124). There was, however, no comparable festival for demes. Deme festivals varied in importance and in the number and size of sacrificial victims, some perhaps being attended only by the demarch, other officials, and a few cronies (R. Parker 2005a, 66), others more like rural fairs (P. Wilson 2012; ch. 25 n. 46).

⁹³ *IG* i³ 258, c.420; see ch. 24 nn. 47–51. Cf., for other examples of deme calendars including sacrifices made outside the deme, Thorikos and Erchia; deme calendars on Kos, Kokkorou-Alevras 2004. It seems conceivable that the 500 she-goats sacrificed to Artemis Agrotera on Boedromion 6 to commemorate the battle of Marathon (Xen. *Anab.* 3. 2. 12) had originally been contributed by demes in proportion to the number of councillors they appointed.

⁹⁴ *IG* ii³ 447. 50–53 (see Rosivach 1991); Whitehead 1986a, 137 assumes that the deme determined the size of its deputation. [Dem.] 44. 37 implies that a cash theorikon paid to Athenians who attended the Greater Panathenaia was distributed by demarchs (Whitehead 110 in my view misinterprets this passage, which surely does not refer to a formal deme assembly, but to an ad hoc meeting of a substantial number of demesmen in the city). Cf. *IG* i³ 82. 12.

⁹⁵ *IG* i³ 3; [*phylē*]s in l. 5 is restored but seems clearly right. Cf. ch. 31 n. 45. Aleshire 1994a points out the problematic character of the concept 'state cult'.

Sounion,⁹⁶ and for the use of the Nymphs' spring at Porto Loumbardo.⁹⁷ There must also have been consultation over the collection of the *aparchai* for Eleusis.

Demes may also have decided, or at least influenced, the selection of sanctuaries whose funds came to be stored on the Akropolis and managed by the Treasurers of the Other Gods.⁹⁸ It does not seem to be determined by fear of military attack; since we have other evidence that deme sanctuaries lent money in the fifth century,⁹⁹ it seems quite possible that demes (and/or other groups responsible for cult) had seen an opportunity in the state's need for cash, and had themselves decided to lend the money, which was being repaid but kept on the Akropolis for future use.¹⁰⁰

The variation in the relations of demes to other cult-managing bodies, which has already been noted, implied variation in their financial responsibilities and means of paying for them. We know very little about how demes initially built up capital. The most that can be said at present—based mainly on texts from Rhamnous and Ikarion—is that demes which in the fifth century took over management of local sanctuaries (perhaps because there was a large overlap between deme membership and membership of the body previously responsible) were able to increase their capital quite rapidly. Two factors perhaps contributed especially

⁹⁶ *IG* i³ 8. Sounion would be a convenient place for ships to wait out a strong Meltemi, either if they were headed from Athens out into the Aegean or if they had come south inside or outside Euboia and their destination was Piraeus. Athena may also have been concerned (l. 5). The names of the proposers of decree and rider (Kallimachos, Antibios) are not so far attested for Sounion, but this proves nothing about the source of the original initiative. Details of interpretation are controversial, but do not affect the point made here. R. Parker 1996, 149–51 points out that visiting ships would not all be Athenian. *IG* i³ 130, perhaps concerning a cult of Apollo at Phaleron, may be a parallel (ch. 31 n. 6).

⁹⁷ Porto Loumbardo: see Humphreys 2004, 135–6 n. 15; Bultrighini 2015. On the deme-affiliation of the bay see ch. 23 s. 'Lamptrai'. There was a large farm (?) and a small settlement on the east side of the valley (Lauter 1980), but the spring may not have been in sight of any residential community; the nymphs were expected to use their own powers (of possession) to enforce their rights (see Humphreys 1988, 470–3). Eleusis: *IG* i³ 78 = *IEleus* 28. See also ch. 28 n. 35 for Acharnai's appeal to Delphi in the 4th c. for support concerning innovations in its cult of Ares and Athena Areia; ch. 26 n. 48 for *IG* ii² 1362; and ch. 20 n. 69 for the tax for the cult of Theseus, collected by tax-farmers possibly from families claiming descent from Minotaur victims.

⁹⁸ Humphreys 2004, 137–9. Kennelly 2003 argues for a date after the Samian revolt; not 434/3. See also Samons 2000, 212–29.

⁹⁹ *IG* i³ 52 was found at Charvati, in the church of Agios Athanasios (see now P. J. Rhodes 2015); the same cutter inscribed *IG* i³ 255 (ch. 21 p. 767), 256 *bis* (Thorikos), and 258 (Plotheia), but also 1179, a casualty list found in the Akademy. Jameson (*per. ep.*, 1998) and Matthaïou (2005, 100) thought that there would have been two copies, one on the Akropolis and another perhaps in the sanctuary of Athena Pallenis (ch. 32 n. 40). However, stones definitely travelled from the city to the Charvati area (Goette 1998) and one does not see why a single extra-urban sanctuary should be privileged in this way. It is even possible (certainly for i³ 258, which is small) that a deme might get an inscription cut in the city.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. chs. 29 n. 127, 30 n. 11, 31 n. 6. Once instituted, these treasurers started to acquire other functions: they receive rent from the temenos of Neleus, Kodros, and Basile, *IG* i³ 84 (418/7). Collection of valuable objects in their care might also have developed after the use of coin for loans. Cf. Humphreys 2004, 138 n. 22.

to this increase: a tradition of *noblesse oblige* which encouraged office-holders to pay deme expenses from their own resources rather than use the funds made available to them, and a shortage of cash in rural areas which led relatively wealthy and ambitious men to take loans in order to pay for their expenses as trierarchs and choregoi, and for the other cash demands of city life.¹⁰¹ Plotheia (*IG* i³ 258) seems to have collected contributions from demesmen and built up funds that were used to defray the deme's obligations to other bodies, as well as its own expenses; one of these funds was actually called the *ateleia* (freedom from dues) fund. This deme also received income from rents, either of land attached to sanctuaries or of land that had been pledged as security by borrowers who were unable subsequently to pay off debts; however, it is noteworthy that on present evidence, such as it is, we have more testimony of demes drawing revenue from cash loans than from land in the fifth century, while in the fourth century the balance is reversed.¹⁰²

Starting from varied bases, demes also reacted in individual ways to new opportunities for collective activity that presented themselves during the fifth century. Imitation at the Rural Dionysia of the dramatic performances staged in the city seems to have started near the beginning of deme existence at Thorikos, where the retaining wall of the theatre area is dated to the early fifth century; Ikarion too must have had dramatic performances from early in its existence as a deme, even if we reject its claim to have preceded the city itself in staging tragedies. The fashion spread, perhaps only gradually, to a number of the larger demes, though by no means all of them; many of these, however, perhaps staged performances in the deme agora, with temporary seating for spectators. Purpose-built deme theatres may have been relatively rare.¹⁰³ Theatrical performances are likely in some cases to have increased interest in deme heroes whose stories figured in them: Kephalos is the obvious example. This is a clear field where dialogue took place between city culture and local culture; it is sometimes hard for us to

¹⁰¹ See ch. 24 n. 24 on Ikarion and ch. 31 s. 'Rhamnous' on Rhamnous. They may have taken over management from locally-based phratries (it is also not inconceivable that in some cases sanctuaries had been managed by naukrariai, or that some *genê* voluntarily transferred financial management to demes, while perhaps retaining rights to priesthoods). Cf. also ch. 24 n. 89 on Kydantidai (*IG* i³ 247), ch. 29 n. 51 on Sypalettos (i³ 245); V. Chankowski 2005.

¹⁰² It is unclear whether the practice of dividing deme funds among a number of individuals or boards as managers (see Jameson 1982; Papazarkadas 2011, 115) is in any way related to the structure of the demes concerned and their articulation with other bodies that had claims on sanctuaries, or was merely a security precaution. See Plotheia (ch. 24 at n. 47), Kytherros (Table 25.4), Erchia (ch. 24 n. 70), Athmonon (ch. 29 n. 66), and Rhamnous (ch. 31 n. 77).

¹⁰³ On the evidence for theatrical performances at the Rural Dionysia see Whitehead 1986*a*, 212–22; Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 42–56; Csapo and Slater 1995, 124–32; A. Martin 1995; Csapo 2010*a*, 2010*b*. Add to Whitehead's list Lamptraï (*IG* ii² 1161), Euonymon (ch. 23 n. 5), Myrrhinous (ch. 25 n. 46), and Halimous (ch. 26 n. 12). Kollytos (ch. 24 p. 848) is the only urban deme (apart from Peiraios) for which performances are attested. On funding see P. Wilson 2010*a*; note the guardian's claim in Lys. 32. 21 to have provided a sacrificial lamb for himself and his wards at the Dionysia.

decide whether choregic monuments set up in the demes record victories won in the deme or in the city.¹⁰⁴

Ambitious choregoi in the demes evidently tried to attract well-known playwrights and actors for their productions, and this is likely to have encouraged some variation in the dates on which demes celebrated their Dionysia. Dates in any case need not have been closely fixed, until or unless they were specified in a written deme calendar; there were some obvious advantages to flexibility in deciding the date of outdoor theatrical performances in the month Posideion (December–January). Thus, when the influence of the city and the desire to attract non-resident demesmen (and non-demesmen) led in some cases to a fixed date, the dates chosen varied. Myrrhinous had a deme meeting to deal with business arising from the Dionysia on Posideion 19; Ikarion possibly held its equivalent meeting two days earlier.¹⁰⁵

Greek religious festivals were not like saints' days, their dates fixed by a central church authority. Some of them were tied to the order of months because months were named for them, but even here there are some variations between one polis and another in the location of months in the solar year (ch. 18 n. 56). The construction of a central Athenian calendar with fixed dates for festivals did not automatically provide a model for the demes (or the communities from which they emerged), because the central calendar produced centrifugal as well as centripetal impulses. Major city festivals tended to displace the corresponding deme celebrations. Erchia sacrificed to Dionysos and Semele on Elaphebolion 16, just after the City Dionysia; Thorikos' sacrifice to Demeter in Boedromion was presumably connected with the Mysteries, celebrated on Boedromion 13–23, but may not have coincided with them. The Erchians went to Athens on 12 Metageitnion, very probably for a deme assembly, and sacrificed there to Demeter, Apollo Lykeios, Zeus Polieus, and Athena Polias; the Eleusinia may have begun on the following day.¹⁰⁶

Differences of scale between Athenian and local celebrations may also have led to creative reinterpretations and modifications of the latter. The Plynteria, celebrated in Athens on Thargelion 25, occurred in Thorikos in the following month,

¹⁰⁴ See Anagyrous (ch. 23 n. 53); Eleusis (ch. 30 n. 69); Csapo 2004, 57–66, 2010*b*.

¹⁰⁵ Myrrhinous, *IG* ii² 1183. 36–7 (P. Wilson 2012); Ikarion, *IG* i³ 254. 28, 7th, 17th, or 23rd (month is uncertain; ch. 24 n. 29). *SEG* 43. 26 B was probably passed at an equivalent meeting in Acharnai. Plat. *Rep.* 475d does not necessarily imply visits to more than one Rural Dionysia per year. See Csapo and Slater 1995, 124–32; P. Wilson 2010*a*, 39.

¹⁰⁶ See discussions of individual demes; also ch. 31 n. 50, for sacrifices 'before' (*pro*) the Mysteries and Skira, and the sacrifice of a black goat to Gê on the first day of the City Dionysia. Cf. Mikalson 1977, and objections in Whitehead 1986*a*, 187–8 n. 63. I would not claim to find a 'clear pattern' of avoidance by demes of major city festival dates (in any case, one would expect topography and history—of both festivals and demes—to affect any pattern); I am concerned to identify factors that generated variation in deme calendars.

Skirophorion; Erchia too may have celebrated local Plynteria, on Skirophorion 3. The festival linked the purification of sacred space to the turn of the year, both solar and civic; sacrifices were made to Athena and Aglauros, the latter associated with epheboi as well as with the cult of Athena on the Akropolis. In Athens the tabooing of the Akropolis and the cessation of public business is likely to have made the ritual seem more gloomy and awesome than in a village, where the separations of sacred and secular, public and private space and roles were less marked. At Thorikos, the euthynos and paredroi appointed to examine the accounts of outgoing magistrates swore their oath at the Plynteria; the sinister associations of the festival, even if more marked in the city than in the deme context, may have influenced the choice of date.¹⁰⁷ The recognition that local and city festivals are ‘the same’ does not necessarily lead to conformity in date or in all details of ritual, but to a process of dialogic innovation.

A similar process may perhaps be seen, at least in some demes, in the case of the festival variously called *Prérosia*, *Plérosia*, *Proérosia*. *Proérosia* is the term used in the fourth-century sacred calendar from Eleusis; the hierophant and a herald formally announced the festival on Pyanopsion 5, and it probably took place on the following day. The forms *pro-érosia* or *pro-éresia* were interpreted as ‘before the ploughing’; in the Lykourgan period Athens claimed that the initial sacrifice, in mythical times, had averted plague from the Greeks. The sacrifice at Eleusis may (as is usually assumed) have been associated with the ritual ploughing of the ‘Rarian field’; however, we should not assume that a link with ploughing was self-evident or accepted by all groups in Attika. Names, dates, and deities all varied. Paiania celebrated Prerosia in an Eleusinion (possibly that of the city) early in the Attic year, offering a ‘prerosia-beginning’ lamb to Daira, an adult female prerosia-victim, presumably to Demeter, a male piglet, and two pigs, one male and one female, ‘for the prerosia-barley’. Myrrhinous, in the late fourth century, sacrificed Plerosia [*sic*] to Zeus on the fifth day of an early month in the year (Metageitnion?) and held its main deme assembly, at which the meat was distributed, two days later. Thorikos seems to have sacrificed Prerosia in Boedromion (possibly also in Hekatombaion), the recipient being (?) Zeus Polieus, perhaps in associations with Kephalos and Thorikos. My suspicion is that the Prerosia, perhaps once a festival of the beginning of the phratry year held early in Pyanopsion, while at Eleusis it had kept this date and accumulated agricultural associations appropriate to the cult of the two goddesses, had in some demes kept its association with turn-of-the-year assembly meetings and had thus

¹⁰⁷ IG i³ 256 bis (SEG 33. 147). Cf. Humphreys 2004, 162 n. 80; R. Parker 2005a, 479; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 135–40; Burkert 1970b on turn-of-year purification festivals and the myths associated with them. There may also be an association between Aglauros and preparations for the admission of new epheboi, who would perhaps already swear an oath in the precinct of Aglauros after parading before the Council (n. 45 above; Siewert 1977; ch. 21 n. 69; cf. R. Parker 1996, 253–4).

moved to earlier months; the form *Plérosia*, related to the adjective *plérês*, ‘full’, might derive from an association with assembly meetings, as a corruption or, from the point of view of its users, correction based on folk etymology, and Zeus Polieus might replace Demeter, as a more appropriate patron of assemblies.¹⁰⁸

It will be clear from the above discussion that demes did not all hold their assembly meetings on the same dates; nor, presumably, did they all hold the same number of meetings in a year. There were some uniform constraints: every deme had to produce a panel of potential councillors before the final steps in the process of selecting and approving the new year’s Council were taken; appoint a new demarch; and scrutinize the year’s eighteen-year-olds before they appeared in front of the Council for their dokimasia (probably in Boedromion).¹⁰⁹ Most if not all demes will have had some procedure for scrutinizing and approving the accounts of outgoing deme officials. Variation was introduced, in the first place, by size; all these tasks took longer in a large deme than in a small one. Furthermore, additional tasks were introduced, on an ad hoc basis, in response to crises and problems as they arose. Demes decided to impose oaths on office-holders, divide responsibilities by appointing treasurers, secretaries, or other officials in addition to demarchs, call extra meetings to deal with specific matters (such as the Rural Dionysia), etc.¹¹⁰

Scrutiny of new members and elections seem to have taken place at the same meeting in Leukonoion, but not in Otryne, where the election meeting took

¹⁰⁸ Eleusis: *IEleus* 175. 3–7; cf. N. D. Robertson 1996*a* (probably not a deme calendar, ch. 30 n. 70). As R. Parker notes (1996, 47), ‘announcing’ may be a survival from a period when the festival did not have a fixed date; id. 2005*a*, 198 n. 23, proerosiai in demes only after the Eleusinian one (I am not so sure). However, I resist the view that the agricultural associations of the festival are primary. Festivals mark conjunctures in time (social, agricultural, astronomical); if these conjunctures are destabilized, groups may vary in their reactions. Eleusis propagated agriculturalizing interpretations of ritual, which were subsequently incorporated into the discourses on primitive religion of Greek rationalists, Christian polemicists, and 19th-century anthropologists. See Humphreys 1993, xxiii–xxv; 2004, ch. 5; Foxhall 1995*b*. In Peiraios (*IG* ii² 1177) the *Plerósiai* [*sic*] is a festival of women, dated after the Thesmophoria if the order in the text follows the calendar year (but see ch. 30 n. 6). Interpretation of the Paiania text *IG* i³ 250 is very problematic. Threatte (1980, 479–80) does not find any certain examples of R–L dissimilation, and doubts if Plerosia and Prerosia are related; my assumption of a folk-etymology connection may mitigate this difficulty. Cf. Humphreys 2004, 142–4, 157. Paiania, *IG* i³ 250; Thorikos, *IG* i³ 256 *bis*. Zeus: however, in Lykourgos F XIV 4 Conomis 1970 and in Harpokration (Dindorf 1853, II p. 3) *ton Dia* is (rightly) emended to *tēi Dēōi*.

¹⁰⁹ The date of the beginning of the Council year fluctuated (between Skirophorion and Hekatombaion, P. J. Rhodes 1972, 224) until ? 407/6 (Pritchett 2001, 181), when it was tied to the lunar year. It should not be taken for granted that all demes held assembly meetings to select potential councillors; possibly a deme oligarchy might organize this without a formal meeting. Aixone appears to have held an *agora kyria* towards the end of the archon-year, *IG* ii² 1202 (ch. 29 n. 114). See also A. Chankowski 2015.

¹¹⁰ See discussion of variation in the number of deme officials appointed, and their functions, in Whitehead 1986*a*, 139–47 (add tamias and epimeletes of the Dionysia in Acharnai, *SEG* 43. 26). Some of the named offices in his list pp. 140–3 were only filled on an ad hoc basis (syndikoi, horistai), as were kleteres (cf. ch. 21 n. 86). For paredroi, associated with euthynoi in Halai Aixonides (*IG* ii² 1174) and Thorikos (*SEG* 33. 147) see Whitehead 117–19.

place before the Panathenaia and the introduction of new members after it.¹¹¹ Erchia, which probably held its election meeting in the city on Metageitnion 12 (see below), may perhaps have admitted new deme members on Skirophorion 3, on which date Aglauros received a sacrifice.¹¹² The speaker of Lysias 21 was admitted to his deme early enough in 411/0 to be appointed choregos.¹¹³ Thorikos, which held a meeting in Skirophorion at which an oath was administered to the deme euthynos and his paredroi, seems to have held another meeting in Metageitnion at which they presented their findings, and may have had further assemblies in Hekatombaion(?) and in Boedromion on the days on which the deme sacrificed Prerosia (in Boedromion to Zeus Polieus). We do not know the date of admission of new candidates; elections presumably took place in Hekatombaion at the latest.¹¹⁴ Halai Aixonides conducted euthynai in Hekatombaion; Ikarion granted honours to an outgoing demarch c.330 on Hekatombaion 10; Peiraios, Eleusis, Aixone, and Kytherros all received rent payments in Hekatombaion, probably at assembly meetings. On the other hand, Eleusis held its election meeting in 331/0 in Metageitnion, in the Theseion in the city, and the rent payment for the quarry of Herakles was to be paid on that occasion; Prasiai collected a rent payment on (?) 6 Metageitnion, and had an election meeting in that month; Erchia's sacrifices in the city on 12 Metageitnion may well have been associated with an election meeting held there. The advantage of meeting in the Theseion was that the allotment machines located there could be used for sortition.¹¹⁵ The diapsephisis in Halimous in 346/5, which was

¹¹¹ Otryne (1 councillor), [Dem.] 44. 35–7, see n. 54; Leukonoion (3 councillors) Is. 7. 15, 26–7. The speaker's adoption was approved by the phratry at the Thargelia of (?) 354; he subsequently left Attika to take part in a Pythais to Delphi. During his absence his *pater* informally announced the adoption to the deme, and it was subsequently ratified at the deme's election meeting, by which time the speaker may have returned. Although both cases were adoptions, the deme's vote seems to have taken place at the meetings when the deme also voted on 18-year-olds. Cf. ch. 19 at nn. 140–2.

¹¹² Ch. 24 s. 'Erchia'.

¹¹³ Lys. 21. 1 with *APFD* 7. *A.P.* 56. 3 lists the appointment of choregoi for drama as the archon's first duty in the year after his initial proclamation, but this does not necessarily imply that choregoi were appointed at the first assembly meeting of the year. The speaker of Lys. 21 entered his deme, he claims, just after the rule of the 400, in the archonship of Theopompos (411/0), when there may have been procedural irregularities; the oligarchy lasted through the first two months of 411/0 (*A.P.* 33. 1).

¹¹⁴ *SEG* 33. 147. The ox sacrifice to Thorikos in Maimakterion may also have been associated with a deme meeting.

¹¹⁵ There is no guarantee that meeting dates given in deme documents never changed, although several of the dates given below (more often by month than by day) were intended to be valid for the foreseeable future. Dates of rent payments were variable, but at least sometimes linked to deme assemblies or festivals (Papazarkadas 2011, 116–19; see also Pernin 2014); there would be some advantage for lessees, demarchs, and the deme in having payments made before numerous witnesses at a deme assembly. Halai: *IG* ii² 1174. 10–12; Ikarion, *SEG* 22. 117. Rents: Peiraios, *IG* ii² 2498, Hekatombaion and Poseideion (Papazarkadas, 121–2); Eleusis, *IEleus* 176, perhaps Hekatombaion 10 (Poseideion 10?), Mounichion ? 10, Elaphebolion 8 (but see ch. 30 n. 84, on the problems of interpreting this document, which may not

conducted at a meeting in the city at which other business was also transacted, may have taken place at an election meeting.¹¹⁶

An air of formality could be conferred on deme assemblies by holding them in the city, in a public space where the machinery of democracy was available for use; on the other hand, demesmen resident in the deme—including, perhaps, the demarch—may have been reluctant to travel to the city for meetings. The balance between the competing attractions of deme and city will have varied according to the distance between the two, date (before, during, or after the Peloponnesian War), the season, and the occasion of the meeting—meetings associated with the Rural Dionysia were no doubt always held in deme theatres, and other deme meetings may well have been timed to coincide with local festivals.¹¹⁷ At local meetings associated with festivals it may have been difficult to achieve a level of formality comparable to that of the public sphere in the city. For city-dwellers, such festivals were occasions for country outings with children or grandchildren. In Menander's *Sikyoniōs* (183–92), Bleps introduces the plot by explaining that he was on his way to his deme, Eleusis, ‘to find a demesman who would be sacrificing a skinny little ox and getting criticized by those entitled to a share’, when he ran into a crowd gathered round a girl: ‘all at once it turned into a deme meeting.’ An interesting argument could turn a milling crowd of festival-goers into an assembly; conversely, there might well be a danger at local assembly meetings that those not interested in the business under discussion would drift away.¹¹⁸

It is important to recognize that until honorary deme decrees became commoner (in the Lykourgan period) all record of deme decisions on stone was initiated by crisis; the resulting documents represent attempts to institute formal procedures and regularities that had previously been absent, or had lapsed. Deme documents arise from disorder and conflict and project utopian visions of order.

be a lease); Aixone, *IG* ii² 2492; Kytherros, *IG* ii² 2496, Hekatombaion and Poseideion; Eleusis quarry, *IEleus* 85. 27–8; Prasiai, *IG* ii² 2497, Metageitnion 6 and either Mounichion or Thargelion; *SEG* 51. 153, Metageitnion, at election meeting. Payments in Poseideion may have been made at meetings connected with the Rural Dionysia; cf. *IRb* 180. 13–15 with *SEG* 54. 239 (Rhamnous; payment to *ς[yllogo]ς*, cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 117 n. 81). Rent payment in Teithras in Elaphebolion, *SEG* 24. 151. 32–4. with Behrend 1970, 79. Theseion: see Makres 2014.

¹¹⁶ Dem. 57. 9; the speaker tries to suggest that this other business was unnecessary, but we need not believe him. A large deme would have had to hold extraordinary meetings for this scrutiny of all members, but small demes need not have done so.

¹¹⁷ See ch. 27 n. 71 on Thorikos.

¹¹⁸ Ethnographic films of ritual illustrate the varying rhythm of attentiveness of participants; the discipline of the Protestant church service is cross-culturally very peculiar. Country outing: Is. 8. 15–16. At the Halimous diapsephesis meeting, demesmen who had been scrutinized left before the meeting ended (Dem. 57. 10); presumably parents and kin of boys being admitted to the deme might do the same once their own candidate had passed. Small demes were thought to be easily bribeable (Whitehead 1986*a*, ch. 11 and index s.v. ‘bribery and corruption’ and ‘intimidation’); low turnout and manipulation of agenda order, as well as size, may have played a role.

Hence the survival or absence of written texts is not an index of the regularity of deme activity, but of irregularities.¹¹⁹ Even honorary decrees in some cases demonstrably represent action or generosity going beyond the normal call of duty.¹²⁰ The relation of deme documents to crisis is most explicitly displayed in the dossier from Halai Aixonides (ch. 29), but the detailed regulation of the conduct of euthynai at Myrrhinous surely indicates similar problems; Aixone's decree about payments for pasture rights specifies procedures for dealing with disputes. Local sacrificial calendars also illustrate the utopian aspect of deme legislation, reassuring both gods and men that in future all obligations will be regularly met; this utopian impulse is also shown by deme leases, which specify in minute detail how deme land is to be farmed.¹²¹

In addition to providing glimpses of conflict within demes, and images of deme procedure as demesmen would have liked it to be, deme inscriptions also provide valuable prosopographical information, which in some cases allows us to deduce relative datings and, with the help of other prosopographical data, reconstruct deme factions and the ties of kinship and affinity that linked their members.¹²² Prosopographical analysis also enables us to go some way towards reconstructing, at least for the wealthier families, patterns of residence, property-owning, and economic activity in the deme, in the city, and elsewhere in Attika; the choice of burial-place, in the deme, in the Kerameikos, or elsewhere (n. 79);

¹¹⁹ Cf. Whitehead 2010. The same is true of written law in other contexts: see Humphreys 1991, 17; Hölkeskamp 1992. Of course the survival of deme texts is affected by patterns of excavation, re-use of stones, etc. But we should not assume (especially for any period before the 330s) that demes routinely published texts on stone. Moreover, it is probably not accidental that deme accounts on lead and stone are inscribed only for a few years. See J. K. Davies 1994*a* on the publication of accounts on stone by boards of city magistrates, and the exceptional character of the confiscations of 415 and 402/1 in the records of the poletai. It is also important to remember Andreades' fundamental observation (1933) that the normal procedure in public finance was to earmark specific sources of revenue for particular boards and expenditures. A form of accounting different from the normal presentation of euthynai was perhaps more likely to be adopted if money was diverted from one sphere of activity to another, as in the loans of temple funds to the Athenian state in the 5th c.

¹²⁰ Representing the deme in a court case (n. 31), *IG* ii² 1197 (Aixone, c.330), 1205 (Epikhephisia, late 4th c.); replacing demarch, *SEG* 2. 7 (Halimous, early 320s, ch. 26 n. 21); extraordinary expenditure, *SEG* 24. 153 (Teithras, mid 4th c.), *SEG* 22. 116 (Melite, c.330, ch. 29 n. 3).

¹²¹ Leases have been studied for their evidence on law (Behrend 1970), and on agricultural practice (Jameson 1982, 1987; Burford 1993; Pernin 2014), but not for their place in the history of writing practices. On present evidence there are no obvious precedents in more central organization, although it is possible that Teithras' decision to list all its perpetual leases (*SEG* 24. 151–2) was influenced by the compilation of a similar list for its tribe Aigeis (*IG* ii² 2490, see ch. 21 at n. 138); detailed specifications occur in city building contracts but not, so far, in leases of land by the poletai. Papazarkadas 2011, 59, suggests that 10-year leases in demes were imitating state practice (but not all demes did this).

¹²² As will be seen below in the case of Halai Aixonides (ch. 29 s. 'Halai Aixonides'), the absence of names from lists where one would expect to find them has to be taken into account in setting documents in chronological order. On evidence for intra-deme conflict from curse tablets see chs. 23 n. 76, 24 n. 97. Scheid-Tissinier 2011 uses only literary evidence.

marriage within or outside the deme, both among deme residents and among those living elsewhere; and the relation between such patterns and political activity, both at city and at local level.

In the following chapters I examine deme documents, archaeological evidence, and prosopographical data, tribe by tribe and deme by deme. The deme was a part of every Athenian's identity, in the sense that his demotikon, his deme-affiliation, was part of his name. It was the place where he lived, or where his forefathers had lived: a familiar, distinctive conglomeration of buildings, open spaces, and significant landmarks, each of which set off trains of association with families, events, gods and myths, or personal experiences. In the larger demes, one would not know all one's fellow-demesmen; but one recognized the deme notables, one was close to one's own age-mates,¹²³ one was linked to networks of kin and affines, of neighbours, or men with whom one had served on the Council or on campaign. Many Athenians slip through the coarse mesh of our processes of retrieval, appearing in our records only once, or not at all. Nevertheless, it is possible by detailed analysis to recover something of the significance of kinship in the local community, something of the dialectics of local residence and migration, higher and lower status, physical setting and personal careers, from which the individual character of each deme emerged, and which contributed to changes in that character over time.

¹²³ For example, in Plato's *Laches* 180d–e, Lysimachos does not know Sokrates, but was an age-mate of his father.

I Erechtheis

In the city trittys, Euonymon is firmly located in the area of Trachones, and Lower and Upper Agryle are approximately located east of the city and south of Ardettos. In the inland trittys, Kephisia is firmly located in the area that still bears its name. The coastal trittys of Anagyrous and Lamptraí stretched, it is generally agreed, along the coast from Vari to Porto Loumbardo, and inland as far as Lambrika; there is, however, still some disagreement about the precise location of deme centres and hamlets, and the division of the area between the two demes. The location of the smaller demes in this tribe is less certain. Kedoi is placed by Traill (1986, 125) at Kareia; however, the decree *IG ii² 1212*, which awards crowns of 1000 drachmas each to two benefactors, must have been passed by a large group. If it was indeed found at Kareia, it may have travelled there from Trachones or elsewhere.¹ Milchhöfer's suggestion that Kedoi should be located in the area of Lambrika (where *IG ii² 6383* was found) should not be ruled out. Traill places Upper and Lower Pergase in the inland trittys, west of Kephisia, but this location—like many others—is influenced by the belief that Kleisthenes both intended his trittytes to be more or less equal in population and had relatively accurate ideas about the number and size of settlements in each trittys area. If, instead, we think that villages and hamlets could choose whether to assume deme status, and that there was some flexibility also in the definition of trittys boundaries, it becomes conceivable that Kephisia turned out to be a smaller deme (and trittys) than anticipated, but that this was compensated by the unexpectedly large size of Euonymon and Lamptraí.² In any case, presuppositions about trittys equality do not seem to be a very safe guide to deme location. The other evidence for the location of Pergase consists only of the complaint of Demosthenes of Aphidnai in Aristophanes' *Knights* (321) that he was swimming in his shoddy new footwear before he got to Pergase; this indicates a site

¹ See Whitehead 1986*a*, 392 no. 135. This may not be a deme decree, and Eliot (1962) states that it was found in the neighbourhood of Vari (but cites no evidence; see Matthaiou 1999 on the various areas designated by this term). Pittakes attributed it to Kareia. Stones accumulated on the Louriotis estate, at both Trachones and Kareia, some from as far afield as Aixone (*IG ii² 1196–7*, 1200): see Eliot, *op. cit.*, Matthaiou 1999, and below, n. 14.

² However, if Lambrika had been expected to join Sphettos in the inland trittys of V Akamantis, we might have to abandon Milchhöfer's suggested location for Kedoi (in any case, the report of Langdon 1988 discourages hopes of finding another deme-site in this area).

north or north-east of the city, but the joke is not improved by assuming that he was halfway home before he noticed the problem. A suburban site on a route taking him east of Lykavettos and Tourkovouni fits this passage better.³ This area would also be a possible placing for Themakos, given the location of the properties of Pherekles of Themakos in the late fifth century, although admittedly he had widespread interests (see below in section *Themakos*). About Phegous, Pambotadai, and Sybridai we can only say that the two latter may have been neighbours, since they seem to have alternated in supplying a councillor.⁴

In the discussion below, I have grouped all these small demes at the end of the city trititys.

CITY TRITTYS

Its name was perhaps Euonymeis; we have no specific evidence, but in terms of size Euonymon, with ten councillors, was certainly its dominant deme.

Euonymon

Finds, including the deme's theatre, have been reported from the centre of the old Louriotis estate at Trachones (with the chapel of Eisodia Theotokou). Geometric graves have been found in the area, and a riverside building, perhaps public in function, has been reported from the *revma* about a quarter-kilometer east of Trachones; a fourth-century fountain may also belong to this deme.⁵ Euonymon burials were also found on the site of the Elleniko airport.

³ This point was already made by Milchhöfer 1892; cf. also Stanton 1984*b*, 32 (*SEG* 34. 208). Tombstones do not help. In *IG* ii² 7205, found (in re-use) at Varibopi, the demotic is restored on the assumption that the —phemos son of [Kephi]sodoros commemorated here was related to Antiphemos son of Thersias of Pergase, ephebe in 333/2/1 (*IG* ii³ 4. 336), but the name Antiphemos also occurs in Eiresidai, while there was a Lysiphemos in Erechtheis in the 5th c. (*IG* i³ 1191. 12). *IG* ii² 7213 was found at Menidi.

⁴ We do not know that such arrangements were based on contiguity; see ch. 24 on Ionidai and Kydantidai. *SEMA* 541, a Pambotadai tombstone, was found at Draphi, on the southern slopes of Mt Pentelikon, but this can hardly have been the location of a deme of Erechtheis; *IG* ii² 7141, of the same deme, is said to be from Chasani, near Trachones (*KvA* IV/VIII), under the old airport (where the Halimous deme decree *SEG* 2. 7 was also found); *SEMA* 543 (Hildebrandt 2006 no. 147) belongs to the same family, Apollodoros son of Opsiades I P. with his three sons Opsiades II, Hyperbolos, and Pythodoros (Hyperbolos was still alive as ephebe in 333/2/1, *IG* ii³ 4. 336); this may suggest a more plausible location, in terms of general area, but isolated finds of tombstones even of the classical period prove nothing (later stones should in my view be completely disregarded in discussions of deme location). *Mes.-Arg.* 267 says that Sternizes, W of Lambrika, has been suggested as a site for Pambotadai or Kedoi, but it may be too close to Lambrika. (Lauter 1993 suggested putting Pambotadai at Thiti.) Stanton 1994 has Pergase and Sybridai inland, Kedoi and Pambotadai coastal.

⁵ Geom. graves, Geroulanos 1973 (cf. 1981), with useful maps and information on Louriotis estate (see also Eliot 1962, 8). On the theatre (still not fully published) and other finds see Van Looy 1994, with

The association of the Trachones theatre with Euonymon is assured by the discovery of the dedicatory inscription of Olympiodoros II son of Diotimos II; there were also inscribed marble seats (Goette 2014), and a deme decree of (?) 313/2 (Steinhauer 2007, *SEG* 57. 125). A relief from Trachones representing De[mos?] crowning an honorand may belong to another deme decree, perhaps even the decree referred to in a city dedication by [?Char]inos son of Charon[ides] of (?) Euonymon, but several uncertainties are involved. We do not as yet have other evidence of deme activities.⁶ The tradition that the deme's eponymous hero Euonymon was the son of Kephisos was evidently post-Kleisthenic, based on the tribal association of Euonymon and Kephisia. No deme cults other than that of Dionysos, associated with the theatre, are known at present.⁷

With the exception of these dedications, the evidence for the activity of prominent families in Euonymon leads away from the deme. Olympiodoros' family, which had been

photo p. 29; *AD* 46 B I, 1991 (1996), 62–4; Goette 1995*b*, 2014; Tzachou-Alexandre 1999. The theatre area had two colossal archaistic statues of (?) Dionysos (Tzachou-Alexandre 2007), and a Hellenistic skene; it was abandoned during the second half of the 3rd c. There was 5th c. material on the site, and the stone theatre of the late 4th c. (2500 capacity, Kaza-Papageorgiou) was probably preceded by wooden structures. For material from Euonymon and neighbouring Halimous see Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006; ch. 26 n. 11–12. G. Finlay (quoted by Matthaïou 1999, 150) reported remains of a temple on Mt Pani, c.1 km SW of Trachones village.

⁶ If the name of the demarch of 313/2 honoured in *SEG* 57. 125 is correctly restored as [Ktesi]kleides, he was a kleruch on Samos in 346/5, *IG* xii 6. 261, cf. 262 I 11. Relief, M. Meyer 1989*a* A 182. [Char]inos: *IG* ii³ 4. 61 from the Street of Tripods, records that he was crowned by his fellow-councillors and by his *d[emotai]*. The restoration of name and demotic derives from the appearance of (1) [Cha]rias son of Charonides of Euonymon in *SEG* 18. 36 A 462 (manumitting a slave resident in Peiraios) and (2) a Charinos son of Charonides in a list of dedications made by theoroi sent to the oracle of Ammon in Libya (*IG* ii² 1642 = *SEG* 21. 562. 36). However, the dates of these theoriai are quite uncertain (see below, n. 31). The strongest link in this chain of reasoning is the rarity of the name Charonides; nevertheless, there is no reason to attach Charonides son of Pank—, who participated in a military dedication in 307/6 (*IG* ii³ 4. 319. 4), to this family. If the above identifications are valid, Charinos II son of Epichares II, councillor for Euonymon in 304/3 (*Agora* XV 61. 168), should be the grandson (SS) of the honorand, and may be a descendant of the Epichares E. who was one of the treasurers of Athena and the other gods in 398/7 (*IG* ii² 1388, 1391–2) and first owner of the class V dikastic pinakion Kroll 1972, 103. Epichares II was councillor in (?) 336/5 (*Agora* XV 42. 4) and is probably the Epichares E. cursed at about the same date with 6 others, most if not all citizens (*AG* II no. 205 = Jordan 1985 no. 12, Lopez Jimeno 1999 no. 12); the name Moschion is attested in Oa in 333/2 and in Thria on a 4th c. tombstone, *IG* ii² 6263; [Eu]medon is a perfectly possible citizen name, though spacing would probably allow [Dio]medon. The 5th c. grave context provides only a terminus post quem.

⁷ Steph. Byz. s.v. *Aulis*, Euonymos son of Kephisos, father of Aulis; s.v. *Euonymeia*, Euonymos son of Ge and Ouranos, or of Kephisos. Lysandros son of Lysis E. was a member of the phratry based at Alopeke (*IG* ii² 2345. 37, with Humphreys 1990*a*; cf. ch. 19 at n. 173 f.; his tombstone *IG* ii² 6180 was found close to the city); one would expect a deme of the size of E. to be itself a phratry base, but possibly the local phratry was based in Halimous. The dedication of Tellias of E. to a Herm (*FGE* 494, pp. 136–7) does not imply a public cult; the prayer for acceptance by the deme need not imply that the dedicant had newly become a citizen. He may be a son (or adopted son) who has just inherited. Telesias son of Tellias E., who guaranteed a contract for waterworks at the Amphiarion in the Lykourgan period (*IOrop* 292. 37), may be the dedicant's son.

conspicuous in the city, especially in military commands, at least since the 430s, had mining interests by the fourth century, owning land and an *ergasterion* in Laureion, and land at Thrasymos; this activity may well have gone back to the fifth century. The dedicant Olympiodoros II, who paid his father's naval debts in 325/4, may have been the Olympiodoros who emerged into prominence as general and archon/dictator in 294/3/2.⁸

The oligarch Anytos son of Anthemion of E. inherited a tannery and shoemaking business, entertained Menon of Thessaly, and was a lover of Alkibiades: all this suggests a base in the city. He came through the reign of the Four Hundred with enough credit to be elected general for 410/9 or 409/8, perhaps helped by the connection with Alkibiades, but was linked to Theramenes at the time of the Thirty, perhaps escaping into exile shortly before Theramenes' death. He subsequently joined Thrasyboulos at Phyle, and played a role in the early years of the restored democracy, but apparently at some date left Athens again; he allegedly died at Herakleia Pontika. Descendants stayed in Athens, or returned there: an Anytos II and Anthemion II of E. served as councillors in (?) 336/5, and the former is attested as *syntrierarch* on three ships in 322.⁹

Anytos' politics were shared by his fellow-demesman Euandros son of Erithalion, who was attacked at his *dokimasia* for the archonship of 382/1 by a client of Lysias. Both father and son had been conspicuously generous in city liturgies.¹⁰

Theophemos E., opponent of the speaker of [Demosthenes] 47, lived relatively near the city or Piraeus, close to a road on which there were passers-by, and not far from the speaker's farm near the Hippodrome; it is possible that his land was in the deme, but perhaps more likely that it lay closer to the city. Theophemos' brother Euergos may have lent a talent in 347 on the security of a mining *ergasterion*, but this does not necessarily imply that he had mining interests himself.¹¹

⁸ *APF* 4386; see Table 16.1; *Agora XIX* P 5. 53–5, 78 (cf. P 43. 10?) Diopetithes I; P 9. 15–16, 24, P 26. 231–3, Diotimos III (cf. P 10. 12, P 33. 1–6). Diotimos III's naval debt of almost 3800 dr., *IG ii²* 1629. 539–41, 622–9. On Olympiodoros' career and Aitolian contacts see Habicht 1995, s.v.; G. J. Oliver 2007a, 56–63; Paschidis 2008, A 44. His dedication to Dionysos (*SEG* 32. 267), probably connected with expenditure on the deme theatre, may have been made shortly after he came into his inheritance c.325/4. The rock-cut seating in the theatre has been dated to mid-century, but we have no proper publication as yet. On the question whether this family belonged to the phratry based in Alopeke see Lambert 1999a (reading *Leptines* not [Dio]timos in *IG ii²* 2345 = *SEG* 47. 187. On Autokles son of Strombichides E. see chs. 27 n. 40, 32 n. 26).

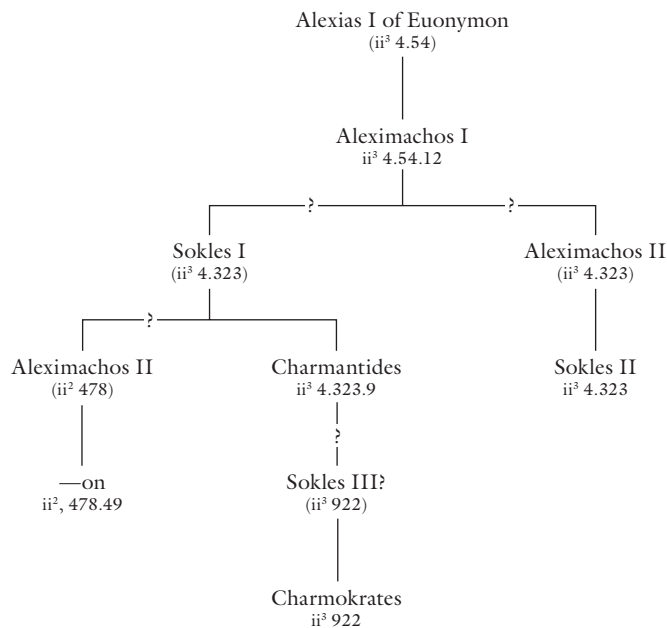
⁹ *APF* 1324; P. J. Rhodes 1981a on *A.P.* 7. iv, 27. v, 34. iii. On Anytos' role in Sokrates' trial see ch. 13 at n. 14. Anytos II and Anthemion II, *Agora XV* 42. 3, 7; Anytos II was perhaps a grandson of Anytos I, with rather long generations in the family (it is not clear whether Timokles F 15 *PCG* 7 implies that Anytos II was still young enough to dine with a hetaira in the (?) 330s, or only that he was known for his obesity).

¹⁰ *APF* 5267, Lys. 21. Resentment at the success in democratic politics of Diotimos I and Strombichides I E. may in part explain the oligarchic sympathies of other ambitious men in the deme (cf. ch. 16 s. 'Erechtheis'). Kallippos E., whose grandson (SS) served as trierarch in 322 (*APF* 8070) appears in *IG i³* 1048. 18 (*IEleus* 49), a mysterious list of prominent men of c.425–405 found at Eleusis (they are not all oligarchs, since Strombichides I E., killed by the Thirty in 404, is among them).

¹¹ *APF* 7094; note that Theophemos was unmarried c.356 ([Dem.] 47. 38). The Hippodromion (§§ 53, 76) may have been at Phaleron; the speaker went from the city to Th.'s house, taking a public slave

Another family that belonged to the wealthy elite of Athens in the fourth century was that of Theoxenos I and his sons. Arkesilas son of Theoxenos was one of the guarantors of the triremes sent to Chalkis in 341; his nephew (BS) Theoxenos II son of Theokles served as syntrierarch before 325/4. The Arkesilas son of Theuxenos of Athens who was granted honorary citizenship at Ephesos *c.*306 (with a grandson of the historian Xenophon) was probably a grandson of Arkesilas I.¹²

In the cavalry, we have Sokles son of Aleximachos E., serving with his son Char<a>mantides on Salamis *c.*320 (see Table 23.1); Nikogenes II son of Arkesas I, hipparch in 282/1, and his (?) son Arkesas II, attested *c.*250; Dioskourides III son of Theophanes, and Philokrates II son of Batrachos, both in the same period. Sokles' grandson, —on son of Aleximachos II, is attested as ephebe in 305/4 (*IG* ii² 478 col. III 49). Arkes(s)as I, son of Nikogenes I and father of Nikogenes II, was buried in the city (*IG* ii² 6160); he lent 4000 dr. on security of land and a house in the Trikorynthos area (*SEG* 19. 184, Finley 1952 no. 17A). There may have been an affinal link between this family and that of Dromokles son of Arkesas of



Note: *LGP*N has Sokles I as brother of Aleximachos I, but chronology and naming patterns favour the reconstruction here.

TABLE 23.1. Euonymon: Alexias

with him, and invited him (if he denied having any of the city's trireme gear) to come to the Council to make a statement (§ 34–7). Euergos seems to have lived in the city (*ibid.*); his (?) loan, *Dem.* 37. 2f.

¹² *APF* 6990; *SEG* 33. 932. 7, Ephesos; Table 5.7. Theoxenos I served as trierarch in (?) 366/5, *IG* ii² 1609. 100. In *IG* ii³ 4. 33. 3 we should probably restore [Antix]enos rather than [Theox]enos, since it is unlikely that Theoxenos would serve as diatetes in 330/29 if his son was already able to act as guarantor in 341 (see for Antixenos E., perhaps son of Theoxenos I, *Agora* XIX P 26. 247). A later Theoxenos (III) was councillor at the end of the 3rd c., *IG* ii³ 1232.

Oa, who proposed the cavalry decree honouring the officers of 282/1, among them Nikogenes II son of Arkesas of Euonymon).¹³

The family of Dioskourides III can be traced back to two sons of Dioskourides I: Theophanes, father of Dioskourides III, who was agonothete in 270/69, and —ios, who served as ephebe in 305/4, and whose son [Diosk]ouri[d]es II was commemorated by a kioniskos that may have been set up in the deme. Dioskourides III may have served as ephebe in the early third century, dedicated a statue of his father (*IG* ii² 3851), and was appointed proxenos of Oropos.¹⁴ The family also appears in cavalry records.

The cavalryman Philokrates (II) son of Batrachos was presumably the grandson (SS) of the Philokrates of E. who owned an ergasterion at Besa. Kleochos the actor (*technitês*), son of Philokrates of E., commemorated by a kioniskos dated to the end of the third century, may be the cavalryman's son.¹⁵

Other members of the deme with outside interests include Are—, son of [Tlepo?]lemos, who bought land at Thria confiscated from one of the Thirty, and Euthymenes E., who owned property in Aphidnai, and lent 900 (?) drachmas secured on property in the city.¹⁶

Antiphates son of Antiphanes and Thrasymedes son of Thrasyllus were both buried on Salamis; the former served as councillor in (?) 336/5, and his father is attested as proedros of the Council in 337/6 and 330/29.¹⁷

¹³ *IG* ii³ 4. 323. 9, 22 (Salamis); Bugh 1988, II A 19, 83; I B 25; II B 35, 69, 204. See also below at nn. 18–19. Dromokles of Oa, *SEG* 21. 525. 1; he is missing from Bugh 1988. Dionysios I E., son of Autonomos I, was commemorated by a large lekythos found in the city (*SEMA* 242); his son Epiteles is named on a rosette-stele from the deme area (*IG* ii² 6167, Chasani). Epiteles' son [Epain]etos (rather than [Euain]etos as *IG* ii² 478) served as ephebe in 305/4, and may be the Epainetos E. attested later in the cavalry (Bugh 1988, no. 76). Epiteles probably had an elder brother, Autonomos II, whose son Dionysios II held office in the council in 265/4 (arch. Euboulos, *IG* ii³ 922).

¹⁴ Theophanes was agonothete in the archonship of Sosistratos (*IG* ii³ 4. 532–3). [Diosk]ouri[d]es II's stone *IG* ii² 6201: the father's name is given as —gios (or —ios). The stone was recorded at Agios Nikolaos at Pirnari (Peck 1942, no. 368); this was the deme centre of Aixone (ch. 29 n. 91), but stones were brought there from elsewhere (Eliot 1962, 8). Dioskourides III, ephebe in the early 3rd c., *IG* ii³ 957. 8 (the deme is uncertain); *IOrop* 108, Dioskourides son of Theophanes of Athens, proxenos at Oropos.

¹⁵ *Agora* XIX P 13. 75 (c.350); P 27. [21]. Kleochos: *IG* ii² 6179, provenance unknown; 'actor' seems the most likely translation of *technitês* without further qualification.

¹⁶ Are—, *Agora* XIX P 2 f–g. 10, cf. *APF* 12888 (the restoration of a descendant in *IG* ii² 1231 is to be rejected, *SEG* 41. 81); he perhaps had oligarchic sympathies, cf. ch. 14 pp. 460–3. The names Aresias and Tlempolemos appear on a casualty list of (??) 411/0, *SEG* 52. 60; cf. Aresias son of Phanomachos E., *IG* ii³ 4. 54 (*SEG* 59. 167), and possibly ii² 10686, from the deme area; but see also Kephisia (n. 37), Lamptraí (Table 23.3). [M]n[e]siphilos son of Mne— of E. buys land for 8000 dr. in the hekatomastai sales, we do not know where (Lambert 1997a, F. 12 B 5); Lambert suggests that he may be the Mnesiphilos whose son appears in *IG* ii³ 4. 429 as [gym]nasiarch (*APF* p. 394), but the name is very common, and if the stone only listed four men (as is usually assumed), they cannot have belonged to a commission of representatives from the 10 tribes; they might be successive victors in II Aigeis. The Phanyllos who bought confiscated property at (?) Myrrhinous c.342/1 (*Agora* XIX P 26. 386 f.) may be Phanyllos E., diaitetes in 325/4, *IG* ii³ 4. 35. 13. Euthymenes: *Agora* XIX P. 26. 501–4, 520; Finley 1952, 51 A. Cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 305 no. 28 on the lessee Eume[los] E. of *Agora* XIX L 6. 88–9.

¹⁷ Antiphates, *IG* ii² 6159, *Agora* XV 42. 11; Antiphanes, *IG* ii³ 322. 6, ii³ 321. 5, ii³ 352 (R/O 94). M. C. Taylor's suggestion (1997, 267) of a link with *SEMA* 1541 is far-fetched.

Antikles son of Kallias of E., who was a kleruch on Samos in 346/5 (Aischines 1. 53),¹⁸ had allegedly lived in the city in his youth, ‘owning’ Timarchos of Sphettos for a time; it may have been convenient for Aischines to use the name of a man who was not in Attika to be called as witness, but the prosopographic record suggests that he belonged to a well-known family. Kallias I E. served as hellenotamias in 410/9 (*IG* i³ 375. 26); a child of his, or of Kallias II, was buried in the city (*SEMA* 244). Kallias III son of Kallias (II?), perhaps Antikles’ brother, made a dedication to Asklepios after the middle of the fourth century (*IG* ii² 4442); —us son of Kallias E., possibly epilektos in the mid fourth century (*SEG* 21. 617), will be a son of Kallias II or III, and the Kallias E. who appears on a horos found in the Agora (*Agora* XIX H 114) will probably be Kallias III. The Kallias E. who served in the cavalry c.250 (Bugh 1988, II B 119) was probably a grandson of Kallias III.¹⁹

In comparison with this record of men with interests outside the deme, demesmen buried in or near the deme appear undistinguished. Epiteles son of Dionysios E., whose stele was found at Chasani, had a son, Epainetos, who served as ephebe in 305/4 (n. 13); —stratos son of Euktemon, who served in the same year, was commemorated on a stone found near Vari. Later members of Epiteles’ family were buried in Piraeus. Philades son of Nisaïos I was commemorated by a stele with a relief loutrophoros, found at Vourvatsi near Koropi, to which the names of his brother and sister-in-law (BW) and their two sons were added. Philodemos son of Philodemos also died young; his stele bore a relief representing him as a nude youth with a strigil.²⁰

¹⁸ —os Kalliou of I Erechtheis, kleruch to Samos or Lemnos in (?) the 360s, *IG* ii² 1952. 5, may be related, if, as is likely, the demotic in l. 4 is to be restored [*Euónym*]és; the Eunomos of l. 6 may be the father of the hieropoios of *IG* ii³ 416 (*SEG* 53. 92, Lambert 2004b no. 10, early 330s); a possible later descendant of Lysimachos, l. 7, on Lemnos, Culasso Gastaldi 2010, 363 n. 105. Also on Samos, Ktesikleides E., *IG* xii 6. 261, 262. Cf., on Imbros, dedication of Agasikrates and Agasikles sons of Agasippos E., *IG* xii 8. 67 = *CEG* 845. Also on Imbros, son of Menestratos E., *IG* xii 8. 99. 3–4. Agakles son of Phry[nich]os, represented on his stele from Chasani as a statue of a pankratiast (*IG* i³ 1317 = ii² 10561; Neer 2010 fig. 120) perhaps belonged to E. (rather than, as *LGP*N, Halimous), since we have these related names from Imbros and a Phrynichos E. in the early 4th c., *IG* ii² 1928. 33, *APF* 15012.

¹⁹ See the prosopographical discussion in Aleshire 1991, p. 140; since the name Kallias is very common and Euonymon was a large deme, these postulated connections are uncertain. *SEG* 21. 619 is taken by Reinmuth (1971, no. 16) as ephebic, but appears to list members of a commission containing six representatives from each tribe; Humphreys 2010a n. 30 tentatively suggests epilektoi of the early 340s. Identifiable members seem to have been born c.360, which in my view would rule out identification as a list of ephebic lochagoi (see below, n. 56, on Timostratos son of Timophon of Anagyrous; Table 24.4 for Dexikrates son of Hegesias of Erchia; ch. 24 n. 131 for Lykomedes son of Smikythos of Teithras). Also buried in the city, [Thras]y[cl]>[o]ch[o]s (?) son of Xenokles E., *APF* 11221, *IG* ii² 5712 = *Agora* XVII 81 (handle of unidentifiable vase); Xenokles served as trierarch before 356 (*IG* ii² 1613. 311) and may be the speaker of Isaios F XVI Thalheim 1903, in which case he was an associate of a metic banker. Thrasyluchos’ son Xenokles II served as councillor in 274/3, *IG* ii³ 922. 45 (arch. Euboulos).

²⁰ *IG* ii² 6167 Epiteles; 478 = Reinmuth 1971 no. 17, Epainetos and —stratos; 6186, —stratos; 6164–5, later members of Epiteles’ family; 6193, Philades (the stone may commemorate Philades with his

A family buried at Euonymon but also active in the city is now attested on two naiskoi and a stele from a peribolos found at the east end of the old airport site at Elleniko (*SEG* 56. 260; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 443–4). Evidence for the family begins with Elpines I, councillor in 408/7 (*Agora* XV 1); a son served as secretary to a tribal commission in the early fourth century (*IG* ii³ 4. 66). The naiskoi probably commemorated the secretary's sons (or nephews) Elpines II and Mnesiph[ilos?], sons of Mnesitheos, the latter perhaps the Mnesiphilos Mne— of Lambert 1997*a* F 12 B 5–6.

Polymnestos E. was cremated and his ashes buried at Elleniko in a stone *kalpê* with his dikastic pinax (*AD* 49 B 1, 82 + pl. 36a; *SEMA* 246, *SEG* 47. 238/48. 85). Since bronze pinakes were introduced only in 378/7 (Kroll 1972), he should perhaps not be identified with the Polymnis E. attested as secretary in 405/4 (*IG* i³ 127) even if the difference in name-forms could be overlooked.

The site where the peribolos of Elpines' family was found produced another dikastic pinax, of Class VI (*SEG* 56. 320); 130 tombs were excavated, dating from the end of the eighth century to the fourth, mainly from the first half of the fifth century (*AD* 56–59 B 1, 473–4 and 476–8); the burials perhaps spread along a road leading southeast from the deme site.

Agryle

The sanctuary of Herakles, Pankrates, and Palaimon, on the Ilissos, which so far has not produced any interesting prosopographical data, may have been in this deme, which probably occupied an area to the north and east of Alopeke, north of Euonymon, and south of Ardettos.²¹ A location adjacent to Alopeke is suggested by the appearance of six members of Agryle on a phratry list from Alopeke. Two of them, Demon son of Demaretos and Stratophon son of Straton, also belonged to the genos Salaminioi and appear as oath-takers for the Salaminioi of the Seven Tribes in 363/2. Demon owned land in Anaphlystos, in the mining area, and is also recorded as leasing a mine. Hippon, another phratry member, served as councillor for Agryle in (?) 336/5.²²

parents and two brothers; Nisaïos Nisaïou E., either Ph.'s father or a brother, married within the deme); 6196 = *CAT* 1. 342 Philodemos, from Ag. Nikolaos Pirnari. Cf. also 6158, 6182, 6195, 6189, 7141 (from Chasani? Hildebrandt 2006 no. 357). The only other attested bearer of the name Nisaïos in Attika is Andokides' second cousin (FFSibSS, 1. 47), son of Taureas, but a connection is unlikely.

²¹ Travlos 1971, 278–80; Vikela 1994; *SEG* 41. 247; R. Parker 2005*a*, 419–22. Decrees of (citizen) orgeones, a thiasos, and (non-citizen) eranistai remain to be published. According to *IG* ii² 2776. 51–8, Agryle adjoined Ankyle and stretched to Hymettos.

²² *IG* ii² 2345 = *SEG* 47. 187; *Agora* XIX L 4a (Salaminioi); P 5. 58, Demon leases; P 9. 10, he owns. Hippon, *Agora* XV 42. 21. Note also that the name Alkmeonides appears in this deme, *APF* 9688 XII A with *IG* i³ 1147 (459) and *SEG* 52. 60 (? 411/0).

Archeptolemos son of Hippodamas A., whose names indicate aristocratic pretensions in his family, was condemned with the oligarch Antiphon of Rhamnous in 410; it was assumed that both owned houses in their demes.²³ [Hippo]damas A, named on a late fifth or early fourth century list of ships' crews, with a Thracian servant (*IG* i³ 1032. 284, 391), may be Archeptolemos' son.

The son of Euthymachos A. bought land in the deme, adjacent to that of his father, at the sale of the estates of the Thirty and those condemned with them; friendly relations with a neighbour may have played some part in this purchase, though clearly self-interest was also involved.²⁴

Papazarkadas 2009c, 105–7, suggests that the trierarch [...]isthenes Kleisthenous of [Agr]yle (or Ankyle),²⁵ *SEG* 54. 226, was the homosexual frequently attacked in comedy and called trierarch in Aristophanes *Frogs* 48–50. If so, the choregos K. son of Autokrates (Erechtheis) of the 440s–430s (*APF* 8524, *IG* i³ 965) might be his father.²⁶

Pausanias son of Philemon I A. incurred heavy expenses as a trierarch before 334/3, and may have re-emerged as an elderly man after the liberation of Athens in 307/6 to serve as proedros and put to the vote a decree for a Macedonian proposed by Stratokles c.303/2. His son Philemon II had served as ephebe in 333/2/1.²⁷

Mnesitheos son of Proteas A., councillor in 367/6, was named on a curse tablet found in a Kerameikos grave of c.360–350. Another unpopular (and more prominent) member of the deme was Teisis, cited as a well-known sycophant in the Lykourgan period by Hypereides.²⁸

²³ Caecilius F 102 Offenloch 1907; the text (*apophênai te oikian es ton*) is corrupt, but Franke's *tô oikia autoin* seems better than Westermann's *tên ousian autoin*, given the provisions for razing houses earlier in the decree (Augello 2006 does not discuss readings). Archeptolemos' father may be the Hippodamas of I Erechtheis who died in action in 459, *IG* i³ 1147. 63 (though the name also occurs, in the 4th c., in Kephisia).

²⁴ *Agora* XIX P 2 d 5f. The original owner was a demesman of —ettos, whose name is lost.

²⁵ If *Erechtheidos* is the name of a ship the trierarch would not necessarily come from the tribe and could be [*Ank*]ylê(then); however, the fact that the epibatai all seem to come from Erechtheis may support the attribution to Agryle (cf. ch. 16 n. 58).

²⁶ The name Autokrates is attested in Lamptrai, *Agora* XV 42, ?336/5; Kleisthenes is not a very common name but might have been commoner in the 6th–5th c. than later (the notoriety of the comic poets' target could have discouraged people from using it?).

²⁷ *APF* 11711, to be corrected in light of the new date for *IG* ii³ 4. 336. The Lysippos (II) A. who served as councillor c.336 (*Agora* XV 42) was probably a brother of Lysis, to whose loutrophoros (*SEMA* 14, from the city area) the name of his father Asopios son of Lysippos I A. was added. The name Asopios is rare, and there may have been a connection with Asopios of (?) Paiania and/or A. of Hermos, *IG* ii² 6072.

²⁸ Mnesitheos, *IG* ii³ 4. 54. 29; *Kerameikos* XIV 142 (*SEG* 40. 265). Teisis, Hyp. 4 *Eux.* 34.

Themakos

Pherekles son of Phe[ren]jika[ios] Th. (another pair of aristocratic names), who was condemned in 415 for mutilating Herms and parodying the Mysteries, owned a house in his deme in which parody-rituals took place (Andokides 1. 17); it must have been close to the city. He also owned a house and land in Bate (perhaps a neighbouring deme), a chorion and a plot of marsh (?) and unfarmed land near the Pythion, worth 1200 drachmas, and another chorion by the Herakleion; he perhaps leased, rather than owned, half an orgas inside the Pythion, the water-rights connected with it, and another half-parcel of land in Kykale. Diodoros son of Pherekles (II?, son of Pherekles I?) Th., who registered and leased a mine on his father's land in 339/8, may be a grandson.²⁹

Pergase

As noted above, Traill locates this deme in the inland trittys,³⁰ but Aristophanes *Knights* 321 suggests a location closer to the city. The deme may have contained a family of the Eteoboutadai, if [Oinocha]res son of Soinautes P., theoros to Ammon, is, or is descended from, the Oinochares son of Soinautes who made a dedication to Poseidon Erechtheus with his brother Epiteles I c.450; Epiteles II son of Soinomos P., councillor in (?) 336/5, epimeletes of the Amphiaraia in 329/8, naopoios at Delphi in 328–5 and 324/3, proxenos there 327/6 (Kaphis), and proposer of honours for Lapyris of Kleonai in 323 for his reception of Athens' theoria to the Nemean games, presumably belongs to the same family.³¹

²⁹ Pherekles, *IG* i³ 426. 83–97. On the location of the Pythion see A. P. Matthaiou 2011c; this Herakleion may be either that of Kynosarges (see ch. 24 n. 8) or of Pankrati. We do not know whether leases of sacred property held by condemned men were sold by the poletai on this occasion, but it does not seem unlikely. It is not clear that the half-orgas in the Pythion was linked to the half-parcel in Kykale (one could read [*gēpedō t*]o *ēmisu* in 426. 96). Diodoros, *Agora* XIX P 28. 13–18. Pherekles was probably unmarried in 416 (see ch. 13 at n. 2 on symposium hosts), and may have married late, having taken some time to re-establish himself, but we need another generation between him and Diodoros, unless the estate continued to be known as 'Pherekles' property' long after his death.

³⁰ Cf. *AGC* 21 X7/Y6 nos. 9–10 on the suggested sites, which may have belonged to other demes of Erechtheis, or to unlocated demes of Leontis. The suggestion of a location for Upper (not, as Platonos-Giota, Lower) P. between Acharnai and Kephisia (Steinhauer a. o. 2005, 54 nn. 18–21; Platonos-Giota 2013, 145–6, cf. Kellogg 2013b, 160) is based only on an unpublished herm dated 1st–2nd c. CE which appears to mention the deme (*AD* 56–59 B 1, 414 fig. 182). *IG* ii² 7141, a rosette-stele commemorating Apollodoros son of Opsiades I P. and his sons (added) Hyperbolos and Opsiades II (n. 4 above), was found at Chasani, which would suggest a position close to Euonymon (*KvA* has Chasani c.1 k. S of Trachones). The mid 4th c. stele *SEMA* 543 (Peek 1942, 180, Hildebrandt 2006 no. 147), commemorating Pythodoros son of Apollodoros P., may record a third son (conceivably from the same site: Bergemann 1997, 214 no. 58). Hyperbolos may have served as ephebe in 333/2/1 (*IG* ii³ 4. 336).

³¹ See chs. 12 n. 72, 20 n. 79. Epiteles II, *LGNP* no 11 (*CID* II 32. 33, 38; 95. 11; 97. 22; 102 II B 25; 119. 26). *LGNP* s. Oinochares 2, Soinautes 6, identifies the dedicant of *IG* i³ 873 with the theoros of

There may have been a link between this family and that of [?] Nikoxenos] son of [H]agnonides I P., who also took part in a theoria to Ammon (*IG* ii² 1642. 34), and Hagnonides II son of Nikoxenos, a patriot of the Lamian War period, who proposed a decree concerning equipment for Miltiades' colonizing expedition to the Adriatic in 325/4 (*IG* ii² 1629. 14–15, etc.) and was exiled for his dealings with Harpalos. On his return, he took part in the embassy to Polyperchon of 319/8, proposed the death penalty for Phokion when it returned, and prosecuted Theophrastos (D. L. 5. 37). He proposed honours for Euphron of Sikyon in 318 (*IG* ii² 448. 39–40), and was honoured by the demos of Troizen (ii² 2796 with Peek 1942, no. 49); he was subsequently punished for his attack on Phokion, presumably by Demetrios of Phaleron (Plut. *Phok.* 33ff., 38. 2; Gehrke 1976, 118–19; Paschidis 2008, A 13; on the politics of Miltiades' expedition see Cargill 1995, 31–4). The name of Hagnonides' father Nikoxenos provides a possible (albeit tenuous) link with Nikias P., famous for his wealth (Herakl. Pont. F 58 Wehrli, 42 Schütrumpf 2008, Ael. *V.H.* 4. 23) but otherwise unattested in our sources (cf. also Nikomachos P., councillor in (?) 336/5, *Agora* XV 42. 40, and Table 12.3). Note that in *LGP*N Xenophantos 4 the Aristophanes reference should be corrected to *Nub.* 348.

It is possible that the Konnos P. named in a diadikasia record of 383/2 was, or was related to, the musician Konnos son of Metrobios who was proverbial for his low reputation in the late fifth century (Sokrates is told that if he takes music lessons, at his advanced age, even Konnos would lose face by taking him as a pupil); Konnos' father was a *grammatikos* and friend of Kimon. The name is not attested in any other deme.³²

Another family may also be conjecturally reconstructed on the basis of rare names. It may begin with the Telenikos (I) who was kalos in the early fifth century and died in action in 459. Teleas son of Telenikos P., treasurer in 415/4, was perhaps his son; the Telenikos who was denounced by Teukros for mutilating Herms (Andokides 1. 35) may have been Teleas' son Telenikos II. This man's son

IG ii² 1642 = *SEG* 21. 562. 12, but the number and date(s) of the theoriai recorded in the latter text are very problematic, and the earliest other prosopographical matches for theoroi belong to the last quarter of the 5th c., whereas the dedication is dated c.450. Zorat 1990 does not discuss prosopography. Epikrates son of Epiteles P., councillor in 367/6, *IG* ii³ 4. 54. 32, presumably belonged to the same family; he was perhaps the brother of Soinomos and uncle (FB) of Epiteles II. Either the Epiteles of Erechtheis who died in 459/8, *IG* i³ 1147. 150, or the Epiteles of the same tribe who died as strategos in 447/6, i³ 1162. 4, might be the dedicant, but the name is fairly common and occurs in Euonymon in the 4th c. It is not clear whether the Athenian plumbing contractor Epiteles of *CID* II 97. 38, 109 A 1, 7 was the naopoios and proxenos (*CID* II p. 209 = *FD* III 1. 408+).

³² *APF* 8698; Ar. *Wasps* 675, Plat. *Euthyd.* 272 c, *Menex.* 235 d–236 a; Ameipsias *Konnos* (423) *PCG* 2 p. 202 F 9. Metrobios, Kratinos *Archilochoi*, *PCG* 4 p. 122, F 1. Cf. ch. 20 n. 45.

is perhaps attested as registering a mine in the middle of the fourth century, and may have had a son who served as ephebe in 333/2/1.³³

Pambotadai and Sybridai

As noted above, we have no evidence on the location of these demes, and cannot even be sure that ‘sharing’ a council position (perhaps an over-formal description) implies that they belonged to the same trittys (n. 4 above). The name of Eumelides son of Lysinos of Sybridai, ‘rich in sheep’, may suggest that his family owned flocks, but almost any deme in Erechtheis could have had access to pasture-land, west or east of Hymettos or on Pentelikon; he was buried in the Kerameikos, and may have registered and leased a mine c.320/19. The only well-known members of Sybridai were the sculptors Kephisodotos and Praxiteles, who clearly lived in the city.³⁴

Kedoi

See above, n. 1, on problems of location. The relief stele of Python I son of Pythodoros I, whose family is the most prominent in our evidence for the deme, was found at Lambrika; the name of one of his sons, Python II, was added to it. Python I, represented as a priest on his monument, served as councillor (and chairman of the Assembly) in 403/2 (*IG* ii² 1. 57) and probably died early in the following century. Python II lived long enough to produce a son, Pythodoros III, who served as naopoios at Delphi in 334/3 and c.325; Python II’s brother Pythodoros II is probably recorded in a diadikasia list of c.380, and served as diaitetes in 356/5. His son Pythokles II is attested as syntrierarch before 357, and was eponym of a naval symmory between 356 and 340; he had a public career, as an opponent of Demosthenes, and may have been condemned in 318 as an associate of Phokion. It is not clear whether his homonym, Pythokles son

³³ The *kalos* on a lekythos probably by the Sappho Painter, BArch 306473, Brussels, may be too early for this reconstruction. The inscription *Teleô* of Immerwahr 1990, 747 may belong to our Teleas, as may references in Ar. *Peace* 1008, *Birds* 168 with schol., 1025. Telenikos of Erechtheis (a seer), *IG* i³ 1147. 128; Telenikos (?) II, Andok. 1. 35; son of Telenikos II registers (and leases?) a mine, *Agora* XIX P 9. 34–[5?] ([Tel]enikos; [Arch]enikos, [Pher]enikos also possible). Telenikos III son of Tele[as?], ephebe 333/2/1, *IG* ³ 4. 336. If all these men belonged to 5 generations of a single line, the generations are unusually long (ch. 5 n. 58). Aleximenes P., father of Charikles who served as ephebic gymnasiarch in the same year, is recorded probably as landowner in the mining area, *Agora* XIX P 44. 16 (*APF* 15418).

³⁴ Eumelides: *IG* ii² 7476, *Agora* XIX P 38. 35, 39. Two undated Sybridai stones (one a kioniskos with a relief loutrophoros *AEE* 1157, ii² 7478; cf. 7479) were seen in Mandra, north of Eleusis, but this is not a possible site for a deme of Erechtheis. Kephisodotos and Praxiteles, *APF* 8834; Kephisodotos owned an ergasterion in Thorikos, *Agora* XIX P 27. 94–5. On Lauter’s suggestion (1993) that PM on the Lathoureza horoi stands for Pambotadai see Goette 2004, 13–14; Krasilnikoff 2010; n. 60.

of Euthykles I of Kedoi, owed his name to a marriage between two deme families. He served as Treasurer of the Other Gods in 375/4, and his nephew (BS) Euthykles II son of Eukles K. was councillor in 342/1.³⁵ It seems possible that Python I served as priest in the sanctuary of Apollo at Lambrika, which may have belonged to a phratry drawing members from both Lamptrai and Kedoi. This is an interesting and exceptional case in which a small deme is dominated by a priestly family.³⁶

Phegous

The deme has one liturgist, *APF* 2180, trierarch in 307/6, but otherwise no member who made any mark.

INLAND TRITTYS

Kephisia

A location in the general area of modern Kephisia is supported by the discovery of a deme decree honouring a Phro— for repairing and fencing the deme's palaistra and concerning himself with its water-supply, and with deme sanctuaries (*hiera*). It seems likely that his activities were related to the introduction of the ephebate. He may have been a descendant of the Phrouros and Phourarchos who appear on a fifth-century casualty list of Erechtheis.³⁷ Another deme decree, not yet fully

³⁵ *APF* 12444; *IG* ii² 6383 (Python I) = *CAT* 1. 269; Scholl 1996, no. 249. The Athenian who worked on the temple at Delphi in 341/0 (*CID* II 32. 5) was called Pythodelos, not (as *APF*) Pythodemos (Byrne 2010), and there is no reason to connect him with Kedoi. The trierarch Pythodoros of c. 350, *IG* ii² 1622. 776, may be Pythodoros III rather than Pythodoros II (ch. 5 n. 47). Pythodoros III may be the man of that name who owned property near the Leokoreion in the Agora area (Dem. 54. 7, c.341). Pythodoros III at Delphi, *CID* II 32. 33, 79 A I 14, 97. 29, 119. 24 ?; [Pythodoros E]uphronos Athenaios, 102 B 26–7, is thought to be an error for Pythonos (p. 227). The family can be traced into the 3rd c. Lambert 1997*a*, F 16 A 13, reads Nikomachos Polyilaiou *ek Kē[don]* as the name of a purchaser of land at Kephalē in the hekatomtai sales; he may conceivably be a brother of Nikodemos Polyllou (Polylao?), whose tombstone *IG* ii² 11630 (= *CAT* 3. 343. *SEG* 33. 225) was found at Grammatiko (cf. Nikodemos K., councillor in 281/0, *Agora* XV 72. 82).

³⁶ Even if Python I's tombstone was not originally set up at Lambrika, we know that he held priestly office and that the family had a long-standing interest in the Delphian Apollo. On the sanctuary at Lambrika see below, n. 61, on Lamptrai. Langdon 1988*a* reports that there is no settlement evidence in the valleys W of Lambrika, where one would have liked to place Kedoi. Note that Chairephon K., member of the orgas commission in 352/1, may have belonged to the Eumolpidai or Kerykes (Humphreys 2017*b*).

³⁷ On the topography of the deme see Goette 2010; Skilardi 2011*b*. Deme decree, *SEG* 36. 188/50. 159, cf. *BE* 2001, 193. Casualty list *IG* i³ 1147. 49, 177; cf. Phourarchos as candidate for ostracism, Brenne 2001 no. 231. Note also the Tlempolemos of *SEG* 52. 60 (411/0?), perhaps the father of

published, awards a crown to a Dionysios (perhaps *APF* 4159, trierarch in 338/7 and mine lessee *c.* 350; *Agora XIX* P 18. 68) for planting trees on the deme's instructions in the sanctuary of Dionysos; we may also have a fragment of his funerary inscription. Kephisia may have been the base of a phratry or genos Elasidai (*IG* ii² 2602; ch. 20 n. 45).

Several tombstones in *IG* ii² came from the deme area. Two represent horsemen, which suggests ownership of land. Phrynion son of Kallippides is represented with his horse and his wife Paregoria; his father's name suggests a family tradition of horse-owning.³⁸ Pistokles son of Antimenes I is shown with his wife Olbia, daughter of Kallaischros of Phegous, two dogs, and a slave leading his horse. The names of his son Antimenes II and Peisikrateia daughter of Pleistias of Kephisia, presumably Antimenes' wife, were added later. Antimenes in the (?) 320s freed a slave donkey-driver living in Diomeia, a suburban deme, and (with Hagnon son of Euthykritos of Kydathenaion) a *paidion* living in Kerameikos. Probably he had just inherited his father's estate; the donkey-driver may have been employed in carrying produce from a farm in the deme to the city.³⁹ Pleistias' family seems to have had aristocratic pretensions: a later Pleistias, son of Dionysios, served on the Pythais of 128/7, and as ephebe in the following year, and a (?) great-granddaughter (SSD) served as arrhephoros in the first century BCE.⁴⁰ Another horseman, whose tombstone has no provenance, is Philochares son of

Tlethymos, councillor in 367/6 (*IG* ii³ 4. 54). Sanctuaries of Dionysos and (?) Aphrodite plus (?) dedication in Kato Kifissia (K., Acharnai, or a small deme between them? cf. n. 30), Platonos-Giota 2004b n. 5 (*A to Z* 13 A–B 3); *AD* 56–59 B 1 406 fig. 165; Steinhauer a. o. 2005, 49 with map p. 21 (3A).

³⁸ *IG* ii² 6449–50 (probably one stone) = *CAT* 2. 430a; Scholl 1996 no. 322 (340–320). For horsey names in K. cf. also Onesippos son of Aitias, basileus *c.* 400, *SEG* 32. 239; Antidorippos, buried in the 4th c. in the Marathon area, *SEMA* 305; Telesippos son of Straton, peripolarch in (?) 338/7, *IRb* 94, *SEG* 41. 148 (*SEG*'s date *c.* 350 seems too early for the general Deinokrates of Acharnai with whom Telesippos served; Deinokrates is known to have served as general in 338/7, *IRb* 93 (ch. 16 s. Oineis); Hippodamas, whose son Smikythos served as archon's paredros in the mid 4th c. (*IG* ii³ 4. 208, ch. 15 n. 2). Euetion son of Pythangelos K. served as hipparch in (?) the Lykourgan period and perhaps as nauarch in the Lamian war, *APF* 5463.

³⁹ *IG* ii² 6437 = *CAT* 2. 959; Scholl 1996 no. 255 dates this monument *c.* 320. Olbia's father served as diaitetes in 325/4, *IG* ii³ 4. 35. 22. The proedros Antimenes of *IG* ii² 554. 3, *c.* 306/5, may be Antimenes II. If the Peisist[ratos] son of Pistok[les] of Ke[phisia?] commemorated on *IG* ii² 6436 = *SEG* 13. 98 (recorded in the 'Theseion') belonged to this family, and if the Hagnonides son of [Pe]lisis[t]ratos K. who freed a slave georgos living in Skambonidai in the 320s (*SEG* 18. 36 A 246–50) was his son, Hagnonides should have been a first cousin (FBS) of our Pistokles I (cf. also Pistion K., cursed with a fellow-demesman, D. R. Jordan 1985 no. 17, from Wilhelm 1904). There may be some affinal link with the family of Antimenes II's wife Peisikrateia daughter of Pleistias K., but there is no obvious way of reconstructing it. The slave paidion living in Kerameikos (*SEG* 18. 36 A 546–554) may have been a hetaira, and Hagnon—perhaps the grandson (SS) of the Hagnon of Kydathenaion whose married daughter Nausistrate was buried in the Koropi area *c.* 350, *IG* ii² 6588 = *CAT* 269—may have been her lover, or a fellow-client.

⁴⁰ *FD* III 2. 24. 38; *SEG* 15. 104. 150; *IG* ii² 3497 (cf. ch. 12 n. 109). (On the family of Mikion and Eurykleides K., prominent in the Hellenistic period, see ch. 20 n. 141.)

Philonides K., commemorated with his wife Timagora daughter of Hephaistodoros in the first quarter of the fourth century.⁴¹

Aristodemos (II) son of Amynomenos K. was commemorated with his wife by a stele found in the deme.⁴² His father was trierarch in (?)365 (*APF* 743), and seems to have had a brother, Philophron I (son of Aristodemos I?) whose sons Aristodemos III and Philophron II dedicated a statue of their sister Chairippe, priestess of Demeter and Kore, perhaps c.340 (*SEG* 51. 215, cf. ch. 12 n. 92).

Five demesmen of K. can be identified on *IG* i³ 1048 = *IEleus* 49, a list of wealthy Athenians set up at Eleusis in the late fifth century. Apsephes and Koroibos have unusual names that appear also on the casualty list of Erechtheis for 459/8, *IG* i³ 1147; an Apsephes also figures on the Marathon list *SEG* 56. 430. Pytheas appears also as trierarch, and owner of two slaves, on *IG* i³ 1032, possibly a list of survivors of the battle of Aigospotamoi; his son Demochares was one of the guarantors of the triremes sent to Chalkis in 341/0 (*APF* 12350). Euphiletos I served as one of the treasurers of Athena in 420/19 and as one of the commissioners for Eleusis in 409/8.⁴³ One of his two sons, Euphiletos II and Aristeides, dedicated the choregic monument *IG* ii³ 4. 474. Aristeides testified for Aischines (2. 153) in 343 that Aristophanes of Olynthos had told him he had refused a bribe offered by Demosthenes; he is recorded as trierarch in 341/0 and in the 330s. Euphiletos II proposed honours for Euphron of Sikyon late in 323, and his son Pamphilos added a rider to the decree; either Euphiletos II or Euphiletos III, son of Aristeides, served as trierarch in 322. Euphiletos III proposed honours in 302/1 for two metics who had loyally supported Athens ever since 347/6 in her efforts to maintain independence and naval strength (*IG* ii² 505; G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, 95–6). In view of this anti-Macedonian stance (after Chaironeia), it is perhaps unlikely that Phokion's friend Euphiletos belonged to this family.⁴⁴

Satyros K. was one of the Thirty; the deme will have suffered from Spartan raids, especially after the occupation of Dekeleia.⁴⁵ His fellow-demesman Epikrates emerged as one of the leaders of the democrats in Piraeus and led an active and profitable diplomatic life

⁴¹ *IG* ii² 6446 = *CAT* 2. 216, Hamiaux 1992, no. 193 (both *CAT* and Hamiaux express doubts about the date 410–390 assigned on the basis of Möbius' 1929 anthemion study; Scholl 1996, no. 467 dates it to the 370s). Other tombstones from the deme area: *IG* ii² 6405–6, from a liturgic family, *APF* 743; 6411/12; 6430, with an intra-deme marriage, cf. perhaps Wunsch 42. 12 (Wilhelm 1904); 6440.

⁴² To the list at *IG* ii² 6405 of tombstones found in the deme add 6437 and 6440.

⁴³ *APF* 6067 unnecessarily introduced a second Euphiletos, son of Euphiletos I and father of Aristeides and Euphiletos II (here, III for *APF*), who would be listed on *IG* i³ 1048. The remaining demesman on the list, Protarchos, is not attested elsewhere.

⁴⁴ Nepos *Phoc.* 4. 3. The identification is accepted by *APF* 6067 and *LGP*N; Gehrke 1976, 152 points out that the historicity of the story is doubtful. Euphiletos II's decree for Euphron (*IG* ii³ 377, cf. ii³ 378 with Lambert 2006 no. 12) was republished in 318 when democracy was restored (G. J. Oliver 2003; E. A. Meyer 2013).

⁴⁵ A later Satyros (grandson?) is now attested as a kleruch on Samos c.350, *IG* xii 6. 262 I 25. Note also the name of Theramenes K., ephebe in 333/2/1 (*IG* ii³ 4. 336; correct *APF* 7233), choregos in 330/29 (ii² 2318. 355–7), and councillor in 320/19 (*IG* ii² 380); possibly his grandfather (FF) had been named c.411 by an ally of Theramenes of Steiria. On Euandros (son of Erithalion?), another oligarch, see *APF* 5267.

for the next ten years, before being sentenced to death in absentia after rejection of the peace terms he and his fellow-ambassadors had negotiated with Sparta in 392/1. He may be the Epikrates K. named on a tombstone of the early fourth century from the Kerameikos with a fellow-demesmen, Philoneos II son of Philoxenos. Philoneos II will have been a descendant of Idomeneus K., named in a dedication on the Akropolis probably made by a board of magistrates c.510–480, and his son Philoneos I, who served as treasurer in the 440s.⁴⁶

Euktemon K., whose estate was claimed by his grandson (DS) Chairestratos son of Phanostratos, also of Kephisia, in the case for which Isaios 6 was written, had a farm in the neighbouring deme Athmonon, and another, unlocated chorion (which his son Philoktemon was willing to relinquish), but most of his wealth was in city property and slaves. He lived in the city; so probably did his rich son-in-law Phanostratos. We meet Phanostratos' homonymous grandson taking an evening stroll in the Agora with Agathon, speaker of Demosthenes 54, c.341. Euktemon had a kinsman in the deme (relationship unspecified), Pythodoros son of Aristion, who was also in the trierarchic class, and served as councillor in 367/6. He or a brother may be the son of [Ari]stion who made a dedication (?) on Delos.⁴⁷ Euktemon and his son Philoktemon had sufficient influence in their phratry to register a candidate whose legitimacy was patently dubious (ch. 19 n. 136); they and Phanostratos probably had comparable authority in the deme, due to a combination of wealth and a network of ties of kinship and affinity. They had no attested interest, however, in deme affairs.

The family of Glauketes I and his sons Kleochares and Glauketes II also seems to have been city-based, although a descendant served in the cavalry in the third century. They belonged to a phratry based in Alopeke, and thus had apparently moved from that area to Kephisia at some date before Kleisthenes' reforms. Glauketes II, as a *neaniskos*, acted c.370 as a guarantor for Neaira; this seems to imply that he already owned some property, and that he lived in the city. His brother Kleochares was one of the guarantors of the triremes sent to Chalkis in 341/0, served as hieropoios at Delphi c.330, and was one of the elder statesmen of the Lykourgan regime who took part in the Pythais of (?) 326/5.⁴⁸

Euthydemos I was buried in the city c.400; his (?) grandson Euthydemos II contributed naval equipment before (?) 366/5, and he or a homonymous son served as one of the parasites of Athena Pallenis in the Lykourgan period. This, however, does not

⁴⁶ *IG* ii² 6444 (cf. *APF* 4859, Bruce 1966); possibly the two families were affinally linked and Epikrates was commemorated after dying in exile. Idomeneus' dedication is *IG* i³ 762.

⁴⁷ Euktemon: *APF* 19164, cf. ch. 7 Case 1. Phanostratos II was an age-mate of Agathon, Dem. 54. 7–8; Philoktemon II, secretary of his tribe's prytaneis in 319/8 (*IG* ii² 388. 3–4), and debtor on a horos, *SEG* 63. 157, was probably his brother. Their father Chairestratos served as secretary of a commission perhaps concerned with dramatic festivals c.350 (*IG* ii³ 4. 63; see below, n. 57). Son of [Ari]stion, *ID* 47 II (perhaps not attached to 47 I, may belong with 48, see *BCH* 78, 1954, 292, *CEG* 742 = 179 a).

⁴⁸ *APF* 2954; phratry, *IG* ii² 2345, cf. ch. 19 n. 176; Glauketes II, [Dem.] 59. 40; Kleochares, *FD* III 1 511 = Jacquemin a. o. 2012 no. 54; see D. M. Lewis 1955; Humphreys 1985a. A later Kleochares (III) served in the cavalry c.250, Bugh 1988 II B 135; Glauketes III served as councillor in 221/0 (arch. Thrasylphon), *IG* ii³ 1154.

necessarily imply that he had interests in the deme area. The brothers Hippokrates and Thrasyllus, buried in the city with Hippokrates' son Philiskos, were the sons of a Samian immigrant, and probably never had any residential connection with the deme area. Automenes son of Proteas, councillor in 367/6, was cursed on a tablet of c.360–350 found in the Kerameikos, inspired by a lawsuit; the tablet also names Demonstratos K., in addition to members of other demes. Those named were probably city residents.⁴⁹

Antimenes I K. is named in a list of (?) kleruchs sent to Samos in the 360s (*Agora* XV 492, cf. Humphreys 2010*a*).⁵⁰ His homonymous son or grandson served as ephebe in 333/2/1 (*IG* ii³ 4. 336, *IRb* 98); it is probably *his* son Ameinias who appears as an elderly kosmetes in 266/5 (*IG* ii³ 917. 24–5). Ktesias K. is attested as councillor on Samos in mid-century, *IG* xii 6. 262 I 26; his daughter and a son of Philostratos K., also a kleruch on Samos (xii 6. 261, 346/5) are both named on *SEMA* 311. Philostratos son of Philostratos, proposer in 303/2 of *IG* ii² 498 (Paschidis 2008, A 3), was probably another son of the kleruch.

The general impression conveyed by the material on this deme is that by the fourth century its more ambitious and energetic members had moved to the city and were concentrating their interests elsewhere.

COASTAL TRITTYS

It is generally agreed that this trittys covered the valleys and bays of Vari and Porto Loumbardo, the inland plain north of Keramoti that links them, and the upland plain of Lambrika, from which we have a dedication to Apollo made by members of Lamptrai, and Lamptrian tombstones. Opinions differ, however, over the assignation of habitation sites in the area to the three deme centres of Anagyrous and Upper and Coastal Lamptrai. It is generally assumed that Anagyrous is to be placed at Vari, while Lamptrai controlled Lambrika, Kitsi Pighadi in the inland valley, and Porto Loumbardo. The order of names in Strabo's list of coastal demes favours placing Anagyrous west of Lamptrai,⁵¹ and a number of dedications by demesmen of Anagyrous have been found in the Vari area. I therefore assume

⁴⁹ Euthydemos: *IG* ii² 6415 (if correctly dated), *APF* 5538; dikastic pinax, *SEG* 57. 292, from a tomb in the deme. Hippokrates and Thrasyllus, *IG* ii² 6417, cf. ch. 11 n. 20 and M. J. Osborne 1983, 38–9; Automenes, *IG* ii³ 4. 54. 29, *SEG* 40. 265 = 42. 217. The poet Menander seems to have belonged to K. (Mette 1977, 215); his father Diopeithes was diaitetes in 325/4 (*IG* ii³ 4. 35), the year of M.'s ephebate (ch. 5 n. 58).

⁵⁰ The restoration [Kephisieis] in XV 492. 2 is far from certain as is [Ant]ik[leides] in l. 3; there is little reason to connect Leonteus son of Antikleides K—, guarantor for a lessee in 343/2 (*Agora* XIX L 6. 16; see ch. 24 n. 93) with the Antikleides K. who dedicated medical equipment in the Asklepieion in the mid 3rd c. (Aleshire 1989 Inv. V 155 = *IG* ii³ 1010).

⁵¹ Strabo 9. 21/C. 398. It is generally agreed that Thorai is misplaced in Strabo's list, where it appears between Anagyrous and Lamptrai, and that there are some other textual problems (see chs. 24 at n. 116; 32 n. 60). This however does not mean that the text can be disregarded at will.

here that Anagyrous should be placed at Vari; I discuss the other sites more fully in the section on Lamptrai. On Lauter's argument (1982) that since the Bronze Age settlement on Kiapha Thiti, at the west end of the inland valley, must have controlled the bay at Vari, Coastal Lamptrai should be placed at Vari see Goette 2004, 2–4.

Anagyrous

The Vari valley has yielded a conspicuous grouping of archaic burials, and an early sanctuary (of a female deity?) and settlement on the hill Lathoureza; a cave sanctuary of the Nymphs, further north on the slopes of Hymettos, was in the third quarter of the fifth century elaborated by a devotee, Archedemos of Thera, and was apparently used earlier; a farm below the cave has been excavated. The deme centre (or centres) has apparently been located, *AD* 64 (2009) B1–2, 189–94. It seems to have had a theatre, in which the marble seat *IG* ii² 4906, the deme decree *IG* ii² 1210, and the dedications discussed below may have stood. Horoi on the hill between Vari and Vouliagmeni may have marked a boundary between Anagyrous and Halai Aixonides. Pausanias (1. 31. 1) records a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods at Anagyrous (the cave?), and there may also have been local cults of Athena Hephaistia and of the Dioskouroi.⁵²

Sokrates A. was general in 441/0, and perhaps again in 439/8, and was prominent enough at this time to be a candidate for ostracism. He was presumably the Sokrates who dedicated a bronze statue (of Dionysos?) whose base was found at Varkiza, with an inscription of c.440–30 commemorating a choregic victory with a tragedy by Euripides, and listing fourteen tragoidoi, two of whom can perhaps be identified as demesmen of Anagyrous. Sokrates' victory was probably won at the Rural Dionysia. However, a fourth-century choregic dedication from the same area, commemorating victories in comedy won by a son and subsequently

⁵² The general discussions of archaeological evidence and the maps of Eliot 1962 and R. G. Osborne 1985*a* (22–9) are still useful. Archaic burials, Humphreys 1983*a*/1993, 99–100; Whitley 1994*a*; Alexandridou 2012*b*. Later periboloi, Garland 1982, U 1–13. Nymphs (and Pan), Connor 1988; Goette 2004 (with map of area); *IG* i³ 974–982 (possibly Pausanias' Metroon, Vermaseren 1982, 115, but Connor doubts this; cf. also *MDAI(A)* 1879, 302 ff.; Schörner and Goette 2004, 116–17; Jim 2012; Graf 2013, 123–7). Theatre, Goette 1995*b*, 2014. Athena Hephaistia (?) and Anakes, *IG* ii² 4980–1. Dedication to Hermaphroditos from the Vari area, c.385, *MDAI(A)* 1937, 7–8. Lathoureza: Lauter 1985*a*, Ober 1987, Mazarakis-Ainian 1994, 1995; Goette 2004; cf. *AD* 64 (2009) B1–2, 182–5. According to Mazarakis-Ainian, there would be a hamlet here in the 8th c., and a cult building for a goddess, in use c.700–300. Farms lower on the slopes of Lathoureza, *BCH* 1994, 777 (*AD* 42 B I, 1987, 92–6; cf. R. G. Osborne 1985*a*, 76–7); farms below the cave of Pan and the Nymphs on Hymettos, occupied until c.300–276, J. Jones a. o. 1973. Horoi of Sotimedes, 6th c., from Kaminia between Anagyrous and Halai, Goette 1994*a*; 2004, 9–10. On deme (?) boundary horoi see ch. 22 n. 52. Small sanctuary on the E side of the Kaminia promontory, overlooking the bay of Varkiza, Goette 2004, 2, 11 (Lauter and Lauter-Bufe 1986).

by his father (*IG* ii³ 4. 507, *CEG* 773; Agelidis 2009 no. 63), may refer to the competitions in the city; possibly by this date Sokrates' dedication too was thought to have commemorated a city victory.⁵³

Twelve members of Anagyrous appear on *IG* i³ 1048 = *IEleus* 49, the late-fifth-century list of wealthy men found at Eleusis, among them Demodokos, father of Sokrates' associate Theages and his brother Paralios; the latter was present at Sokrates' trial (Plato, *Apology* 33e), and the family probably lived in the city. So, presumably, did the sykophant Agoratos, who according to Lysias (13. 73) had been illicitly enrolled in the deme.

In the fourth century one of the richest men in the deme must have been Demosthenes' opponent Meidias son of Kephisodoros (*APF* 9719). His father is probably attested as trierarch; so is his brother Thrasylochos, who owned an ergasterion in Thrasymos, at Sounion, and leased mines in his youth. Meidias too appears both as landowner and as lessee in the mining records. He built himself an imposing house at Eleusis (Demosthenes 21.158), and served as cavalryman and hipparch, although Demosthenes (21.174) claims that while acting as hipparch he had no horse. Meidias' son Kephisodoros II financed the eutaxia competition for his tribe in (?) 333/2 or 332/1 (*IG* ii³ 550 with Lambert 2001, *SEG* 51. 80). The family made several dedications at the Amphiaraion of Oropos.⁵⁴

The trierarch Polykles son of Polykrates A., with whom Apollodoros of Acharnai had difficulties in 361/0, was clearly to be found in the city. The family had a substantial liturgic record stretching at least from the 360s to the 330s; Polykles

⁵³ *APF* 13102; generalship, *AO* s. 441/0, 439/8; ostrakon, Brenne 2001 no. 246 (from 443/2?); dedication, *IG* i³ 969 (cf. P. Wilson 2000, 131–2, with photo). The number of 14 *tragoidoi* (chorus plus actors?; see P. Wilson 2015, 120–1) seems more appropriate for the Rural than for the City Dionysia (cf. Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 361; Csapo 2010*b*). A 4th c. descendant of the tragoidos Son, Son II son of Sostratos, is now attested as buried in the deme, *SEMA* 102 (c.350; *IG* ii² 7418, from Piraeus, same date, may commemorate his sister). The tragoidos Euthykritos is probably the demesman listed (as kleruch? Humphreys 2010*a*) on *Agora* XV 492. 18; his son Ekphantides (named after the comic poet? cf. *IG* ii³ 4. 498) was buried on Samos, *IG* xii 6. 272. The 4th c. dedication is *IG* ii³ 4. 507, *CEG* 773; cf. P. Wilson 2000, 248 (probably city victories), *APFA* 21. *IG* ii³ 4. 498, also from the deme area, records local victories; cf. Goette 2007*a*, 125–6. On ii³ 4. 439 see *SEG* 59. 194.

⁵⁴ Mine records, *Agora* XIX P 5. 47–9 (367/6), Thrasylochos leases at Nape; (?) P 9. 12, his ergasterion at Thrasymos; P 26. 208–11, Meidias owns land in Sounion; 245–9, he owns in Laureion (cf. perhaps P 25. 76); P 26. 393–4 (?), more property of Thrasylochos (cf. 407; *SEG* 60. 197). Meidias' actions as hipparch are discussed by Knoepfler 1981 and by Bugh 1988, 160–6. It is perhaps worth relating M.'s negative report on the behaviour of the Athenian cavalry under Phokion's command at Tamynai (Dem. 21. 132) to the tradition in [Plut.] *Mor.* 850b that his son Meidias II proposed Phokion's 'rehabilitation' (the MS date is *epi Xenion*; A. Schaefer 1854, 163 emended this to *ep' Euxenippou*, 305/4, but Phokion should have been 'restored' under Demetrios of Phaleron—see Bearzot 1985—and attempts to construct a historical context in 305/4 are implausible); it does not seem impossible that in his report as hipparch Meidias, in addition to defending himself, was also acting as spokesman for Phokion (cf. Knoepfler, *op. cit.*), and that Meidias II (councillor in 304/3, *Agora* XV 61. 177) was continuing an earlier alliance. Dedications; ch. 12 n. 79. Kephisodoros' son Euthydikos was councillor in 302/1 (*Agora* XVI 123).

served as councillor in 367/6.⁵⁵ Archenomides son of Archedamos A., with whom a trading contract was deposited *c.*351, probably lived in Piraeus, where his daughter, who married into a family from Prasiai, was buried. Kallimachos A., whose daughter married into the family of Kallippos of Aixone, may also have lived in Piraeus. Kallimachos is now attested as trierarch *c.*355. Oinostratos A., who served as one of the dockyard supervisors in 373/2 and acted as one of five guarantors for a large building contract on Delos in mid-century, may also have lived in Piraeus, or in the city. His (?) son Diodoros was honoured at Rhamnous for his service in 303/2 or 255/4 as chiliarch under the general Diomedes.⁵⁶

Evidence of interest in the deme, however, is not entirely lacking. Archeneos son of Archemachos (possibly related to Archenomides) dedicated a marble theatre seat in the deme (*IG* ii² 4906). He was a member of a tribal commission of well-known men who made a prominent dedication in the city, perhaps also connected with the theatre, in about the middle of the fourth century.⁵⁷ *IG* ii² 1210, also found at Vari, is a deme decree honouring a benefactor (not necessarily a demesman) for concerning himself with protection (*phylak[ē]*); he is awarded an olive crown and, probably, a seat of honour at deme festivals. The decree may have been passed *c.*318. An Antikrates son of [Eu]kolio[n] bought land that may

⁵⁵ Thekrates of *IG* i³ 1048. 29 is likely to be either [Poly]krates, father of Polykles (so *APF* 11988) or [Euthy]krates, father of Polykles' colleague in the Council in 367/6, Euthykles (*IG* ii³ 4. 54. 15–16). The trierarch Polykrates A. who served in 357 (when Polykles also served) may have been a brother of Polykles (ch. 5 n. 47). The Polykles of Erechtheis who died on campaign in 459/8 (*IG* i³ 1147. 84) could have been the grandfather (FF) of our Polykles, but the name is also attested in Euonymon. The Teisimachos of *SEG* 52. 60 may have belonged to A., cf. *IG* i³ 1048. Cf. also *APF* 4605, Dorotheos (I and II?) A.; tombstone of daughter (of D. I?), *SEMA* 101 (city). Kerameikos naiskos of Mikion son of Aiantodoros A., *IG* ii² 5633.

⁵⁶ Archenomides, [Dem.] 35. 14; *IG* ii² 7277. Kallimachos, *SEG* 45. 147. 45; below n. 58. Oinostratos, *IG* ii² 1607. 1, *ID* 104-4a. 31; Diodoros, *IRb* 1 + *SEG* 56. 202; cf. *Ergon* 1996, 13–19, Brun and Couvenhes 2006 (date revised since publication of *LGP*N). Note also the problem of the relation between *IG* ii² 5636, a loutrophoros of (?) the 320s commemorating Timophon son of Timostratos A., and the [Timostrat?]os son of Timophon who appears in Reinmuth 1971, no. 16. 2. Since the latter text may not be ephebic (above, n. 16; ch. 11 n. 19), they may be son (ii² 5636) and father (Reinmuth 16); given the loutrophoros, they can hardly be father and son. Other demesmen with interests outside the deme: Aristhetairos, secretary of the amphiktyons on Delos in 345/4; Nikokles son of Hegesippos, trierarch in 342/1, commemorated by his son Apemon with a statue on Salamis (*IG* ii² 3830, *APF* 10898); Nausigenes son of Na[usikles?], who guaranteed a lease of property on Salamis (*IG* ii² 1590a 6–7), and whose son Nausikles II served in the cavalry on the island *c.*320 (ii³ 4. 323. 10); Antirrhotos, official on Imbros in (?) 352/1, *IG* xii 8. 63. 5 (see Cargill 1995); Alkiades, who supplied six pairs of shoes to the sanctuary at Eleusis in the 330s, *IEleus* 159. 48.

⁵⁷ Dedication, *IG* ii³ 4. 63; it came from the church of St Demetrios Katephores and may originally have been set up in the Street of Tripods (on which see Goette 2007a, with earlier bibliography); Sophokles' great-grandson (SSS) Iophon II served as under-secretary. Possibly ii³ 4. 63 should be dated to the Lykourgan period. The Archemachos who was trierarch in 322 (*APF* p. 69) may be Archemachos II A., son of Archeneos. Archeneos is now identified in *Agora* XIX P 18. 72 as owner of an ergasterion (*LGP*N no. 12).

have been in the deme in the hekatostai sales; Eukolion II son of Pyrrhakos A., who served on the Council in 367/6, and as juror, may be his father. Tombstones from the deme area are surprisingly rare, but one commemorates Choirine daughter of Euboios A.; her father served as trierarch in 338/7.⁵⁸

Lamptrai

As we have seen, there has been some debate about the number and size of settlement sites in the coastal trittys of Erechtheis, and their assignment to demes. The area of Kitsi Pighadi, which is generally recognized as a deme site, has produced a deme decree of Lamptrai of the late fourth century, *IG* ii² 1204.⁵⁹ On the Thiti ridge west of it there are remains of a sanctuary, in use from c.700, and two sets of horoi; Kiapha Thiti, further west, which was a fortified settlement in the Bronze Age, was used for cult purposes at least from the seventh century (female deity? Christiansen 2000). A building in use from c.330–285 may have served as a hestiatorion; after it was abandoned the site seems to have been deserted until the Roman period.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Antikrates, Lambert 1997*a*, F 9a 13, 15. Eukolion, *IG* ii³ 4. 54. 18; Kroll 1972, no. 23 b (class VI); *APF* p. 196. The metec labourer (*misthôtês*) Euk[o]lion who was granted citizenship in 401/0 and registered in Erechtheis (*IG* ii² 10+ = R/O 4 col. vii 8) may have been a freedman of the family; it seems to me (*pace APF*) unlikely that he is the Euko[lion] of the diadikasia text *IG* ii² 1928. 35, who may be the councillor. Euboios, *APF* 5313, *IG* ii² 5639, cf. perhaps ii³ 344. Cf. also *IG* ii² 5642, also from Vari (any attempt to restore the names is rash), and *SEG* 41. 191. The newspaper article reported in *AR* 2005/6, 12 seems to have been confused. The choregos for Euripides was Sokrates, and the demarch dedication of a Theophilos son of O—, *IG* ii³ 4. 238, was probably found in Aixone (Matthaiou 1998, 166) and may belong to that deme. Kallimachos A., whose daughter Alkimache perhaps married into the family of Philon and Kallippos of Aixone (*IG* ii² 5450 with Table 29.17), trierarch *SEG* 45. 147.

⁵⁹ *IG* ii² 1204 may well have come from the sanctuary at Thiti, see Eliot 1962, 52–3. *AGC* 21. X7/Y3 no. 9 reports Geometric sherds as well as classical material from Kitsi Pighadi. On the text published by Linneman 1993 from the church of Panagia on Thiti see Goette 1995*b*, suggesting that it may be the epistyle of a naiskos. The only inscribed tombstones attributed to the area are *IG* ii² 6654 = CAT 1. 837, and *SEMA* 378, Paralos (perhaps a significant name) son of Pausanias L. However, some of the material seen by Gell and by Eliot (1962) may have come from the grave periboloi noted by Goette 2004.

⁶⁰ See the maps and description of the area in Goette 2004, with Goette 1995*b*; Andronikou and Doune 2000; Kakavogianne and Andrikou 2009; and *Mes.-Arg.* 260. Goette reports 4 hamlet sites in the valley N of Keramoti, and a classical watchtower on the headland E of Porto Loumbardo. On Kiapha Thiti see Lohmann 2010*a*. 6 horoi running along the ridge and through the temenos area which have letters *PM* in addition to *ORS* (*horos*), have been interpreted as marking the boundary between Coastal (Paralioi) and Inland (Mesogeioi) Lamptrians, possibly after the transfer of Upper Lamptrai to Antigonis in 307/6 (Traill 1982, cf. 1986). We have, however, no evidence that the term Mesogeioi was ever used of Upper Lamptrai, and there is still doubt whether any of these markers are classical in date; the similar horoi of *IG* v 1. 1371 a–c are dated to the 1st c. CE. (*BE* 2014, 180; ch. 22 n. 52). Goette's suggestion of a connection with the pre-Kleisthenic tribes seems to me most improbable. The sanctuary has been attributed to Dionysos on the basis of the reference to sexual pleasures in *SEG* 18. 93 (3rd c.); Traill 1982 suggested that it might be the Dorykleion of Athena (*IG* ii² 1035. 50, see Culley 1975, *SEG* 61. 128; but Kiapha Thiti is another possibility). A Doric capital dated c.470–430 may have come from a small temple

Lambrika was the site of a village inhabited from the medieval period to the eighteenth century, and it is not very clear how much ancient material is concealed beneath its remains, nor whether some stones were brought here from elsewhere by the later settlers (see Kakavogianne and Andrikou 2009, 206). The location of a sanctuary of Apollo here is supported by architectural material as well as the Lamptrian dedication *IG ii³ 4. 233*. In addition, two archaic and five classical Lamptrian tomb monuments, and a base representing Herakles of *c.*500, are said to come from this site.⁶¹ Since Coastal Lamptrai, with nine councillors, should have had a larger population than Upper Lamptrai, with five, the balance of evidence still seems to be in favour of placing Upper Lamptrai at Lambrika and assigning Kitsi Pighadi and Porto Loumbardo to Coastal Lamptrai. The ‘salty’ spring (*halykô*) sacred to the Nymphs, from which we have a fifth-century inscription, was at P. Loumbardo; the valley leading to the bay and to Aghia Marina had a large farmhouse of the classical period, and perhaps a small settlement.⁶²

On present evidence, the area of Lamptrai has not produced any concentrations of rich archaic burials like those of Vari-Anagyrous and of Anavyssos. However, its sanctuaries were in use by *c.*700, and there may have been a settlement at Kitsi by this time. Porto Loumbardo (smaller, but better protected, than the bay of Vari) may have been the coastal base of a naukraria. Lambrika was perhaps the base of

on this site. Kiapha Thiti: see Hagel and Lauter 1989; Lauter-Bufe 1990; Lohmann 2010*a*. The tomb of Kranaos pointed out to Pausanias (1. 31. 3) at Lamptrai was perhaps one of the LH III chamber-tombs at Vourvatsi (*Mes.-Arg.* 260). See R. Parker 1996, 318 for a possible genos Charidai responsible for the cult of Kranaos. Periboloi along the valley north of Thiti, Bergemann 1997, V 1–3.

⁶¹ *AGC 21 X7/Y3* no. 3 (Lambrika; Kitsi Pighadi is here erroneously located ½ mile SW of it) notes some 5th c. sherds; *AD 44 B 1*, 1989 (1995) reports classical settlement remains (cf. also *AR* 1995–6, 6); *AD 45 B 1*, 1990 (1995) 87 reports on the later settlement. Lauter 1982 suggests that there may have been a small hamlet here belonging to Lamptrai, but the grave material—if not in some cases transported from the Kitsi Pighadi area, which is possible, since 4 churches at Lambrika used ancient stones—suggests something larger. Cf. *Mes.-Arg.* 268, house in L. area with possible ritual functions. Tombstones (incomplete list in Linneman 1993): *IG ii² 6656*, 6686, 6702; *SEMA* 1977, Hieron Hieronymou, end of the 4th c.). Note also *IG i³ 1247*, 7th (?) c. grave slab from fill of the Vari cave, *Epicharido* (cf. possibly Epichares L. and Epicharides Lysippou L., below, at n. 81 with n. 81), and the relief stele of an armed warrior of *c.*530, *AAG* no. 46; the archaic cavetto capital Boardman 1978 fig. 229 also came from Lambrika (Jeffery 1962, 138 compares *CEG* 48, a base from Agios Panteleimon SE of Koropi). Gardikas 1920, 35–6, reported the illegal excavation of an archaic (?) statue at Vourvatsi. Herakles base, *LIMC* 1877, *c.*500 (Wrede 1941). Linnemann 1993 notes the remains of a grave peribolos in situ. *IG ii² 10750* = *CAT* 2. 375d, Bergemann H 50 (from near Karea; cf. *IG ii² 6693a* = *CEG* 542, *CAT* 3. 382a, Scholl 1996 no. 305) may have come from the deme area, as may *ii² 12491* = *CAT* 1. 929, cavalryman, from Trachones (cf. Polymedes L., ephebe in 333/2/1, *IG ii³ 4. 336*).

⁶² Spring, *IG i³ 256*; cf. Humphreys 2004, 135–6; G. Meyer 2004*a* (a well marked on map, Kakavogianne and Andrikou 2009, 205; note that *KῶA VIII* has a lagoon in the bay); Bultrighini 2015; small settlement (?) and farm, Lauter 1980. *AGC X8/Y3* reports the unpublished excavation of a classical peribolos on the E side of the valley (stou Patsa). The dedication of Geisias to Apollo was found in the Loumbardo valley (see below, n. 70). *AD 56–59 B 1*, 344, possible A.–Cl. sanctuary, Agios Ioannis.

the local phratry;⁶³ this would help to explain the decision of the area's inhabitants, in 507, to register as a single deme. Announcement of honours at the Dionysia seems to imply at least a makeshift theatre (*IG* ii² 1161).

We do not know the date of the 'split' between Upper and Coastal Lamptrai. By 414 its existence was sufficiently well known for Aristophanes to make a joke in his *Amphiaraos* about Nether Lamptrians, and it is the only split deme from which we have the division attested (once) in an official use of the demotic: Thoukydides, probably the son of Theokydes who served as councillor for Upper Lamptrai in 367/6, identified himself on his dikast-ticket as an Upper Lamptrian.⁶⁴

However, the division appears to have based on residence rather than descent. Philokrates son of Philinos served as councillor for Coastal Lamptrai in 367/6, but another son of Philinos appears in (?) the 360s as a kleruch from Upper Lamptrai. They may well have been brothers, or members of the same agnatic lineage. The Apollo dedication from Lambrika was made by members of both divisions of the deme, and we should probably assume that the two segments shared all the deme's sanctuaries. It is quite possible that they held joint meetings and elected a single demarch.⁶⁵

Lamptrai fielded a surprising number (five) of apparently unrelated candidates for ostracism in the 480s–470s, surpassed only by Alopeke (ch. 32). Three of them collected a substantial number of votes. Agasias son of Arximachos, for whom we have 43 ostraka (Brenne 2001, nos 2–3), may be the Agasias who is named as kalos in 480s; it is also possible that in Plutarch's notice of a conspiracy at the time of Plataia organized by 'Agasias of Acharnai and Aischines of Lamptrai' some confusion has occurred.⁶⁶

⁶³ See ch. 19 n. 5 on the relation between Apollo and phratres. Archaic material was seen in the area by Milchhöfer and other travellers; by the time of Gardikas' report in 1920 there had been much illegal excavation. However, Phoryskides L., whose son Chai[r]ēstratos was buried in the city with a dikastic pinax of the 360s (class I; *SEG* 50. 275, *City* 2000, no. 137), may have belonged to the phratry based in Alopeke (ch. 19 at n. 173 ff.).

⁶⁴ Ar. *Amphiaraos* F 27 PCG; Thoukydides, Kroll 1972 no. 78 (four other L. dikasts did not make the distinction); *IG* ii³ 4. 54. 54. Upper and Lower L. (like other 'split' demes) are not distinguished on *Agora* XV 42; Erechtheis is poorly represented in other 4th c. prytany lists. Note that some neighbouring settlements that shared a name may have been assigned to different tribes in 507: see Oion (chs. 26, 30) and Kolonai (chs. 26 nn. 30, 68; 32 n. 35).

⁶⁵ There seems no reason to follow Byrne 2008, 122 in thinking that the dedicants were orgeones rather than demesmen. Philokrates Philinou, *IG* ii³ 4. 54. 37; —as Philinou, *IG* ii² 1952. 11. Cf. *APF* 14329, with n. 71 below. *IG* ii³ 4. 233, the Apollo dedication, has 4 columns, the last containing only the name Geisia[s] and at least one further line. The dedicant Lysanias (line 21), *pace* Whitehead (1986a, 440 no. 269) should be either Lysanias II, councillor for Lower L. in 367/6, or his father L. I (*IG* ii³ 4. 54. 41); Demetrios, son of Lysanias I or II, (who died young) was buried in the Kitsi area, *IG* ii² 6654 = *CAT* 1. 837. Possible [komarch] of Upper L., ch. 21 n. 10.

⁶⁶ Figures from Brenne 2001. It does not seem to me impossible for a man young enough to be *kalos* (BArch 9009456) also to be a candidate for ostracism; the possibility that Kimon was a candidate in his 20s has to be left open. The story in Plut. *Arist.* 13 is influenced by the events of 404/3; the name Aischines does not occur otherwise in Lamptrai and is attested in the Hellenistic period in Acharnai.

Habronichos son of Lysikles (37 ostraka, Brenne no. 88) commanded a thirty-oared ship, probably privately owned, at the battle of Artemision, and acted as liaison between the Athenian fleet and the land force at Thermopylai; he went as ambassador to Sparta in 479, and was perhaps a target for ostracism as a friend of Themistokles.⁶⁷ Philokydes son of Pheideleos is not otherwise attested, but is represented by 20 surviving ostraka; another sherd names Olympiades son of Pheideleos, presumably his brother.⁶⁸ Kannonos son of Siburtios (5 ostraka) has no demotic, but his name is rare, and he may be an ancestor (FF?) of the Kannonos whose son Kleinias served as councillor for Coastal Lamptrai in 367/6.⁶⁹

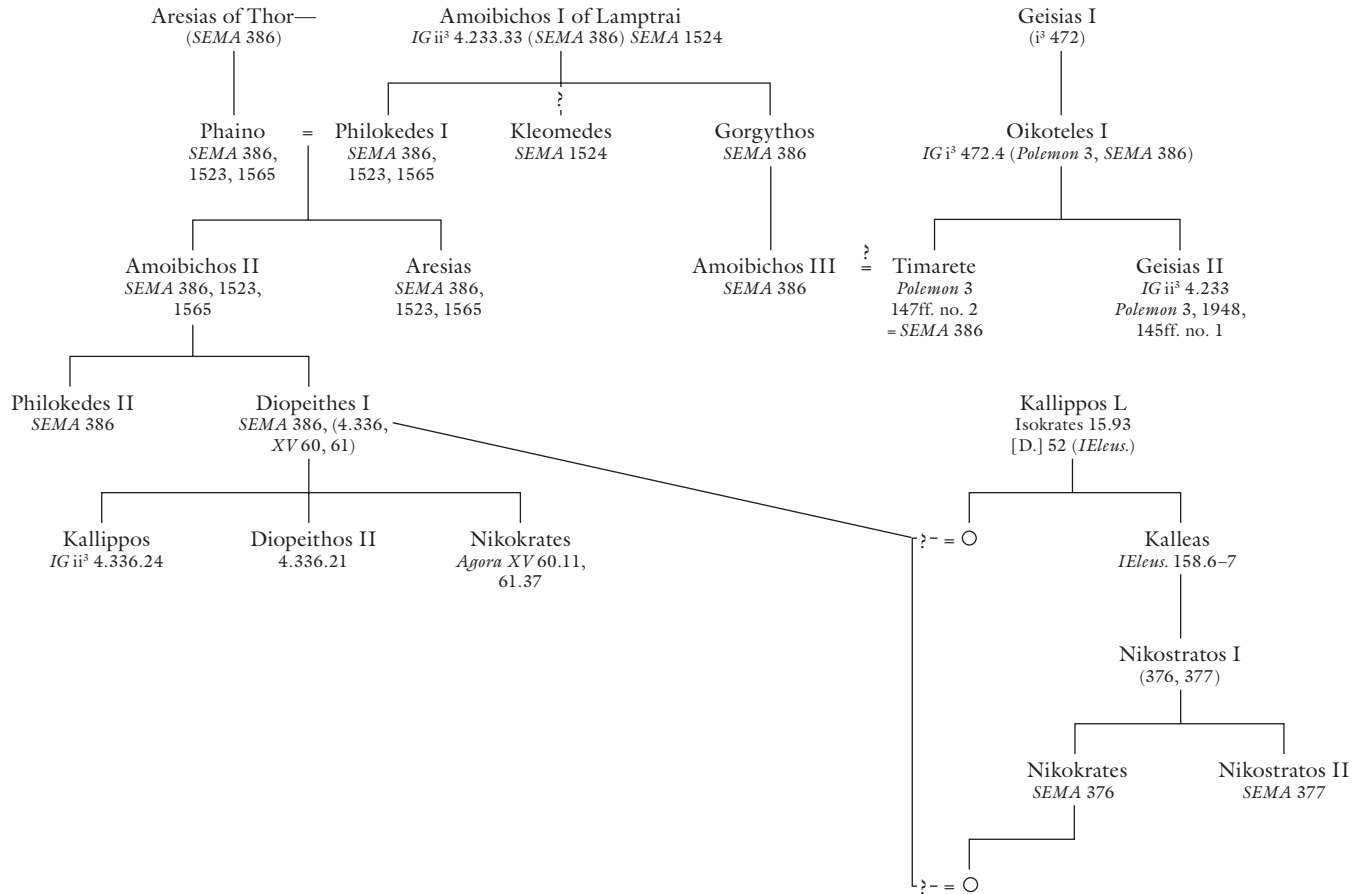
Later in the fifth century Lamptrians seem less conspicuous, but Bion, victorious choregos in 448/7 and 447/6 (*APF* 2866), must have been prominent in his day. Oikoteles son of Geisias I, secretary to the epistatai of 421/0 responsible for the statues of the temple of Hephaistos (*IG* i³ 472. 4), was perhaps the father of the Geisias II who (?) contributed to the collective dedication to Apollo at Lambrika. Geisias' sister Timarete married within the deme; her husband was probably Amoibichos III, son of Gorgythos and grandson (SS) of Amoibichos I, who had served as epistates in the middle of the fifth century. Geisias made an individual dedication also (*Polemon* 1948). Amoibichos I's descendants over three generations were commemorated on a stone found at Koropi, which had probably been taken there after being illegally removed from a site in the Lambrika area (see Table 23.2), and by two lekythoi of unknown provenance. Kallippos and Diopeithes II, sons of Diopeithes I (who belonged to the latest generation commemorated on the stone) served together as epheboi in 333/2/1; their brother Nikokrates was councillor in 304/3. Both Kallippos and Nikokrates bore names that occur in other families of Lamptrai; their father may have married a daughter of Kallippos L., a pupil of Isokrates and opponent of Apollodoros of Acharnai in a banking case, who claimed to be proxenos of Heraklea Pontika, and/or a

Agasias is called *onos* on one sherd (Brenne 2002 T I/35), is given the patronymic [Ph]an[o]mach[o] (a near-synonym of Arximachou) on *SEG* 36. 44 c, and is attributed by two voters to Agryle, where perhaps he had a house.

⁶⁷ Brenne 2001 no. 227 Philokydes, 205 Olympiades. Hdt. 8. 21, Thuc. 1. 91. 3, *APF* 20; dedication on the Akropolis, *IG* i³ 749. One ostrakon accuses him of Medism, and the 4th and 10th letters attributed to Themistokles claim that his son Lysikles II married one of Themistokles' daughters.

⁶⁸ Philokydes of Kolonos, named on one sherd (Brenne 2001, no. 226), may be the same man, attributed to a city deme where perhaps he had a house. The names of both brothers imply aristocratic ambitions.

⁶⁹ Brenne 2001 no. 125; *IG* ii³ 4. 54. 38. The proposer of the 'decree of Kannonos' which regulated procedure in trials on the charge of deceiving the demos (Ar. *Ecd.* 1089; Xen. *Hell.* 1. 7. 20, 34), may be this man (acting in the context of Miltiades' trial in 489?) or a descendant; but the name occurs also, in the 4th c., in Philaidai (*IG* ii³ 4. 288). The final candidate is Pantaleon L., who is probably to be identified with Pantaleon Hegesiou (one sherd each, Brenne no. 210); he may be the Pantaleon of Erechtheis who died in 459 (*IG* i³ 1147. 7), or a relative, and may conceivably be an ancestor of the Hegesias L[amptreus?] of *IG* ii² 1251. 14 (late 4th c.).



Notes: On SEMA 386, 1523, and 1565 see ch. 11 p. 364. LGPN does not connect 1523, 1565, and 1524 with this family, and s. Teisias 15 does not recognise Kotsias' reading of IG ii² 2967 (ii³ 4.233 suggests Peisias).

TABLE 23.2. Lamptrai: Amoibichos and Geisias

daughter of Nikokrates son of Nikostratos, who was commemorated on a lekythos found at Vari and whose (?) brother Nikostratos II was buried in the middle of the fourth century).⁷⁰

Some other contributors to the Apollo dedication deserve comment. [Hi]e[r]o[n]y[mos], if his name is correctly restored (l. 3) is attested as trierarch, and was dead by 342/1, when his debts were paid by Philokrates L., perhaps acting as guardian of Hieronymos' son Hieron. The latter served as ephebe in 333/2/1 and was commemorated by a stone of the late fourth century found at Lambrika. His (?) guardian was probably Philokrates son of Philinos, who served as councillor for Coastal Lamptraí in 367/6; his father Philinos is attested as trierarch in the (?) 360s, and another son, —as Philinou, is listed as a kleruch in the same period.⁷¹

Eudemos . . o and Eudemos Epi (ll. 4–5), who were given abbreviated patronymics to distinguish them, may have been cousins (FBS); one of them served as councillor in (?) 336/5 (*Agora* XV 42. 61). Other possible kin groupings in the list are ll. 13–14, Kleitekton and Kle(i)tippos; ll. 18–20, Antiphilos, Aristophilos, and Aristophanes.

Kallikrates (son of Charopides; l. 6) proposed decrees in 346/5 and 340/39; he was serving as councillor at least in the former year. In 340/39 he was working to ensure the repayment of funds loaned to Athens by Tenedos, perhaps for operations against Philip in the Hellespont in the summer of 340. He seems to be one of the deme's businessmen, who perhaps had trading connections in the area.⁷²

The dedicant Euthynos (l. 8) served as one of the naval treasurers in 346/5; the stele of his daughter Theano, found at Koropi, may have moved from the deme

⁷⁰ Geisias: *IG* ii³ 4. 233. 35 (emendation from Teisias suggested by Kotzias 1948, cf. *BE* 1950, 100, rejected by M. J. Osborne 1988, 13 and hence ignored by *LGPN* Geisias 2, Teisias 15; 4. 233 suggests Peisias); see also *BE* 2014, 158. Kotzias, *ibid.*, also published a dedication to Apollo re-used in a chapel of the 10th–11th c. 'near Varkiza, on the western slopes of Mt Agios Demetrios', i.e. on the E side of the Porto Loumbardo valley. Tombstones: *SEMA* 386, 1523, 1565; *CAT* 4. 271; 4. 326; since the name Amoibichos is only attested in L. (*SEG* 33. 220), *SEMA* 1524, from the Kerameikos, may belong to the same family (cf. ch. 11 n. 12). The proxenos Kallippos appears in [Dem.] 52 (not 55 as stated in *LGPN* no. 41); cf. Isokr. 15. 93, and Trevett 1992, 9. His son Kalleas was one of the epistatai for Eleusis in 332/1–329/8, *IEleus* 158. 6–7. Nikokrates Nikostratou I L., *SEMA* 376, lekythos from the remains of a peribolos at Vari; his (?) brother Nikostratos II Nikostratou I, *SEMA* 377, *CAT* 2. 843 (provenance unknown), with a wife also from Lamptraí.

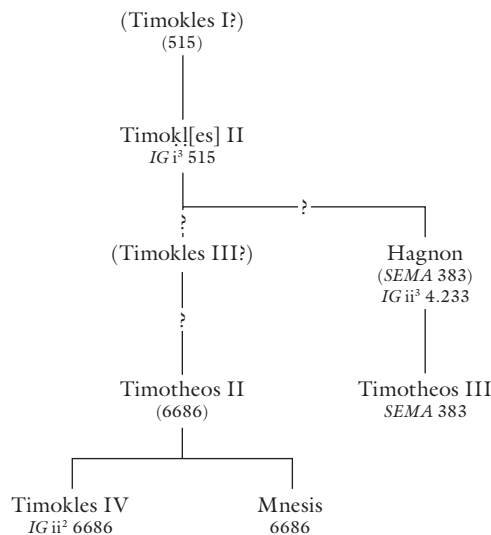
⁷¹ *APF* 14329; this entry, like that of Whitehead (1986a, no. 260) needs revision to take account of the new date for *IG* ii³ 4. 336. Hieron's stele is *SEMA* 1977. Philinos, *APF* *ibid.*, with J. K. Davies 1969; on the date of *IG* ii² 1609 see Gabrielsen 1989. Philokrates, *IG* ii³ 4. 54. 37, ii² 1622. 589 (erroneously taken in *APF* and in *LGPN* no. 103 as son of Hieronymos); kleruch, ii² 1952. 11 (Culasso Gastaldi thinks these kleruchs went to Lemnos; above, n. 18). (Most of the entries below relating to *IG* ii³ 4. 233 either supplement or correct those of Whitehead.)

⁷² *IG* ii³ 301. 5–6, ii³ 313, R/O 72; the name of the proposer of the Council decree on the latter occasion, ii³ 401, is lost. Cf. below at n. 76, on Kallikrates son of Anaxikrates, possibly of L.

area. Euthetos (l. 10) may have had a son Euthymachos I who served as councillor in (?) 336/5 and is named on a curse tablet. Euthymachos' son Poulydamas was commemorated in the city and his daughter in Kephale, her husband's deme. Euthymachos II son of Euthetos II, praktor on Imbros in (?) the later third century, may be a grandson (SS) of Euthymachos I.⁷³

Hagnon (l. 15) had a son Timotheos, commemorated by a lekythos found in the city area; they will have been related to Timokles and Mnesis, children of Timotheos L., commemorated by a trapeza (?) found in the church of Agia Trias at Lambrika, and to Timokl[es] II son of (?) [Ti]mok[les] I, councillor for Upper Lamptrai in 408/7 (Table 23.3).⁷⁴

For Nikeratos (l. 16) we perhaps have two grandsons: Nikeratos II, son of Theodotos, proposer in 298/7 of *SEG* 45. 134, and his brother Xenophon, ephebe in 333/2/1 (*IG* ii³ 4. 336).



Note: Conjectural reconstruction. *LGP*N separates the Hagnon of *IG* ii³ 4.233 from Timotheos' father.

TABLE 23.3. Lamptrai: Timokles

⁷³ Euthynos, *IG* ii² 1622. 387; his daughter Theano, ii² 6671. Euthymachos I, *Agora* XV 42. 51; L. Robert 1936 no. 11. 26 (*c.*340?); Polydamas, ii² 10530 + *SEG* 35. 175, from the Akropolis; Euthymachos' daughter Timarete, ii² 6363; Euthymachos II, *IG* xii 8. 51. 16, with Clinton and Dimitrova 2009.

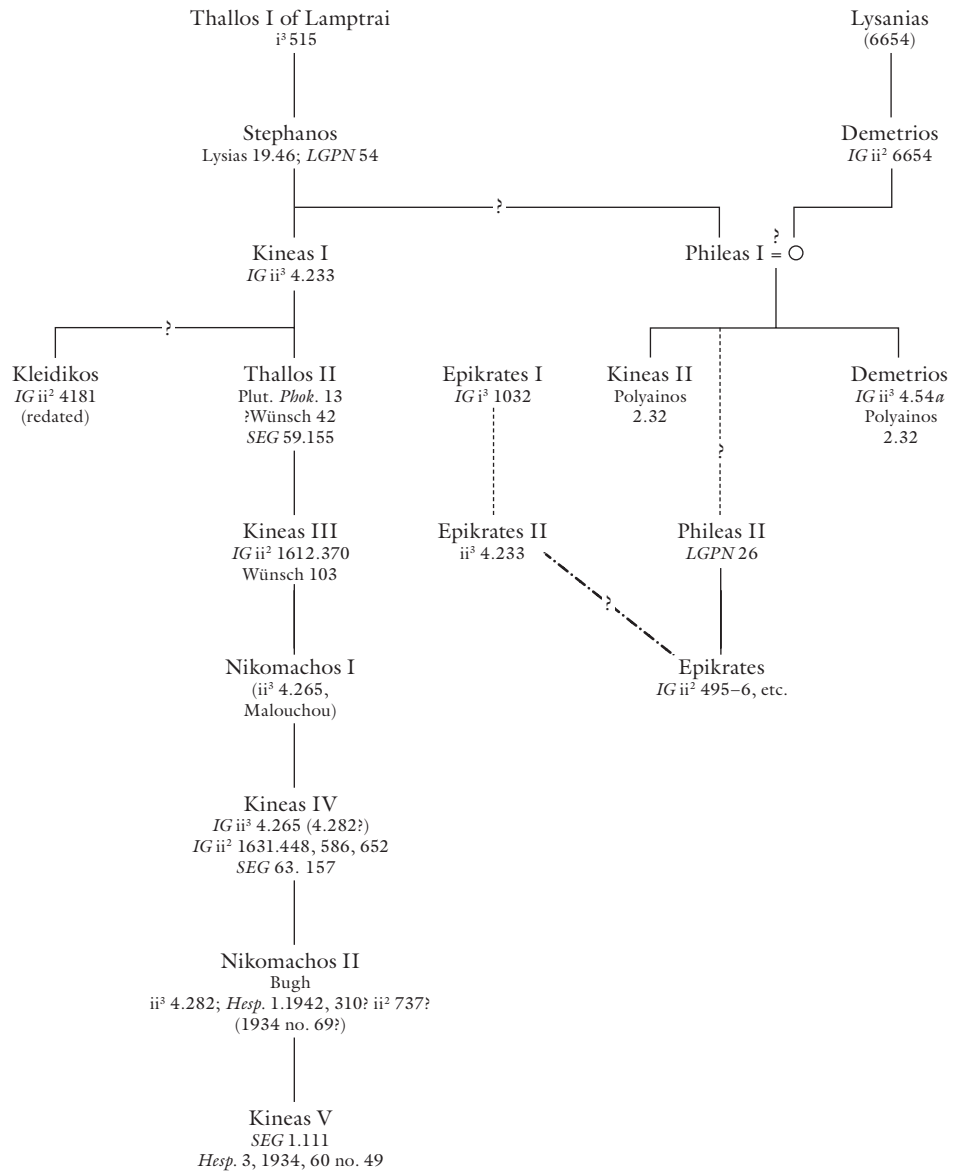
⁷⁴ Timotheos Hagnonos, *SEMA* 383 (Peck 1942 no. 401A); Timokles and Mnesis, *IG* ii² 6686 (the first name on the stone may be that of their father, [Timotheos Timokl]eous L., or possibly of Mnesis' husband if she married within the deme). Note also Mnesidemos son of Mnesistratos L., named on a mid-4th c. list found in the Agora (*SEG* 19. 174. 11); his daughter Philoumene made a dedication to Artemis Brauronia in or before 344/3 (*IG* ii² 1514. 62–3 and repeats), and he should be the —demos son of Mnesistratos L. whose name was added to the tombstone of two women found in the Agora (*SEMA* 373).

Lysanias (l. 21) should probably be identified with Lysanias II Lysaniou I, councillor for Coastal Lamptrai in 367/6, whose son Demetrios was commemorated by a loutrophoros found at Kitsi (*IG ii² 6654*, see n. 59); *pace* Whitehead, there is no reason to suppose that all the dedicants lived in Upper Lamptrai (see above, n. 65).

K[ine]as, if correctly restored (l. 33), belonged to a long-lasting and distinguished family. His father, the insensitively-named Stephanos Thallou L., was reputed to be fabulously rich; even the eleven talents which, according to the family (see Table 23.4), was all he left at his death was no mean sum. He had made generous dedications on the Akropolis; the source of his wealth is unknown, and the family does not appear in the mining records. Kineas' son Thallos II served with Phokion in Euboia in 348 and perhaps as secretary of the orgeones of Bendis in 337/6. The family can probably be traced down to the end of the third century. The brothers Demetrios and Kineas (II), sons of Phileas, who distinguished themselves at the battle of Mantinea in 362, where Demetrios died, were perhaps nephews (BS? ZS?) of our Kineas. Kineas III, trierarch before 323/1, begins a line in which the names Kineas and Nikomachos alternated. The Kineas Nikomachou L. who appears as creditor on a late fourth century horos (*SEG 63. 157*) may be Kineas IV son of Nikomachos I, who won a victory as hipparch in the anthippasia contest; the hipparch's son Nikomachos II is attested as a cavalryman in the middle of the third century, and his son Kineas V was given the status of proxenos by the Boiotian league at the end of the third century.⁷⁵

A Kineias, perhaps of this family, is named on a curse tablet from Piraeus, evidently provoked by a legal dispute, with other men who may also have been members of the deme. Eudidaktos may be the Lamptrian who was sent with two other men to consult the oracle at Delphi in 352/1 concerning use of the sacred organs

⁷⁵ Stephanos I's wealth, *Lys.* 19. 46; Demetrios (who died at Mantinea) and his brother Kineas (II), sons of Phileas, *Polyainos* 2. 32. Demetrios L. served as councillor for upper L. in 367/6, *IG ii³ 4. 54a. 56*. Kineas III may be the son either of one of these brothers or of Thallos II (son of Kineas I?). Thallos II, *Plut. Phok.* 13. 5; he may be the Th. who served as secretary of the citizen orgeones of Bendis in 337/6, *IG ii² 1255. 17 = SEG 59. 155* (there is much less reason to associate with this family the Stephanos honoured by the same orgeones as epimeletes in *IG ii² 1324*; the name is common and the text, now lost, was dated to the early 2nd c. by Kirchner). Thallos may also be named on the curse tablet *Wünsch* 1897, 42. 14 (but Thorai is equally possible). Repetition of names makes reconstruction of later generations problematic; the dedication of [?Kineas Nikom]achou L., commemorating victory in the anthippasia competition and crowns awarded for service as hipparch and general (*IG ii³ 4. 265*), was probably set up by Kineas IV (see *Bugh* 1988, II A 23; B 181 for Nikomachos II, hippeus c.250). *IG ii² 737* seems to have honoured (or been proposed by) Nikomachos II; the [Kineas] Nikomachou (II) L. and [Niko]machos (II) Kineou L. who appear in ll. 3–4 of a late 3rd c. list, perhaps of members of Erechtheis (*Hesp.* 1934, 60, no. 49), may be his grandson and son. Raubitschek's argument (1942) for taking *IG ii² 737* and the *Hesperia* text as parts of a single decree proposed by Nikomachos II, who would also be named (below his son) in the body of the text, seems dubious. The Nikomachos named on *IG ii³ 4. 282. 21* should probably be Nikomachos II. Kineas IV or V as proxenos, *SEG* 1. 111. Kleidikos Kineou L., 4th c., *Keesling* 2010c, 312.



Note: IG ii² 737 is dated early 3rd c. by LGPN, following Kirchner, late 3rd c. by Raubitschek. Dates of the *Hesperia* texts uncertain. APF suggested that Phileas I and his sons might belong to Anaphlystos. *I Rh* 6, 263/2, Kineas IV or V.

TABLE 23.4. Lamptrai: Thallos APF 12883 (revised)

between Eleusis and Megara (cf. Humphreys 2017*b*); the Eudidaktos who served as priest of Asklepios at some date before 275/4 may be a descendant. Kallikrates son of Anaxikrates bears names both of which are attested for Lamptrai in the classical period; if he belonged to L., he may have been related to Kallikrates son of Charopides, discussed above. The names [Lysi]machos, Philokles, Demophilos,

Antiphilos, Menakles, and Nikokrates also occur in Lamptrai, but they are common names.⁷⁶

A number of the wealthier Lamptrians seem to have lived in the city or in Piraeus. Archebiades was a local friend (*xenos*) of Lykon of Heraklea and an associate of the banker Pasion; he clearly lived in Piraeus (or possibly the city), where he would be available to introduce Kephisiades of Skyros, another friend of Lykon, to the banker ([Demosthenes] 52. 3–4). Archebiades' son Archebios served as trierarch in 373/2, during his father's lifetime, and again in 355/4; he funded his tribal team in the eutaxia competition in (?) 333/2 or 332/1.⁷⁷ Philomelos I L., son of Theodoros, who served as diaitetes in (?) 371/0, was commemorated with his daughter on a stele found in the city. Philomelos II, who proposed a decree in 318 in the hope of persuading Phokion to resist Nikanor, may be a grandson, and Philon son of Theodoros II, ephebe in 333/2/1, may also be related. The (common) name Theodoros, however, also occurs in the deme in the family of Krates son of Naupon I, secretary to the treasurers of Athena in 434/3, and his grandson (SS) Theodoros son of Naupon II, buried northwest of the city.⁷⁸

The bankers Sokles I and his son Blepaios also belonged to Lamptrai. Sokles I, like the better-known Pasion of Acharnai, may have started his career as a slave, since he is said to have bequeathed his wife to a freedman (Demosthenes 36. 29). Blepaios appears on a list of (?) councillors c.350; as leader of a group of eranistai responsible for a loan of 1300 drachmai; as a banker, in forensic speeches and in comedy; and as a contractor supplying bronze for the portico at Eleusis in 337/6, with Kephisophon son of Kephalion of Aphidnai (*APF* 8410). Stration, daughter of Sokles L., whose tombstone was recorded by Fourmont and by Ross at Lambrika, was perhaps Blepaios' sister; the Sokles L. who appears as creditor for 800 drachmai on a horos may be either Sokles I or a homonymous grandson.⁷⁹

Melesias son of Aristokrates L. was one of the lessees of the Peiraios theatre in 324/3, and may have lived in or near that deme. His father appears in a diadikasia list of c.380,

⁷⁶ Wunsch 1897, 103, cf. ch. 14 n. 83; Wilhelm 1904, 122 read Pa[s]i[on] in l. 6 and identified this man as Pasion II of Acharnai, grandson (SS) of the banker; he dated the text c.323, taking Kineas to be the trierarch Kineas III (so also Malouchou 2013*a*). Eudidaktos: Aleshire 1991, no. 5413. The name is also attested in Pandionis, in the 5th c. Lysis Dorotheou, Wunsch 103 b 1; Dorotheos L. on Samos c.350, *IG* xii 6. 262 I 22.

⁷⁷ Archebiades, *APF* 2308 (the 50 dr. sums in *IG* ii³ 550, represent dedicated phialai, not liturgic expenditure). Archebiades may be the target of Lys. F XXI (50–1) Carey 2007, XIX (16–16A) Thalheim 1913, XXXVII Gernet/Bizos 1926.

⁷⁸ Philomelos, *IG* ii² 6709 = 10046, *CAT* 186 (the daughter 's name cannot be recovered). This text comes from a lost anthemion stele in Fauvel's collection (see *CAT*), probably from the church of St John Mankoutes NE of the Akropolis (*AEE* 775, see A. Mommsen 1868, 17, no. 6). It is dated to the early 4th c. on the basis of a drawing (Conze 1893–1922, 262), and we do not know whether Philomelos' name was inscribed with that of his daughter or later. Philomelos' service as diaitetes, *IG* ii³ 4. 24 (*CEG* 891–2; Lambert 2004*b* n. 5). Philomelos II, Plut. *Phok.* 32; Philon Theodorou, *IG* 4. 336. Krates Nauponos, *IG* i³ 292, etc. Theodoros Nauponos, *IG* ii² 6672, mid-4th c., *AEE* 755, from the Sepolia/Levi area.

⁷⁹ Blepaios: *Agora* XV 21. 4; *Agora* XIX H 94; Dem. 21. 215, 40. 52; *PCG* 2. 150, no. 229 (Alexis, *Titthê*); *IEleus* 157. 31–3. Stration: *IG* ii² 6702. Horos: *IG* ii² 2733 = Finley 1952, no. 74 (no provenance).

and served as syntrierarch at some date between 356 and 346/5. [Aris]tokr[ates] II, councillor in 304/3, was probably Melesias' son; the patronymic of Aristokrates III son of Antiphanes (II) L., ephebe in 246/5, suggests a possible affinal connection with descendants of Antiphanes I, attested as steward of 'Philippos the Merchant' in 373.⁸⁰

Epicharides son of Lysippos L. freed a female woolworker, perhaps a domestic slave (but see E. E. Cohen 2003), living in Melite, in the 330s or 320s; there may be some connection with Epichares L., a member of the board of ten who succeeded the Thirty in 403.⁸¹

Endios son of Epigenes I testified for Phormion against Apollodoros of Acharnai in 349/8 concerning an encounter in front of a diaitetes ([Demosthenes] 45. 8); he was probably a city resident. His brother Kallias served as councillor in 367/6, and may be the Kallias L. who owned a tower and house in Besa at about the same date. [Kal]li[as]? served as trierarch in 353/2 and is named on *IG* ii² 2398, perhaps a list of diaitetai from Erechtheis. Endios' son Epigenes II bought an eschatia at Phlya in the hekatostai sales for 1875 drachmai; the Epigonos son of Endios who appears in a lease of the orgeones of Zeus Epakrios, *IG* ii² 1294 = *SEG* 50. 462, should be a kinsman. Epigenes II's brother Kritodemos is attested as trierarch in 325/4, and heads the list of members of a commission selected by the Eleusinian hierophant, responsible for entertaining Plouton in the 320s.⁸²

⁸⁰ *APF* 1916; *IG* ii² 1928. 31, 1622. 627, 634, Aristokrates I; *Agora* XIX L 13, Melesias; *Agora* XV 60. 12, 61. 38, Aristokrates II; *IG* ii³ 1008 I 10, Aristokrates III; [Dem.] 49. 14 f., Antiphanes I. Cf. Themistios son of Antiphanes L., sent as praktor to Imbros in the 3rd c., *IG* xii 8. 51 with Clinton and Dimitrova 2009.

⁸¹ Epicharides, *SEG* 18. 36 A 215, cf. *IG* i³ 1247 (above, n. 61); Epichares, *Lys.* 12. 55 (Krentz 1982, 92–7).

⁸² *APF* 7873. The Endios of Erechtheis named on a casualty-list of (?) 411/10 (*SEG* 52. 60) may be the father of Epigenes I (Endios of Agryle was still alive in 408/7). Kallias, *IG* ii³ 4. 54. 40, *IG* ii² 1613. 209; 2398. 2 (diaitetai?, Dow 1983); *Agora* XIX P 5. 62, 73 f. Epigenes II, Lambert 1997a, F 11a 3 (orgeones: W. S. Ferguson 1944, Langdon 1973, 195–6; Langdon 1985 doubts whether they were connected with the shrine on Hymettos). Lambert thinks the orgeones of Zeus Epakrios may be the sellers of the hekatostai records (ch. 19 n. 167). Kritodemos, *IG* ii² 1629. 3; 1933. 4. The seated Epigenes and standing Kallias (both bearded) on a lekythos of c.400 from Omonia Square, *IG* ii² 11279 = *CAT* 2. 392, if they belonged to this family, would have to be placed in an earlier generation (*CAT* thinks that Kallias looks older than Epigenes, but since the latter is seated he should be senior: ch. 11 n. 36); since the names are common, the case for attribution is weak (cf. Habicht 1990a). There is a somewhat stronger case for linking *IG* ii² 11725 (*CAT* 2. 227) a stele of c.400, naming a Kallias and a Hippomachos, and 11646 (*CAT* 21) from Piraeus, bearing the same names but dated to the first half of the 4th c., with *IG* i³ 1511, a stone of 429–404 from Potidaia naming Kallias and Ischomachos, sons of Hippomachos L., with a Pallenian. (Cargill 1995, 87–9, would like to date this stone in or after the 360s. but both lettering and associated cemetery finds tell against him.) It does not seem impossible that Kallias was commemorated with his father in Attika after the expulsion of the kleruchs from Potidaia, although the absence of Ischomachos from the Attic monuments would remain to be explained. A Kallias L. on Samos c.350, *IG* xii 6. 262 I 18. Other possible Lamptrians on *SEG* 52. 60: Aresias (cf. Table 23.2; or Euonymon, n. 16); Myrmex and Opsios (homonyms in *Agora* XV 42); Charopides, perhaps father of the proposer of *IG* ii³ 301, 346/5, and ii³ 313, 340/39 (but the name is not all that rare).

Saurias L., who served as a private arbitrator for Stephanos of Eroiadai in the late 370s ([Demosthenes] 59. 45, 47; *APF* 12612), was probably also an urban resident.⁸³

Other Lamptrians ranged further afield. Diphilos II son of Philotades served in the cavalry on Salamis c.320; part of his father's tombstone was found in the city area.⁸⁴ Euxenippos son of Ethelokrates L., client of Hypericides in the early 320s, who served as trierarch before 334/3, developed a special relationship with the sanctuary of Amphiaraos near Oropos, where he made a dedication to Hygieia, and became involved in a dispute concerning the sanctuary's lands in Oropian territory; he had also had some responsibility for the reception of the dedication to Hygieia by Alexander's mother Olympias in the Athenian sanctuary of Asklepios.⁸⁵

⁸³ Lamptrians buried in the city area, about whom we have some further information: Kleomedon L., *APF* 8587, is probably the son of Diogeiton whose dikast-ticket *SEG* 34. 147a was found in the Kerameikos; Hegesippos Kephisodorou L., whose tombstone *IG* ii² 6669 was found either in Piraeus or on Aigina, may be the father of Kephisodoros II, proposer of the deme decree *IG* ii² 1204: Nik[andros] Eun[ikou] L., if his name is correctly restored on *SEMA* 375, served as treasurer in 343/2 and is listed as (?) diaitetes on *IG* ii² 2398. 5. He may be the father of Antisthenes L., honoured by his tribe for financial services c.300 (? cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 104, n. 22, *IG* ii² 1165; later date in Tracy 2003); Antisthenes at that date had an epikleric daughter, probably not yet of marriageable age, so should have been in his 40s. Euthykrates (II) son of Euthykles (II), commemorated by an ornate loutrophoros dated c.325 (Hamiaux 1992, no. 189 = *IG* ii² 6667) said to come from the city, should be the grandson (SS) of Euthykrates I son of Euthykles I, who served as councillor in 367/6 and as trierarch between 356 and 346/5 (*APF* 5602; *IG* ii³ 4. 54. 42; *IG* ii² 1622. 617; *LGP*N no. 31, following *APF*, ignores the shape of the grave monument and identifies Euthykrates I and II). Euthykles II served as parasite of Athena Pallenis, *SEG* 34. 157. 22. Note also that Satyros Satyrou and Satyros Timolaou L., commemorated by Hellenistic monuments (*IG* ii² 6698–9; further kioniskoi for Satyros Satyrou, *SEMA* 381, Peek 1942, 219 no. 5 and (?) [Saty](ros) Saty(rou) [Lamp]treus, Peek *AG* II (1957) 15, no. 27), now have an ancestor, Satyros L., attested in a (?) diadikasia text of the early 4th c. (*SEG* 44. 85, perhaps part of *IG* ii² 1929). Demostrate daughter of Archias L., kioniskos from the city, *SEMA* 367 (*BCH* 84, 1960, 642); her father councillor in (?) 336/5, her brother Archedemides in 304/3, *Agora* XV 42. 56; 61. 36.

⁸⁴ *IG* ii³ 4. 323. 4, ii² 6710 with *SEG* 29. 211. Identifiable cavalry families in L. are rare but note Komeas II son of Chairias, ambassador to Seleukos in 281/0 and hipparch to Lemnos in the following year (Bugh 1988, 216–17; Cargill 1995, 351 no. 831; Culasso Gastaldi 2010, 350 n. 19; G. J. Oliver 2007a, 71; Byrne 2007; Paschidis 2008, A 53; *IG* ii³ 884, archon Telokles), and perhaps named on a 3rd c. list (*SEG* 21. 637. 5, Kome[as] or [ou]); his (?) grandfather (FF) Komeas I served as councillor c.350, *Agora* XV 21. 3, and since the name is very rare they may have claimed descent from the eponymous archon of 561/0. Chairion L., recorded as hippeus c.250 (Bugh 1988, II B 51), may be the hipparch's son. Sostratos L., who served in the cavalry c.250 (Bugh 1988, II B 243), may be a descendant of Sostratos (II) Deinippou L., *APF* 13362, who is recorded as trierarch in 325/4 and 323/2 (*IG* ii² 1629. 752–3, 850; 1631. 120–1; heirs, 205). Sostrate daughter of Sostratos I L., represented with her parents on *IG* ii² 6705 = CAT 3. 359, Scholl 1996 no. 119, should be the cousin (FBD) of Sostratos II. CAT's date would put this monument in the 360s (Möbius 1929: 390–365); Scholl's later date and suggestion that the names over the figures were added when Sostrate's parents died appear to be influenced by the assumption that her father was Sostratos II. Theophrastos and Thrasykles (Bugh 1988, II B 263, 272) are mere names.

⁸⁵ *APF* 5886, *IG* ii² 1623. 6–13, Hyp. 4 *Eux.* (see De Falco 1947; Whitehead 2000, 154, 215–16, 261–2); *SEG* 15. 291. The father's name, Ethelokrates, suggests some philosophical interests in the family. The eponymos archon Euxenippos of 305/4 may be his son or another relative. Note also the dedication to Asklepios of Hegemachos son of Krataimenes L., probably the Hegem[achos] who served as

Lamptrians serving in the kleruchs' council on Samos *c.*350 (*IG* xii 6. 262 I 18–23) included Kallias (? son of Epigenes; n. 82) and Hygiainon son of Chairedemos, both still in Athens as councillors in 367/6 (*IG* ii³ 4. 54. 40, 55), Charisios, who was back home as *diaitetes* in 325/4 (*IG* ii³ 4. 35), and a Sokrates, buried on Samos (*IG* xii 6. 270), perhaps treasurer in 399/8 (*IG* ii² 1375. 21, etc.) if the latter did not belong to an earlier generation. See also n. 76.

Archedikos son of Naukritos L., anagrapheus in 320/19, and proposer of *Agora XVI* 104 in 318/7, may be the pro-Macedonian comic poet (*PCG* 2. 553–6); he and his father may be named on a curse tablet found in a grave in Piraeus, concerned with a lawsuit.⁸⁶ A more distinguished role was played two decades later by Aristeides son of Mnesitheos L., who served as general in (?) 280/79 (*IG* ii³ 4. 7, arch. Telokles, Byrne 2007) and again in 267/6 (*SEG* 56. 288) and was honoured at Orchomenos in Arcadia with Kallippos son of Moirokles of Eleusis and Glaukon son of Eteokles of Aithalidai, in connection with their visit to that city to mobilize support for the Chremonidean War. He was also a proxenos of Oropos.⁸⁷

The deme had a final burst of life in the late fourth century, perhaps after the restoration of democracy in 307; the deme decree *IG* ii² 1204 honoured Philokydes son of Aristarchos of Acharnai, who is attested as a member of the Areiopagos in 305/4 and presumably owned property at Lamptraï, for his contributions to sacrifices. The cult building on Kiapha Thiti seems to belong to this period.

councillor in (?) 336/5 (*Agora XV* 42. 48), with an addition by his son Eurymedon *c.*300, *SEG* 23. 124; see ch. 12 n. 75 on familial relations with Asklepios.

⁸⁶ Archedikos, Paschidis 2008, A 1; curse tablet Wunsch 67, also naming a Krates, perhaps of Sphettos; see Habicht 1993a, Bayliss 2011, and ch. 27 n. 28.

⁸⁷ *IOrop* 26, cf. Habicht 1976; Byrne 2007; *SEG* 52. 124. His father [Mnesi]theos Ar[i]s[teidou] may have proposed *IG* ii² 592 *c.*300 (*SEG* 32. 104); Aristeides son of Hermokydes L., commemorated by a stele of the early 4th c. found in Piraeus, may be an ancestor (*IG* ii² 6645 = *AEE*² 210 = 744c). Note also Diokles son of Dionysios L., commemorated with his wife and daughter on *SEMA* 368 (*CAT* 3. 388a), from Dafni. Add to *APF* 10810 that either Nikias I or Nikias II L. is now attested as trierarch *c.*355, *SEG* 45. 147. 49.

II Aigeis

This tribe had a number of small demes, both in its city trittys and in the contiguous inland and coastal trittyes; there are problems of location and also in the trittys-assignment of inland and coastal demes. The possibility that one of the tribe's trittyes (presumably the inland trittys, containing Ikarion and Plotheia) was called Epakreis is also disconcerting.¹

CITY TRITTYS

There are some arguments for placing Diomeia (n. 8) north rather than south of the city, which would produce a more coherent trittys. Kollytos lay inside the city walls, and an arc of suburban demes may have run from Diomeia and Kolonos northwest of the city to Ankyle and Hestiaia on the slopes of Hymettos.

Kollytos

The deme adjoined Melite (Strabo C 65/1. 4. 7; see Lalonde 2006*b*), and also included or ran to the border of the Aiakeion, which seems to have been situated in or next to the Agora, probably at its southwest corner. Kollytos may have stretched southwards from the Agora along the valley between the Akropolis and the Areiopagos. In 327/6 the deme passed a decree that was published on the same stone as a decree of the state, both concerned with the cult of Agathe Tyche; the deme decree seems to call for demesmen to lend funds secured on deme property so that money can be raised quickly. It is not clear whether Kollytos was involved in this programme of extraordinary sacrifice because the sanctuary of Agathe Tyche was located in the deme or because some catastrophe or ill-omened event (such as a lightning-strike, earthquake damage, abnormal birth) had taken place in the deme or had affected it particularly severely.² The deme's revenues were estimated at 2000

¹ See ch. 21 at nn. 25–7 for objections to Traill's reconstruction of the trittyes of this tribe, and ch. 21. nn. 133, 137–9 for arguments in favour of assigning *IG* ii² 2490 to Aigeis.

² Aiakeion: *IG* i³ 426. 6–9; Stroud 1998. Agathe Tyche: *IG* ii² 1195 + 620, see Matthaïou 2008, *SEG* 58. 108/61. 10; the text mentions the archon of 327/6. Matthaïou suggests the corn shortage of this period, but possibly a more specific reason for the deme's involvement is needed (there was already an

drachmai; one wonders what produced them. N. F. Jones 2004, 133 notes literary evidence for theatrical performances at the Rural Dionysia (using the city theatre? P. Wilson 2010*a*, 42).

Kollytos was the residence in 507/6 of Hipparchos son of Charmos, eponymos archon in 496/5 and ostracized in 488/7, perhaps a grandson (DS) of Peisistratos (*APF* 11793 IX B). Other well known demotai were the democrat Thrasyboulos son of Thrason; the sculptor Iasos, who worked on the Erechthion;³ Plato; the politician Agyrrhios son of Kallimedon; Misgolas, who was notorious in his youth, if we can believe Aischines; and the orator Hypereides.

Plato's father Ariston son of Aristokles allegedly descended from Kodros and Melanthos; his wife Periktione (Plato's mother) was a cousin (FBD) of the oligarch Kritias, and her uncle (MB) was the wealthy Pyrilampes, famous for his peacocks. Despite these impressive connections, Ariston apparently emigrated to Aigina as a kleruch, perhaps *c.*427. His wife Periktione had married Pyrilampes before *c.*413. Plato, at his death, owned the site of the Academy, and land in Eiresidai and Iphistiadai; at least the two former properties had been purchased by him.⁴

Agyrrhios' economic activities seem to have been cash-based; he is said to have headed a ring of tax-farmers in 402/1, and was an associate of the banker Pasion. His (?) grandson (SS) Kallimedon son of Kallikrates K. is attested as leasing a mine *c.*320/19, but there is no evidence of a long-standing family tradition of mining interests.⁵

Misgolas and his brother Naukles freed a female paidion living in Skambonidai, perhaps a domestic slave, in (?) the late 320s; Aischines' account of Misgolas' youth implies urban residence. Misgolas' appearance on *IG* ii³ 4. 63, a list of

annual sacrifice to Agathe Tyche by the late 330s: *IG* ii² 1496. 76, 107, 148, in late winter/early spring: rain for crops?; cf. ii³ 445. On the possibility that there was a sanctuary and cult statue of Agathe Tyche in the SW Agora see Palagia 1994; however, a dedication has been found in the fill of the medieval fort Rhizokastro, near the parodos of the theatre of Dionysos, on the opposite side of the Akropolis (*AD* 21, 1966, B 39). There was a sanctuary of Eileithyia in K., near a house belonging to Artemis Agrotera rented by Kephisophon of Aphidnai, *Agora* XIX L 6. 98–100 (ch. 31 n. 32).

³ *APF* 7305 Thrasyboulos; his sister made an intra-tribal marriage into Erchia. Iasos, *APF* 7423.

⁴ *APF* 8792 VII B; D. L. 3 1, 3, 41–2; Table 5.3; chs. 4 n. 27, 5 n. 23. D. L. 3. 3 reports an alternative tradition (Favorinus, *VHF* 64 Barigazzi 1966) that Plato was born on Aigina (and that Ariston returned to Athens in 405), in which case Periktione will have accompanied her husband to the island before Plato's birth (428/7? *c.*424/3 Nails 2002) and returned (with her sons but without her husband?) not long afterwards. Her marriage to Pyrilampes and the birth of their son Antiphon II cannot be precisely dated, but perhaps belong to the late 420s. Pyrilampes' deme is unknown; his son Antiphon is represented as living in Melite in Plat. *Parm.* 127a. Pherekrates K. (probably the son of Philokrates, councillor in 341/0) owned land, but we do not know where: *Agora* XVI 84. 100, 102 (= *Agora* XIX L 8), dated *c.*330.

⁵ *APF* 8157 III; Table 8.7. *Agora* XIX P 38. 12; Paschidis 2008, A 6. Agyrrhios was still active in 374/3, when he proposed R/O 26. Pythodelos I K., diaitetes in 330/29 (*IG* ii³ 4. 33), may have married a daughter of Agyrrhios' son Kallikrates. [P]ytho[delos?] son [K]all[i]k[rates] I? was perhaps buried in the city in the late 4th c. (the date in *SEMA* 326 is too early); Kallikrates II son of Pythodelos II was councillor in 265/4 (*IG* ii³ 921. 49, Euboulos) and 259/8 (ii³ 983. 56, Philinos).

members of a tribal commission to which well-known men seem to have been appointed, should indicate that he was wealthy, but neither he nor his brother has yet appeared in any liturgic record.⁶

Hypereides owned houses in Athens and at Eleusis, leased a mine at Besa, and at one time leased the Rarian plain, a sacred estate near Eleusis. His parents were buried near the Hippades Pylai, north of the city; his own bones, according to a rather confused tradition, were brought back to Attika and interred there by a kinsman called Alphinoos. An impressive Kerameikos grave monument, which included a bull statue, probably commemorated Hypereides' cousin (FBS) Dionysios II son of Alphinoos I of K., who is attested as one of the treasurers of the sanctuary of Hera on Samos in 346/5. This peribolos seems to have been robbed in the 330s, after Chaironeia, and not restored. Dionysios II died childless, leaving only his mother and sisters to mourn him, so the Alphinoos (II) who buried Hypereides will probably have been the son of one of these sisters, possibly adopted posthumously into Kollytos to continue the oikos of his maternal grandfather.⁷

Loutrophoros-base of Apemantos K. from Moschato, *SEG* 56. 262 (ch. 11 n. 37); he was perhaps hieromnemon at Delphi between 328 and 326, *CID* II 71. 43, 72. 6, 94. 4, 96. 6 (*SEG* 58. 217).

Diomeia

In the aitiological myth explaining the name of the sanctuary of Herakles at Kynosarges, a white dog runs off with meat sacrificed by Herakles to Diomos son of Kollytos. This does not necessarily imply either that Diomeia was adjacent to Kollytos or that the sanctuary at Kynosarges lay in Diomeia. The Mesogeioi

⁶ The reconstruction [Misgo]las in *SEG* 23. 81. 5 (= *IG* ii² 1370) is doubtful; in any case our M. cannot (*pace* *LGP*N) have held office in 403/2. Manumission, *SEG* 18. 36 B 335–42; for references in comedy see *LGP*N s. Misgolas (1). E. M. Harris 1988b suggests that Misgolas, Timarchos, and Aischines were all born c.390; M. H. Munn 1993 argues that Misgolas and Aischines were born in 395/4. Naukles I perhaps had a great-grandson Naukrates II son of Naukles II, attested as councillor in the 250s, *IG* ii³ 983. 54.

⁷ Table 2.3 (correcting Habicht 1991); *APF* 13912; *Agora* XIX P 21. 13–14. Hippades Pylai, Garland 1969, Matthaïou 1983. Hermippos (F 68b Wehrli 1974, *FGH* 1026 F 47, from [Plut.] *Mor.* 849c) reported that Hypereides was buried by Alphinoos, his *anepsios*; the alternative tradition that Alphinoos was a grandson (SS, son of Glaukippos) is probably worthless (the textual corruption in [Plut.] loc. cit. suggests interpolation). The testimony of Diodoros the Periegete (*FGH* 372 F 34; c.300) that H. was commemorated in his parents' burial plot was (perhaps unnecessarily) taken by biographers to imply that he was buried there; their attempts to reconcile this datum with the tradition of death in exile may have little factual basis apart from the name of a known kinsman. Dionysios: *IG* xii 6. 261; ii² 11169 = *CEG* 593 = *SEG* 41. 197 (Bergemann 1997, 184 A 3); see Stichel 1984; Knigge 1988 (1991, 123–5); Engels 1994. He possibly served as toxarch (his grave contained numerous arrowheads and two statues of archers may have formed part of his monument); Samos (presumably) is referred to as his second fatherland. Hypereides is cursed on *SEG* 40. 269. Lease of the *Raria*, *IEleus* 177. 382 with Papazarkadas 2011, 315 no. 80.

(ch. 20 at n. 130), whose centre seems to have lain northwest of the city, had a priest of Diomos, which suggests that their sanctuary may have been in Diomeia; the myth would then link the two sanctuaries of Herakles, with the implication that the sanctuary in Diomeia was the older of the two. The genealogical link between Diomos and Kollytos would be sufficiently explained by membership of the same trittys.⁸

The most prominent family in the deme was that which produced the orator Stratokles, who became prominent at the time of the Harpalos affair and re-emerged in 307/6 when the city was liberated by Demetrios Poliorketes, representing himself as the political heir of Lykourgos. His fellow-demesman Nothippos proposed a decree in 331/0, and Nothippos' son Lysias served as secretary in 307/6.⁹

Kolonos

The location of the deme, north-west of the city, is not in doubt. Its cult of Oidipous may have been inspired by Sophokles' play, but there was presumably already a cave or cleft in the hill that could be regarded as a point of entry to the underworld and associated with the descent of Theseus and Peirithoos. By Pausanias' day these two heroes shared a heroon at Kolonos with Oidipous and Adrastus. Oidipous' instructions to Theseus, in Sophokles' play, not to reveal the place of his death (1522–3), may well imply that the poet was innovating. The *Oidipous at Kolonos*, written towards the end of Sophokles' long life (he died in 406), and produced after his death in 401, was written after Kolonos had become notorious as the site of the 'Assembly' meeting at which the Four Hundred had taken power in 411. Sophokles had served as a member of the commission of

⁸ Diomos: Kearns 1989, 98 n. 92, 156. Porph. *de abst.* 2. 29 associates him with the Dipolieia. Hdt. 5. 63 says that Kynosarges lies next to Alopeke; he does not mention Diomeia (but see Billot 1992, 1994; S. Privitera 2002, Eliopoulos 2010; ch. 32 n. 2; Greco 2011, 503, 508–9). There was a Diomeian gate, so the deme ran up to or included part of the city wall. Traill (1986) removes Diomeia from the city trittys, and groups it with the coastal demes, but I find this kind of manipulation implausible: see ch. 21 at nn. 25–7. Hegesandros (*FHG* IV 412–22 F 3; a collector of anecdotes and curiosa of the mid-2nd c. BCE) attributed to the Herakleion of Diomeia the anecdote about Philip of Macedon and jokers associated by other sources with Kynosarges. Cf. S. Privitera 2002; R. Parker 2005*a*, 272–3, suggesting a deme location next to Melite.

⁹ *APF* 12938; Paschidis 2008, A 19. Stratokles I, the orator's grandfather (FF), was already wealthy. Possibly this family was responsible for the sculptor Sthenis' registration in the deme (Habicht 1998)? The boys' pentathlon victor Stratokles of *Iorop* 520. 26 is dated in 329/8 by Knoepfler 1993*b*, which is too late for the orator. Nothippos' decree, *IG* ii³ 351, Lambert 2007*a* no. 97, concerned relations with the Thracian royal family, but it is not clear that they were already in revolt against Alexander in 330 (see Schwenk 1985, ad loc.). The Thracian representative Rheboulas is described as son of Seuthes (III) and brother of Kotys, of Angele, which seems to imply that he was by this time resident in Attika; chs. 14 n. 11, 17 n. 24, 25 n. 61.

probouloi appointed in 413 to exercise control over the city's democratic institutions, and he may well have sympathized initially with the Four Hundred. Subsequent disillusionment would have left a trauma, interfering with his earlier memories of peaceful cultic activities in the deme. To locate the death and burial of the polluted Oidipous at Kolonos was, I suggest, a way of urging himself, his fellow-demesmen, and the other citizens of Athens to bury these traumatic memories and re-sacralize the deme. Seen in this light, the play may provide important evidence that for a religious thinker his deme could be a site of communication between contemporary life and the other worlds of the past, childhood, the dead, and the gods.¹⁰

Kolonos had an important cult of Poseidon Hippios, patronized by the cavalry; this relationship may partly explain why the sanctuary's resources came into the hands of the Treasurers of the Other Gods. The area may have been popular with wealthy men who needed a base near Athens in addition to their rural estates; both Menon (of Gargettos ?) and Philokydes (of Lamprai?) are attributed to Kolonos on a few ostraka.¹¹

Erikeia

The deme has been tentatively assigned to the Kypseli area but the main evidence for a deme-centre there is the deme-inscription *IG ii² 1215*, which gives no indication of the identity of its deme. It is dated in the early third century and praises a benefactor for restoring deme sanctuaries and managing deme funds,

¹⁰ On topography see Kirsten 1973, Alabé 1987, Edmunds 1993; on cults, Jouanna 1995; speculations on Sophokles' political role, Jameson 1971. Hero cult, Büttner 1911; Kearns 1989 (50–52, 189, 193–4, 208–9); Calame 1998; Connolly 1998; see also *FGH* 324 F 62 comm. The prophecy of Eur. *Phoin.* 1707 that Oidipous would die at Kolonos may be a later insertion, or evidence of communication between poets (cf. Bárány 1995; Mills 1997, ch. 5). The tradition of a tomb of O. under the Areiopagos (Paus. 1. 28. 7) may have been influenced by Sophokles' reference to a sanctuary of the Semnai/Eumenides at Kolonos (see *SEG* 38. 265). Aristophanes' *Frogs*, perhaps partly written before Sophokles' death (Dover 1993, 73), also pleads for reconciliation (687–99). I am not arguing for a crudely 'political' interpretation of *OC*, but for a complex relation between emotion and religious metaphor, based on an association of Kolonos with the 400 surely present in the minds of the imagined audience of 406. (Calame, 1998, 344, allows for the possibility of a political reference, but his paper explores other aspects of the play.) Euripides (of Phlya) uses references to deme cults in a similar way, especially in *IT*; see Humphreys 1986*c*. For Sophokles' family see ch. 6 n. 7.

¹¹ Poseidon Hippios: possibly the road to Kolonos led through the Hippades Pylai (Bugh 1988, 81 n. 5, cf. 27–8); on the Treasurers of the Other Gods see ch. 22 n. 100. P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 377–8 suggests that the assembly at Kolonos may have been legitimized by linking it to a festival of Poseidon. Decree for hipparchs and phylarchs of 282/1, copy to be set up in sanctuary, *SEG* 21. 525. Remains of a burial area on the road to K., *AAA* 18, 1985, 39–50. See also Siewert 1979; he notes the name of Poseidippos son of Kallippos K., known from the mid-4th c. stele *IG ii² 6528* (*AEE* 689, 'Ath.'; *CAT* suppl. M 5). Menon, Brenne 2001, 189; Philokydes, Brenne 226. Despite the favourable position of his deme close to the city, Anaxikles [- c. 5 -]jeous K. bought land in Aphidnai in the hekatostai sales, Lambert 1997*a*, F 7 B 17–18.

both sacred and secular; he has promised to pay out of his own pocket for the restoration of sanctuaries and the dedication of statues, on the understanding that the deme will repay him from the contributions required of officials appointed to building commissions. Evidently the deme-site had suffered some serious damage, perhaps from fire or earthquake rather than enemy action; the text, rather than demonstrating the continuation of vigorous deme life, indicates the dominant position of the benefactor, who uses the deme emergency to put pressure on the other members of the deme to make contributions. The honorand was not necessarily a member of the deme, and might indeed have been the prominent man whose dedication, commemorating honours awarded by the demos, the Council, the cavalry (?), and the phratry Medontidai, was found in the same area.¹²

Bate

The location of this deme at Ambelokipi is also based on very slender evidence (the assumption that the modern toponym Vatheia derives from the ancient deme's name), although the evidence for a deme site in the area is slightly more solid than in the case of Kypseli. Bate was the deme of at least two prominent old aristocratic families. The family of Drakontides belonged to the *genos* Eteoboutadai and supplied several of the *genos*' priestesses of Athena Polias; it can be traced from the service of Drakontides' son Lysikles as secretary to the treasurers of Athena in 416/5, and of his sister Lysimache as priestess from c.420–360, at least down to the third century. The family of Kallias and Habron of B. probably belonged to the *genos* Apheidantidai. An early Kallias son of Habron dedicated a bronze vase on the Akropolis in the first half of the sixth century; after this we lose track of the family until Kallisto daughter of Habron (II) appears as wife of the statesman Lykourgos, who belonged to the other leading line of the Eteoboutadai, which appointed priests of Poseidon Erechtheus. Kallisto's brother Kallias II, attested as trierarch, served as treasurer of military funds in 338/7. Descendants played a significant role in the revival of the *genê* in the late second century BCE.¹³

¹² Destruction by enemy action so close to Athens seems unlikely. On the Medontidai text *IG* ii² 1233 see ch. 19 n. 153. Rangaves (1855 II, 806) says ii² 1215 was found in a well in Patissia; *IG*'s provenance (first in *CIG* 588) comes from Pittakes? Sculptural material, including reliefs of Athena and Tyche, was seen by early travellers in a church at Ambelokipoi (Wolters 1894), and more recently a Roman collection of small copies of classical works of art was excavated, possibly in the same area (*AD* 20 B I, 1965, 103–7, cf. *BCH* 1968, 72–5); Wolters saw no evidence of a deme site.

¹³ Lysikles: *IG* i³ 306–8, 330–2, 370. See *APF* 4549, and ch. 20 n. 130, Table 20.4, on this family and on Amynomachos I son of Philokrates I B., councillor in (?) 343/2, *IG* ii³ 4. 75. 30, whose son Philokrates II and grandson (SS) Amynomachos II were associated with the Epicurean school (D. L. 10. 16; Cic. *de Fin.* II 101); Amynomachos II proposed the decree of the Mesogeioi honouring Polyuektos II son of Lysistratos B. c.275/4 (*IG* ii² 1245, arch. Olbios). The rare name Amynomachos, which suggests membership of the Amynandridai, occurs in a Eumolpid family of Halai Aixonides in the 2nd c. BCE, probably

Hestiaia

A site east of Ambelokipi is suggested by a possible association of Hestiaia with Ankyle in a fragment of Isaios, but the identification is far from solid.

Poseidippos son of Kallikrates H. served as councillor, treasurer of his tribe, and hieropoios in 341/0, and as councillor again in 335/4; his brother Polyuktos made an apographe in the interests of Sopolis son of Smikythos of Kydathenaion, who had naval debts, in 325/4.¹⁴

Ankyle

The villages of Upper and Lower Ankyle seem to have lain north of Agryle, on the eastern slopes of Hymettos. Polystratos son of Diodoros A., convicted in 415 of parodying the Mysteries, owned land in his deme near a sanctuary, a house in Kydathenaion, another house ‘under Mounichion’, and half of a plot ‘near the wall’ (of Piraeus?).¹⁵

Otryne

There is growing consensus that Otryne was a city deme, though the grounds for this view are tenuous: a joke in Antiphanes about Otryne and fish probably implies distance from the sea rather than easy access.¹⁶

The family whose quarrels are narrated in [Demosthenes] 44 (ch. 7 case 12), which provides most of our information on the deme, apparently had land on Salamis (§§ 19, 32), and perhaps also in the Laureion area, where the tombstone of Leokrates II O. was found, bearing reliefs of a young horseman and of

due to an intermarriage at some point with this line in Bate; ch. 20 n. 141, Table 20.3. Habron and Kallias, *APF* 7856; Sokrates and Archippos, sons of Archias, of Athens, granted proxenia in Aitolia *c.* 240, *IG* ix 1² I 25. 37–42, may have belonged to Bate.

¹⁴ Is. F X 12 Scheibe 1859, reference to a 3-headed Herm in Ankyle by the *Hestian hodon*, emended to *Hestiaian*. Note however *IG* ii² 2776, 81–2 (S. G. Miller 1972) an estate *Erch[ia]si pros tōi Tri[ke]ph[a]loi*. Poseidippos: *IG* ii³ 4. 76. 32, 74, 85; *Agora* XV 43. 34. Polyuktos: see ch. 14 n. 41.

¹⁵ *IG* i³ 426. 65–71; 424. 5–9; it is not clear whether the crops in 421 A 26–30 came from these properties or from elsewhere. Hygiainon A. in (?) the 320s manumitted a slave living in Kollytos (*SEG* 18. 36 A 335–8; Habicht 1994*b*); he has disappeared from the large curse tablet *SEG* 58. 265. Nikokrates son of Phrynion A., buried on Salamis, *SEMA* 8, served in the Council in 281/0, *Agora* XV 72. 68 (if the tombstone can be dated 3rd c.); Nikokrates son of Dion, *ibid.* no. 85, and Kallikrates son of Phrynion, *IG* ii² 5250 (no provenance, 3rd.–2nd c.), should be related to him. See also ch. 12 n. 87 on *SEG* 21. 752.

¹⁶ *PCG* 2 F 204, cf. Schaps 1982. *IG* ii² 2776. 96–8 (cf. S. G. Miller 1972), where Otryne appears in proximity to Aphidnai, might suggest a site north of Plotheia. *IG* ii² 8409, now re-read as commemorating Aristomen[es] son of Bios of O[t]ryn[e], *SEG* 24. 244, was seen by Milchhöfer at Spata, but may have been taken there by a collector. *SEMA* 503, Kallikrates O. (city); he was on Samos *c.* 350, *IG* xii 6. 262 II 13. On the family of Apollodoros O. (Hellenistic) see Paschidis 2008 A 61.

a loutrophoros.¹⁷ The speech derives from a suit between Leostratos of Eleusis/Otryne (father of Leokrates II) and his third cousin (FMMBDSS), the son of Aristodemos of Pallene, over the estate of Archiades son of Eutymachos O., who had probably died in the early fourth century, some sixty to seventy years before the lawsuit. It supplies some interesting evidence on deme procedure (ch. 22 n. 54). Leostratos' father Leokrates I had been adopted into the oikos of Archiades, his mother's brother, perhaps shortly before the latter's death (§ 19). Leostratos had been admitted to the deme Otryne at the age of eighteen but, when his son Leokrates II had followed him into deme membership, had returned to his deme (Eleusis) and family of origin, as the law permitted (and as his father had done earlier). When Leokrates II died without leaving an heir, his father approached the demarch of Otryne—whom he naturally knew well, having grown up as a prospective member of the deme and remained a member of it for some thirty years, from his own introduction at eighteen until that of his son—and asked to be reinstated. He was inscribed forthwith on the deme's *ekklēsiastikos pinax*, the list used in the city for controlling rights to citizenship and deme affiliation; this made no difference to his civic status (merely transferring him from Eleusis in Hippothontis to Otryne in Aigeis), but provided some kind of presumption that he had resumed his position as adoptive heir of Archiades, and gave him opportunities to associate again with Otrynians as a member of the deme. His opponent protested, but Leostratos persuaded a few demesmen and the demarch to agree that he would be inscribed on the register when it was officially opened. He then lined up as a member of Otryne to take part in the Panathenaia, but the rival claimant to the estate objected again; he protested once more, successfully, when Leostratos asked to be reinscribed on the deme register at the deme election meeting (*archairesiai*). Leostratos then changed his tactics, and, according to the opponent, got his second son Leochares onto the deme register as adopted son of Archibiades before the dokimasia of the deme's new members. The situation was an unusual one, in which there cannot have been any clear-cut rules for demarchs to follow; the fact that Leostratos was well known in the deme, whereas his opponent, in Pallene, had never had any dealings with it, is likely to have influenced deme opinion in Leostratos' favour, particularly since he had recently lost a son in the prime of young manhood.¹⁸

¹⁷ IG ii² 7016 = CAT 1. 435, Hamiaux 1992 no. 187 (missed by APF 5638, and not connected by LGPN, which has this stone under Leokrates 20 and Leokrates II with the rest of the family under Eleusis, Leokrates 9). See Table 2.2.

¹⁸ It is not clear whether the *archontōn agora* of § 36 (before the Panathenaia) and the *archairesiai* of § 39, after the festival, were both deme meetings; possibly the former was the tribal meeting at which councillors and other officials were appointed (ch. 21 n. 68). The small meeting of § 37 was perhaps a minor deme sacrifice at which the victims were not sufficient to feed a large crowd. It is also unclear

In the third century Apollodoros son of Apollodoros O. served as general of the countryside in the 250s (*IRb* 8) and Apollodoros son of Sogenes, perhaps a kinsman, contributed to the epidosis of 248/7; one of them is attested in the cavalry. An ancestor was councillor on Samos, *IG* xii 6. 262 II 14 (tombstone from Athens, *SEMA* 503).

INLAND AND COASTAL TRITTYES

As noted above, there is considerable room for doubt about the grouping of demes in these two trittyes, and it seems better in the present state of our knowledge not to try to separate them.

Ikarion

Ikarion and Plotheia, securely located at Dioniso and Palaio Stamata, north of Pentelikon, seem to form a quasi-enclave detached from the other villages of the Epakria region and attached to the Mesogeia south of the mountain. It is perhaps worth noting that Buck, who explored the area in the 1880s, remarked that in addition to lines of communication leading westward into the plain of Athens and eastward (over mountainous country) into the Marathon plain, the area was also connected to the Mesogeia by a route leading through the Rapentosa valley.¹⁹

The early explorations of the American School allow us to form a relatively clear picture of Ikarion as a deme. It had a central square in which dramatic performances took place; a row of marble theatre seats for privileged persons, and the Pythion, also in the central area, date from the fourth century, but a sixth-century colossal seated marble statue of Dionysos (repaired in the fourth century) and a text referring to it, and to a dedication to Apollo, also sixth-century, indicate that both cults were already in existence before the village claimed deme status. Deme records were inscribed and set up in this area from about the middle of the fifth century, and choregic monuments were erected from the early fourth century; there were also further dedications to Dionysos and Apollo. Houses perhaps spread over three terraces east of the deme centre, along the ridge of Mt Pentelikon

whether the dokimasia of § 41 is that of the deme or Council, but the latter seems more likely, since the opponents would surely have protested at a formal deme meeting (see A. Chankowski 2014, 43–4, on the order of events). The opponents presumably also had some allies in Otryne, who would act on their behalf in meetings of the deme, but Leostratos' support was stronger. The Archiades (II) of Otryne once read on our largest curse tablet has now been assigned to Thorikos (*SEG* 58. 265 A I 16).

¹⁹ For the possibility that Otryne was also in Epakria see above, n. 16. Buck 1889, map opposite p. 158; see ch. 26 n. 73 on the route to Vrana and Marathon. A Plotheian served as parasite of Athena Pallenis, *SEG* 34. 157. 28.

above it to the south, and along the road leading northwest to Plotheia; graves lined this and other roads, while others were perhaps placed in conspicuous positions above them. There may have been small subsidiary hamlets at Kokkino Chorafi, between Ikarion and Plotheia, and possibly in the Rapentosa valley.²⁰

Ikarion may have been the base of a phratry, although we have no direct evidence on this point; the absence of any reference to funds of Apollo in the deme accounts of the fifth century suggests that his cult was managed by some other body.²¹ In addition to the sixth-century statue of Dionysos and inscription already mentioned (*IG* i³ 1015), Buck and his colleagues found two other archaic statues, one perhaps representing Apollo. An inscribed base of c.510–500, *IG* i³ 1259, originally carried a statue of Bulos son of Eutelionides.²²

Myths gave Ikarion status as the origin-site of the cult of Dionysos in Attika. His first visit was to the deme, where he taught the eponymous hero Ikaros how to make wine. This reference to wine-making, and the association of the use of swings at the Anthesteria with the fate of Ikaros' daughter Erigone, link the cult at Ikarion to the Anthesteria, but celebration of the Rural Dionysia was probably also important from an early date. The tradition that Thespis came from the deme implies that Ikarion claimed to have a long tradition of dramatic performances.²³

IG i³ 253, dated c.450–425, is a record of funds managed by the demarch, divided into three categories: property of Dionysos, property of Ikarios, and 'public' (*hosion*) moneys. It covers six years, not necessarily consecutive: the three upper entries on the stone (IV–VI) are written, in different hands, in Ionic lettering, and are probably later than the three lower entries, written in Attic lettering, I–II in one hand and III in another. The sums involved are large, Dionysos probably having a capital of over 4000 drachmai and Ikarios of over 2000, while the

²⁰ Buck 1889; the deme centre was re-explored by Biers and Boyd (1982; cf. P. Wilson 2015, 100–2), but they provide no information about the surrounding area. On the theatre see Goette 2014. The Dionysos statue (*LIMC* 437 no. 134, c.520; repairs, *IG* ii³ 4. 222) is analysed by Romano 1982 and Despines 2007. Statue of seated goddess c.420, Kaltzas 2002 no. 253 (NMA 3076). Pythion inscription, *IG* ii² 4976; there was also a stoa-like building opening onto the central space. Apollo, *IG* i³ 1015, c.525 = *CEG* I 303 + II p. 302. *IG* ii² 7239, a rosette-stele commemorating Chairimenes son of Diodotos Ik. with Pantakles of Plotheia, came from Kokkino Chorafi NW of Dioniso (*KvA* XIX, 38. 6 + N, 41. 32 + E; cf. *AD* 27, 1972 B I, 153); Chairimenes (Chairemenes) was also named with an Archippe on a marble lekythos found in the deme (*AD* 58 B I, 60; Valavanis 2007). He will have been related to (father of?) Diodotos Ik., chairman of the proedroi in 320/19, *IG* ii² 380. 7. For remains of a peribolos 800 m NW of Dioniso (= Kokkino Chorafi?) containing sculptured monuments including 3 lekythoi and loutrophoros fragments, plus a large funerary pillar, see Valavanis 2007 (Bergemann 1997, 201, O 2–3).

²¹ The Ikarieis of *IG* ii² 1178, distinguished from the demesmen, are probably local residents rather than phrateres: see ch. 19 n. 17. Alternatively, Ikarians may have belonged to the phratry Epakreis, the base of which cannot yet be identified (19 n. 16).

²² For the spelling see Threatte 1980, 260–1.

²³ On the myth of Ikarios and Erigone see Hollis 1992; Luppe 1996; Humphreys 2004, 242–4; Borgeaud 2011; Brogiato 2014.

‘public’ fund contained almost four and a half talents (27,000 dr.).²⁴ On the back of the stone is a decree concerning the conduct of the Dionysia (P. Wilson 2015).

I summarize here the detailed discussions in Humphreys 2004, 146–51, and Wilson, *op. cit.* Deme inscriptions should not be seen as chance survivors from a regular process of recording decisions, accounts, etc. on stone; on the contrary, we have examples of decisions to publish regular records that soon ceased to be observed.²⁵ Records on stone were generated when normal procedures were interrupted, either by internal disputes or by external events such as war, plague, invasions, revolution, or similar circumstances. Normal procedures presumably included a degree of cronyism (demarchs did not put pressure on their friends), tolerated provided that there was enough turn-taking in office.

The sums recorded in *IG i*³ 253, totalling over 30,000 drachmas, can hardly have been stored unused in the village; presumably Ikarion, like other demes, employed its capital in interest-bearing loans.²⁶ Thus the sums recorded were nominal amounts, not cash in hand. It is rather surprising to find no reference to the lending process on the stone. On present evidence it seems that each year’s demarch was responsible for collecting interest and issuing new loans as needed (more cronyism?). We may assume that security or guarantors were required (cf. Plotheia, at n. 47); we cannot tell whether loans were short-term, long-term, or even perpetual.

The largest item in deme expenses seems to be the Dionysia, for which the demarch as well as two choregoi had responsibility (*IG ii*² 1178), while the choregoi were responsible for training choruses (*tragôidoi*), the deme will have paid for sacrifices, probably for temporary seating, and possibly even for protagonists. Resident demarchs may have provided sacrificial victims, wine, timber, and labour²⁷ from their own land; non-resident demarchs could call on city experience and contacts to improve the quality of performances.

²⁴ See *IG i*³ 253 commentary; *SEG* 54. 57–8 (Makres 2004); Humphreys 2004, 146–51 (misrepresented by Ismard 2010, 293 n. 68); P. Wilson 2015 (new text with longer lines). On the meaning of *hosion* see Connor 1988*a*, Blok 2010*a*, Peels 2016; on its etymology, Willi 2008, 166–7. Ionic lettering can be found early in deme texts (Matthaiou 2009*a*); *IG i*³ 248, from Rhamnous, dated in the 440s, has a similar combination of Attic and Ionic scripts. *IG i*³ 253 IV–VI would have been inscribed above I–III because the reverse of the stone was already occupied by *i*³ 254, which like 253 I–III is in Attic script. The proposer is a Menestratos, possibly an ancestor or relative of the [Men]ekr[ates] Ik. whose wife, a priestess of Kybele, was buried in Piraeus in the second half of the 4th c. (*IG ii*² 6288 = *CEG* 566; Mantes 1990, pl. 13a). A later Menestratos served as councillor towards the end of the 3rd c., *IG ii*³ 1231.

²⁵ *IG ii*² 1138, ? 2490 (chs. 19 n. 16; 21 nn. 133, 137–9); *SEG* 24. 151–2 (see below, Plotheia at n. 47; Teithras at nn. 123–8).

²⁶ Plotheia, Rhamnous, and perhaps Kydantidai (see entries s.v.) all lent money during the 5th c. Rather than moving from land income to loans, the deme finance system may have developed in the opposite direction. There was no shortage of Athenian coins (Kroll 2009), but not all rural Athenians will have been heavily involved in a cash economy.

²⁷ Or rewards in kind for labourers. Cf. P. Wilson 2010*a*.

IG i³ 254 = *SEG* 54. 58 specifies that the two choregoi are to be selected from those demesmen and resident non-demesmen who have not served before (there is clearly a hint here of conflicts and resentments). The demarch is to make a list²⁸ of those available to act as tragoidoi; both choregoi and tragoidoi can excuse themselves by oath from duty.²⁹ The *prótochoroi* who appear in l. 17 are probably young men who have not previously been eligible for the role.³⁰

The texts in Attic lettering on this stone (i³ 253. 11–24, and 254) have often been dated to the period before the Peloponnesian War, but this dating does not seem to rest on specific letter-forms.³¹ The argument (repeated by Makres 2004, 137) that such decisions would not be taken in wartime is doubtful and in any case does not exclude a date between 421 and c.415. Indeed, disruption during the Archidamian War, followed by conflict and reorganization, seems to be a plausible scenario. One might even suggest that the rich resident (or at least landowning?) non-demesmen now being pressed into service as choregoi had acquired holdings in this relatively safe area during the years of plague and Spartan invasions.³²

Further information about deme society comes from three deme decrees of the fourth century and from monuments set up in the deme centre by men commemorating service to the deme. *IG* ii² 1178, which may belong to the first half of the fourth century, honours the demarch Nikon and the choregoi Epikrates and Praxias for organizing the Dionysia. Epikrates' daughter Epikrateia was commemorated by a stele found in Piraeus, which does not mention a husband, so Epikrates may be a non-resident choregos.³³ *IG* ii² 1179 honours a demarch, whose name is lost, for representing the deme in lawsuits;³⁴ *SEG* 22. 117 (c.325) honours another demarch, —aios son of Sosigenes, for his management of deme

²⁸ *Katalegein*, the term used for lists of hoplites, cf. ch. 21 at nn. 44–5.

²⁹ On Makres' reading *mē* for *de* in 254. 12 (2004), see P. Wilson 2015. The fact that 4th c. choregic dedications by demesmen do not give demotics does not mean (*pace* Whitehead 1986*a*) that resident non-demesmen were no longer liable; demesmen did not need to identify themselves as such in their own deme. For a possible date of the Rural Dionysia or a related deme meeting on Poseideion 17 in i³ 254. 28 see P. Wilson 2015. It is unclear what happens in the Python in l. 30.

³⁰ At age 16 (ch. 19 n. 37) or 18? Another view in Wilson 2015.

³¹ Certainties about letter-form dating in the 460s–420s are becoming fewer; see recently Papazarkadas 2009*b*, Matthaïou 2011*a*, Tracy 2014. P. Wilson 2015 argues strongly for a pre-war date for these texts.

³² Cf. perhaps some of the scattered parcels in Attika held by men condemned for mutilating Herms and/or parodying the Mysteries: Nikides of Melite in Potamos, *IG* i³ 422. 212–15; in Kettos, 426. 179, 181; Axiochos of Skambonidai in Tho[rikos or -rai?], 422. 201; Alkibiades (?) of Skambonidai at Athmonon, 427. 24–6, 33 (cf. 421. 22–3); Euphiletos of Kydathenaion at Semachidai, Gargettos, Myrrhinoutta, and Aphidnai, 430. 15–18.

³³ Epikrateia's stele, *IG* ii² 6279, is dated to the second half of the 4th c., but if she died unmarried (which is not a very secure inference) this stone and ii² 1178 should not be too far apart in date. On ii² 1178–9 see *SEG* 61. 12.

³⁴ Since this text is dated *med. s. IV* the lawsuits may have been associated with the diapsephsis of 346.

finances.³⁵ This demarch's brother, Peithon, had served as one of four boy Pythaistai from the deme earlier in the century, and was councillor in (?) 336/5. The incoming demarch mentioned in *SEG* 22. 117/63. 105, Thoukydides, served as diaitetes in 330/29. Thoukydides II son of Antidoros and Charidemos II son of Thoukydides, who served as councillors for Ikarion in 304/3, may have been the demarch's grandson (SS) and son;³⁶ a son of Charidemos II acted as guarantor for two of the contractors involved in rebuilding the city walls in 307/6 (see Table 24.1).³⁷

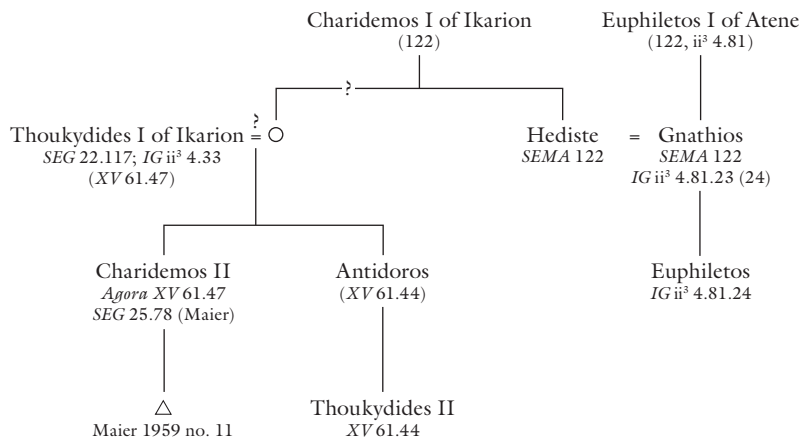
The earliest surviving choregic dedication seems to be that of Archippos son of Archede[ktes?], dated in the early fourth century; the others are dated in mid-century. Archippos might possibly have been related to Archenautes I son of Archenikos of I., buried in Piraeus in the middle of the fourth century, and his son Archenautes II, who served as councillor in 341/0.³⁸ Two choregic monuments bear the names of three persons: *IG* ii³ 4. 501 commemorates the victory

³⁵ The son of Sosigenes presented his accounts on Hekatombaion 10. He is praised for offering all due sacrifices and announcing a propitious outcome, after which (?) crops were good all over Attika; this may be a reference to the end of the grain shortage of c.329–324. Probably this prosperity enabled him to collect some arrears of revenue due to the deme; his accounts showed a surplus of income over expenditure (perhaps equivalent to the 1000-dr. crown he was awarded). The decision to repair Ikarion's archaic statue of Dionysos may belong to the same period. The epimeletai responsible for the repairs were crowned with ivy, and they commemorated this award with a dedication (*IG* ii³ 4. 222; see Romano 1982). In *SEG* 22. 117, the demarch's decree (cf. Alipheré 2013), it seems possible from the *IG* squeeze in Berlin to read *kai hoi karpoi* in l. 3 for the printed *KMÓI karpoi* (and *ta th'* for *TAO* at the end of the line?).

³⁶ Thoukydides, *IG* ii³ 4. 17 (ch. 17 p. 526). Identification with the Th. of *CID* II 74 col. I 46–7, cf. 77 col. I 8, was proposed by D. M. Lewis 1955; if it is correct, Thoukydides may well have played some role in the deme cult of Apollo. However, the names of two younger kinsmen of the Ikarian Th., who served as councillors in 304/3, Thoukydides II Antidorou and Charidemos Thoukydidou (*Agora* XV 61. 44, 47), do not provide any support for the attribution to this family of the amphiktyonic treasurer, who is presumably to be identified with the politician Thoukydides of [Dem.] 58. 23, 36–7. (It seems also conceivable that the beginning of the Ikarian Th.'s patronymic may be lurking in the letters *TÓPEËON* of *SEG* 22. 117. 7; this would exclude identification with the amphiktyon, son of M—d . t . .). The name Thoukydides is attested also in the 4th c. in Lamptrai (see ch. 23 n. 64) and Aphidnai, and may also have continued in use in Halimous, Gargettos, or Alopeke. The exact relationship of the councillors of 304/3 to the demarch-diaitetes cannot be reconstructed; however, there seems to be a reasonable possibility that Thoukydides II son of Antidoros was the demarch's grandson (SS), and Charidemos (II) a son, named after his maternal grandfather Charidemos I of Ikarion, who had another daughter, Hediste, who married Gnathios son of Euphiletos I of Atene and was commemorated with him on a sculptured and painted stele reported from a house in Odos Evangelistrias, just north of the ancient city (*SEMA* 122).

³⁷ Maier 1959 no. 11, III 128.

³⁸ Archippos: *IG* ii³ 4. 497. The tombstone of Kleitopolis daughter of Archippos (II) Ik., *IG* ii² 6282, is dated to the 2nd c. BCE by *AG* I, 11, no. 24. Archenautes I, *IG* ii² 6274; Archenautes II, *IG* ii³ 4. 76. 28. Develin *AOP*. 100 suggests that the general Archena[utes] of 433/2 might have belonged to Ikarion, but the name may have been commoner in the 5th c. than our mainly later records suggest, and it is attested in Marathon (tribe so far unrepresented among the strategoi of this year) in the 4th c. (*SEG* 50. 168 B 3; cf. Lambert 2000a).

TABLE 24.1. Ikarion:
Charidemos

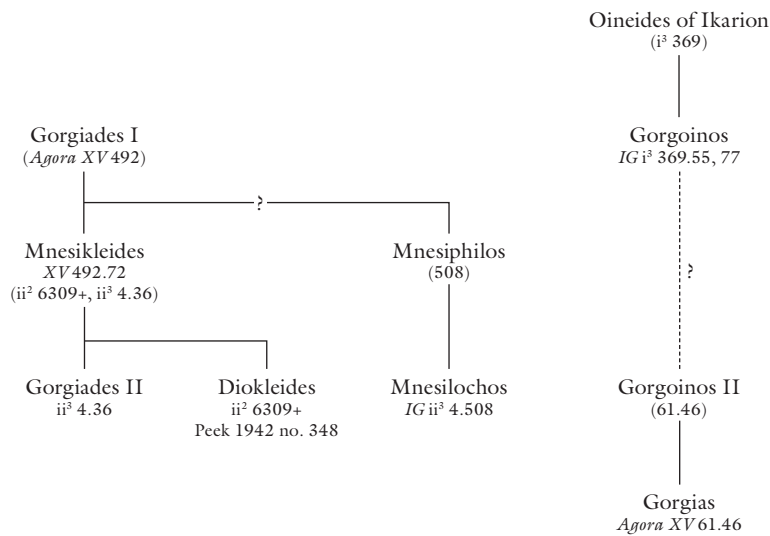
of Ergasos son of Phanomachos with his sons Phanomachos II and Diognetos,³⁹ and ii³ 4. 506 commemorates the victory of Hagnias (or Deinias), Xanthippos, and Xanthides. The two latter should be brothers, and Hagnias (or Deinias) was probably their father, or conceivably their guardian. These dedications are not evidence for shared choregiai or for an increase in the number of choregoi, but show victors sharing their kudos with younger kin who are not yet (fully) financially independent.⁴⁰

Mnesilochos son of Mnesiphilos Ik., who made an independent dedication as victorious choregos, was probably related to Gorgiades II son of Mnesikleides, who served as treasurer of his tribe in (?) 340/39. Gorgiades' brother Diokleides was commemorated *c.*350 (?) with his wife and her father He[r]akleides of Keiriad(ai), on a sculptured lekythos. Mnesikleides son of Gorgiades I, presumably the treasurer's father, appears in *Agora* XV 492. 72, possibly a list of kleruchs from the 360s. Gorgiades may have owed his name to an affinal connection with the family of Gorgoinos I son of Oineides Ik., treasurer of the Other Gods in

³⁹ Agelidis 2009, no. 96, *IG* ii³ 4. 501. An Ergasos Ik. supplies bundles of reeds (*kalamides*) to the sanctuary at Eleusis in 329/8 for small sums (*IEleus* 177. 189, 8 dr.; 194, 2 dr.); he can hardly have found them in his deme.

⁴⁰ Agelidis no. 61, *IG* ii³ 4. 506. Hagnias has a trierarchic record stretching from (?) 362/1 to some date before 323/2, *APF* 131; possibly more than one man is involved. Hagnodemos son of Hagnotheos, *IG* ii³ 4. 632 may be related. On shared choregiai see also ch. 28 n. 44. Jordan and Curbera 2008, 138 read *Dēnias* for Hagnias (*SEG* 58. 188), but Takaeuchi 2013 defends Hagnias (see *IG* ii³ 4. 506). The texts explicitly attribute the choregia and victory to all 3 dedicants, but this is justified if the expenses are paid from a shared patrimony. It is more doubtful whether the attribution could be made in the case of a minor, although it is tempting to think that a non-resident might make such a dedication in order to dispose his fellow-demesmen favourably towards sons who would soon be presented for registration. On the question of liturgic service by fathers and sons see ch. 5; on shared choregiai, P. Wilson 2000; 2015, 116.

TABLE 24.2. Ikarion:
Gorgiades



423/2, and his descendant Gorgias son of Gorginos II, councillor in 304/3 (Table 24.2).⁴¹

We also have a dedication to Dionysos from Ikarion, made in fulfilment of a vow, by Kephisios son of Timarchides Ik., who may have been related to Timokritos son of Timokrates Ik., who was one of the deme's boy Pythaistai and served as councillor, holding the related offices of syllogeus and hieropoios, in 341/0 (*IG* ii³ 4. 76. 26, 82, 85). *IG* ii² 12791, found in the deme centre, may be a dedication by Timokritos, whose father is attested as syntrierarch at some date between 356 and 346/5.⁴²

Timokritos' fellow-Pythaistai, recorded on a dedication with a relief representing the four boys at Delphi, accompanied by a bearded man (a Delphic priest?) were Peithon son of Sosigenes (brother of the demarch discussed above), Ameinokles

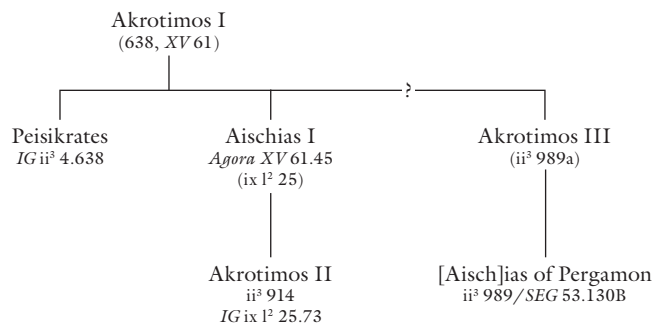
⁴¹ Mnesilochos, *IG* ii³ 4. 508. For the interpretation of *Agora XV 492* as a list of kleruchs see Humphreys 2010a; for the service of Gorgiades II as tribal treasurer (313/2) see ch. 21 at n. 86; for Diokleides' monument (possibly erected before his death to commemorate his father-in-law) see *IG* ii² 6309 with Peek 1942, no. 348 (*CAT* 3. 891 gives the lekythos a city provenance). Another Ikarian kleruch was buried on Imbros with his wife (from Paiania), daughter, and son-in-law (from Aphidnai, ch. 31 n. 42), *IG* xii 8. 100. On *SEG* 32. 248/44. 131 (c.360), another Ikarian choregic monument, with reliefs of actors' masks, the choregos' name is lost (two of the masks would have been used in a satyr-play, according to J. R. Green 1982); cf. P. Wilson 2015.

⁴² *APF* 13768 (the reference for the [?] dedication is erroneous); see ch. 5 n. 46. As *APF* notes, the family (belonging to a local genos?) may have reemerged at the end of the 2nd c. BCE, claiming Eupatrid status and taking part in the Pythais of 107/6. Note also, apparently belonging to an Eleusinian genos, Lakrateides son of Sostratos Ik., *IEleus* 239, perhaps a descendant of the 4th c. hierophant L. (Is. 7. 9, *APF* 1395, Clinton 1974, *FGH* 328 F 155) and the L. who prosecuted Perikles in the summer of 430 (Plut. *Per.* 35); ch. 20 n. 99.

son of Ameinippos, and Hagnodemos son of Hagnotheos. Hagnotheos served as councillor (with Peithon) in (?) 336/5; he may have been related to the trierarch and (?) choregos Hagnias. Ikarion had its own Pythion, where the Pythaists' dedications were probably set up, and like Erchia and Oinoe (IX) probably had its own Pythaistai.⁴³

An individual dedication commemorating services as Pythaistes was made later, perhaps in the 320s, by Peisikrates son of Akrotimos I, who belonged to a well-attested medical family (see Table 24.3). His brother Aischias I served as councillor in 304/3 and had a son, Akrotimos II, who in (?) 268/7 (archon Diogeiton, see Byrne 2007) proposed a decree concerning the traditional sacrifices of doctors to Asklepios and Hygieia; he also served as tamias, and made a cash dedication (54 dr.) in the Asklepieion. He should be the Akrotimos son of Aischias of Athens who was made proxenos by the Aetolians in 238/7. However, if so, the [Aisch]ias son of Akrotimos of Pergamon who was granted hereditary isoteleia by Athens in 256/5 can hardly be his son; if related, he is perhaps a cousin (FBS), son of the third son of Akrotimos I, Akrotimos III (another doctor?), who had emigrated to Pergamon in the late fourth or early third century. Members of the family in Attika presumably lived in the city.⁴⁴

TABLE 24.3. Ikarion:
Akrotimos



⁴³ IG ii³ 4. 632, the record of the 4 boy-Pythaistai, made its way to Rome (see Voutiras 1982), but should probably be attributed to Ikarion. Since two of the boys (Timokritos and Peithon) can be attached to deme families, it seems more likely that this was a deme embassy than that the dedication was made by a (deme?) contingent in an embassy organized by the state such as is attested in 355, Is. 7. 27 (*contra*, R. Parker 2005a, 84 n. 20; see also Rutherford 2004b, 2013).

⁴⁴ The name Akrotimos is not otherwise attested in this part of coastal Anatolia. Peisikrates' dedication, IG ii³ 4. 638, was found *in situ* in the Pythion (Buck 1892, 471–2). Voutiras 1982 attributes it to Lykourgos' Pythais of (?) 326/5, but I do not think we can decide between state and local embassies in these cases. Aischias I, *Agora* XV 61. 45; Akrotimos II, IG ii³ 914 (date, Tracy 1988, 319); Aleshire 1989 Inv. V. 148, 141; IG ix I² I. 25. 72–5. [Aisch]ias, IG ii³ 989 (SEG 53. 130 B; G. J. Oliver 2007a, 204–6), 256/5 (Antimachos). In view of the Pythais associations and related name-roots, there may be a link between Peithon son of Sosigenes and Peisikrates; note also Theopeithes Ik., leader of a group of eranistai who lent money on a chorion and oikia in the Spata area in the late 4th c., IG ii² 2701 = Finley 1952, no. 32.

A dedication to Apollo was also made in the deme by a group of hebdomadistai, worshippers who made sacrifices on the seventh of the month. Since they recorded the date of their service they were perhaps liturgists, but we do not know whether they were appointed by the deme or by another group (orgeones?).⁴⁵

Plotheia

The deme lay next to Ikarion, to the north-west, and seems to have occupied the area round Palaio-Stamata (Bala). An altar dedicated to Aphrodite, and another Plotheian dedication, were re-used in a church at Palaio-Stamata, and other finds of sculpture were reported from the site.⁴⁶

Our main source for deme affairs is a small stone (broken at the bottom), now in Paris, bearing a record of financial arrangements in Ionic script, perhaps to be dated *c.*420. It is headed by a list of *kephalaia*, capital sums, which were evidently entrusted to different officials for management; this list was erased and recut at some date not very long after the inscription of the rest of the text, which contains regulations governing the conduct of the fund-managers.⁴⁷ We thus have in Plotheia, as in Ikarion, a system of periodic registration of accounts on stone, which did not last for long. Since neither of the texts can be precisely dated, we cannot tell whether this resemblance is due to chance, or whether both demes were affected by the same historical circumstances.

It is also possible that Plotheia was influenced by the example of its larger neighbour. However, it had its own system for managing deme finances, which gave much less responsibility to the demarch than that of Ikarion. Earlier decrees

⁴⁵ *IG* ii³ 4. 639, found in 1982 in the Pythion and dated *c.*350–325; both the archon-date and the dedicants' names are lost. For similar groups named for month-days see ch. 19 n. 152; the 7th was associated with Apollo. Daïtes Hestiodorou Ik., honoured at Rhamnous in (?) the 4th c. for service as peripolarch (*IRb* 95), bears a name that suggests cultic liturgies. Note also that Eraton son of Eratation Ik., superintendant of the dockyards in 369/8 (*IG* ii² 1617. 73) and councillor in 341/0 (*IG* ii³ 4. 76. 29) may have belonged to the wealthy family with which Lysias 17 is concerned. They were traders (§ 5), and had land in Sphettos and Kikynna. If this identification is correct, we should perhaps emend the name of Eraton II in *Lys.* 17. 3 to Eratation. However, a good case can also be made for Agryle, where we have an Erasiphron in 304/3 (*Agora* XV 60. 3, 61. 29). There is also an Eraton of V Akamantis in the casualty-list *IG* i³ 1186. 31, *c.*411 (Sphettos or Kikynna?). Dowry horos for daughter of Xenotimos Ik., *SEG* 56. 227.

⁴⁶ *IG* ii² 4607, 4885, and 4916 were found on the site; see Waldstein and Tarbell 1889, 1892, Buck 1889. The deme decree *IG* i³ 258 had left the site earlier; it was acquired by the Louvre in 1818 as part of the Choiseul-Gouffier collection, and was probably brought to Fauvel in Athens in the late 1780s and purchased by him for Choiseul (see Bracken 1975). The relief of Aphrodite seen by Milchhöfer at Koukounarti (*KpA Text* III 57–8) may perhaps have travelled there from the Plotheia sanctuary. Archaistic statue of (?) Dionysos (or a *koré*?) from Stamata NMA 3070, Tzachou-Alexandre 2007, 31 (*Papers of the American School* 5, pl. 13). Buck 1892, 161 puts the Ikarion–Plotheia boundary at the highest point on the road between the two demes.

⁴⁷ I summarize here Humphreys 2004, 151–4. See also Migeotte 2010 with *BE* 2011, 234; Whitehead 2010; Papazarkadas 2011, 144.

had specified the period for which money should be lent and the interest to be charged; money not covered by these was to be lent in annual loans at the best rate of interest the archon was offered, with a proviso that each loan must be covered by adequate security in the form either of land or of a personal engagement by a guarantor. There was a general fund (only 1000 drachmas) for use by the demarch; 7000 dr. 'for the Herakleion' (presumably a building project), 1200 dr. each for the Aphrodisia⁴⁸ and Anakia, 110 for the Apollonia; 600 dr. for the Pandia, probably celebrated in Athens;⁴⁹ and 5000 dr. for tax exemption (*ateleia*). This last fund probably covered periodic or occasional demands for contributions both in the deme and outside ('the Epakrians', 'the Athenians').⁵⁰ A final item of income from rents (134 dr. 2½ obols) probably refers to land owned by deities.⁵¹ Fund managers had to provide sweet wine at deme festivals (c.1½ litres per head) and c.40 litres for a *didaskalos*.⁵² One has the impression that at the date of this inscription Plotheian contacts were still mainly local, cult-sharing with neighbouring demes more prominent in their experience than visits to the city.

Plotheia, like Ikarion, seems to be a well-funded deme. It may have been less active in the fourth century, although three dedications are preserved, one a large altar for Aphrodite. Another, a statue (?) of which only the base survives, was dedicated by Kallias son of Kallias; either he or his father dedicated a bronze phiale to Athena on the Akropolis in or before 382/1.⁵³ The other identifiable wealthy members of the deme seem to have been based in the city. Apollodoros II son of Olympichos P., who appeared as a witness for Euxitheos of Halimous in 346/5, probably had an uncle (FB) whose gravestone was found in the Agora; Protokles P. and his son Prokles II were also buried in the city. Prokles served as a parasite of Athena Pallenis.⁵⁴ Kleidemos son of Meidon P., who dedicated a

⁴⁸ Cf. the altar dedicated to Aphrodite in the deme by Kallippos P. in the late 4th c., *IG* ii² 4607. The statue dedicated by Kallias (n. 53) was found in the same church.

⁴⁹ Pandia: cf. R. Parker 2005*a*, 477–8. Presumably celebrated by those demesmen who were in Athens for the City Dionysia.

⁵⁰ See ch. 21 nn. 133, 137–9 on the Epakreis; 30 n. 57 on the Epakreis and Apollonia (*SEG* 32. 144) and on Anakaia. 'The Athenians' presumably refers to at least primarily to city festivals. Anakia were celebrated in the city (R. Parker 2005*a*, 457) but Plotheia's festival was probably local. Wilson's view that the fund covered payment for theatre seats at Ikarion (2010*a*, 70, cf. 2015) seems to me improbable.

⁵¹ There were also other leases. The *ateleia* fund may i.a. have covered *eisphora* on land leased by the deme (first *eisphora* of the war, 428, Thuc. 3. 19).

⁵² He probably trained choruses. On what occasion(s) would they perform?

⁵³ *IG* ii² 4885; 1421, 102–3, cf. 1412. 6, see D. Harris 1995, V no. 313. Since most dedicated phialai were gold or silver, but this object was still being recorded (but never weighed) after c.50 years, it must have been special in some way (exotic decoration?).

⁵⁴ Apollodoros: Dem. 57. 38, *APF* 3126; [...]or[os] son of Apollodoros I, *SEMA* 574. Protokles and Prokles II *APF* 12234, *IG* ii² 7240–1; *SEG* 34. 157 (the provenance of Protokles' tombstone is uncertain). Cf. Aleshire 1991, no. 12235 on Prokles III son of Chabrias P., who proposed the appointment of *exetastai* (assessors) for the Asklepicion in 248/7 (arch. Diomedon; *IG* ii³ 1010 = Inv. V 3). Since Chabrias of Aixone (*APF* 15086) married late, it is possible that he had an otherwise unattested daughter who married

tripod commemorating his victory with a men's chorus from Erechtheis in (?) 364/3, was perhaps a dithyrambic poet.⁵⁵

Gargettos

A location in the area of modern Garito, in one of the main valleys on the south side of Mt Pentelikon, is supported by the survival of the name and by a deme decree found at Garito conferring honours on Epikydes son of Philokydes, which was to be set up in the temenos of Dionysos; architectural fragments in the church of Agios Georgios at Garito, and at Ieraka, may have come from a deme temple. The deme had a treasurer, *tamias*, who paid for inscription of the decree from deme revenues (*koinai prosodoi*).⁵⁶

Gargettos contained families belonging to the phratry Medontidai—represented also in several other demes—and of the (?) genos Philaidai, but it is unlikely that either group had its base in the deme.⁵⁷

The first prominent demesman known to us is Menon son of Menekleides, also characterized on ostraka as 'Menon the Lemnian', 'Menon who held office' (*hos érchsen*), 'Menon the innocent' (*aphelês*), 'Menon the most-bribed' (*dôro-dokôtatos*), and (on four sherds) '*Menon Garg. thes.*' He may be the Menon who served as eponymos archon in 473/2; the references to bribery and (protestations of) innocence suggest the period leading up to Ephialtes' reforms in 461, when corruption of magistrates was an issue. It seems to me very unlikely that he was the Menon of Thessaly who brought twelve talents and three hundred cavalry to help Kimon at the battle of Eion.⁵⁸

Prokles II; although this gives us rather long generations also in Prokles' family (ch. 5 nn. 58–9), it is the simplest way of accounting for the name Chabrias in P. (the only other, questionable, classical example is Chab[ri]as of Oion, *SEMA* 494, where the restoration of the name is very uncertain. If *LGPN* s. Chabrias 7 is right in dating Wunsch 1897 no. 2 to the 3rd c. it should be directed against Chabrias of Plotheia).

⁵⁵ *IG* ii³ 4. 439, cf. *SEG* 26. 214.

⁵⁶ Peek 1942, 7–8 no. 5, dated to the second half of the 4th c. As Peek saw and *LGPN* has repeated, the honorand must (*pace* Whitehead 1986*a*) belong to the deme; he may have been related to Diodoros son of Philokles G., councillor and syllogeus in 341/0 (*IG* ii³ 4. 76. 12, 82), and conceivably to Smikrias son of Philokedes G., councillor in the same year (*ibid.* 14). On the location of the deme see Kotzias 1949.

⁵⁷ Medontidai, Kichonides son of Diogeiton G., *Agora* XIX P 5. 17 (367/6), cf. ch. 19 n. 153. The family of Epikouros, whose father became a kleruch on Samos, D. L. 10. 1; cf. ch. 20 n. 128.

⁵⁸ For a full discussion of the ostraka see Brenne 2001, nos 183–190; Siewert 2002. Menon is *Lemnios-Gargettios* on 10 Kerameikos ostraka and had presumably spent some time on Lemnos as a kleruch (cf. Marchiandi 2008*a*, 23–7). The only possible references to Thessaly are the 4 ostraka calling him *Gargthes*; one would however expect *thes.* in Attic (Threatte 1980, 537–41), and these sherds may well refer to the office of thesmothetes—in which case M. was perhaps not the eponymous archon of 473/2. Interpretations of *thes* as *thês* (Siewert, *op. cit.*) or of *Garg.thes* as a variant of Gargettothen seem less likely. (There are also some variations on the ostraka in patronymic—Menandridou or Menekleidou—and deme; see n. 11 above on Kolonos, and Siewert, *ibid.*; Brenne 2001 no. 190, M. of Rhamnous, may be a homonym.) The ostraka are dated to periods I (?)–II, i.e. before 460. For bribery as an issue in this period see *A.P.* 25. 1–2

Later members of the deme are less colourful, although one would like to know how Sybarites G., hieropoios in (?) the early 330s (*IG* ii³ 416, cf. *Agora* XV 43), got his name. The oligarchic family of Andron (who was involved in the rule of the Four Hundred) and his son Androtion presumably had a base in the city, although Androtion wrote a book on farming (*Geórgika*), and his father's political attitude may have been influenced by loss of revenue from land during the war as well as by association with philosophers.⁵⁹ Pantakles son of Ariston, buried in the deme area in the second half of the fourth century, may be the father of the Ariston G. who appears on a horos found in the Agora.⁶⁰ Kteon son of Mikon G. was commemorated with his sons Mikon II and Nikon and (presumably) their mother on a stone found at Charvati, which may have travelled there from the deme; the Kteon who served as councillor from Gargettos in (?) 336/5 may be either the same man or a grandson (SS), and Nikon son of Nikomachos, councillor in the 250s, may be a descendant.⁶¹ Epilykos son of Nikostratos I G. served as parasite of Athena

(Ephialtes is *adódokétos*). *Apheleia* (with *pra(i)otés*, leniency) is used of Kimon in Plut. *Kim.* 5. 5. The term usually has positive connotations (cf. Eust. *Il.* 22. 451, p. 1279. 40); the altars of Aidos and Apheleia on the Akropolis, first mentioned by Istros in the 3rd c. BCE (*FGH* 334 F 25 with comm.), seem to promote values current in the period from Solon to Ephialtes: respect for one's elders and betters (*aidós*) coupled with an accessible and uncondescending, man-to-man attitude towards inferiors (*apheleia*). Apheleia is also, at least later (Hegesandros, *FHG* IV F 34, see also Kurke 1992 on *habrosyné* in the archaic period), associated with a simple and frugal lifestyle, as opposed to *tryphé*, luxury; later still, the Christian *aphelēs* is unworldly, thus innocent. As used on ostraka, especially in the striking phrase 'King of the Apheleis' employed once against Menon, it must surely have an ironic tone. Menon's defensive claim that as a magistrate he was *aphelēs* (fair-minded, acting without any social prejudice or concealed agenda?) were rejected, at least by some voters. Hsch. s.v. Menonidai, 'a euphemism, "one of the M."; some say Menon was ostracized' (*tōn euphēmōn, ek Menonidōn*; cf. LSJ *euphēmos* I. 2) seems to preserve a contemporary reference, presumably from comedy, to 'Menon-types', i.e. corrupt magistrates (it would be even better if Menon had belonged to the phratry Medontidai). Raubitschek's attempt (1955) to bring Menon of Pharsalos into this picture is implausible. Although Dem. 23. 199 says he received citizenship, [Dem.] 13. 23 says he was only granted ateleia; there is no evidence in any case that he ever became resident or registered in a deme. He is Menon of Pharsalos in Thuc. 2. 22. 3, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, and his son Thukydides is a proxenos, not a citizen, in 411 (Thuc. 8. 92. 8). The Thucydides-biography (*Vita Marc.* 28–30, following Praxiphanes but with additional material from Polemon; see Wehrli *Schule* IX, 1957, F 18) calls him Pharsalian (a descendant in the Lamian War, Tracy 1995, 90). Complications were introduced into discussions of the historian's 5th c. homonyms by Theopompos' statement in his excursus on the Athenian demagogues that the politician Thukydides was the son of Pantainos of Gargettos and not of Melesias of Alopeke; this, however, was probably derived from some joke or slur in comedy (*FGH* 115 F 91 with comm.; see further Krentz 1984; Philips 1991; Mattingly 1971, 15–17; Scheidel 1994).

⁵⁹ Andron I son of Androkles G., named on 43 Kerameikos ostraka of the early 5th c. (all with demotic, 6 with patronymic; Brenne 2001, no. 19) was presumably the grandfather (FF) of the oligarch. The latter appears in Plato's *Gorgias* (487c) and *Protagoras* (315c) as a hanger-on of sophists. He proposed measures against the leaders of the 400 after the restoration of democracy (Krateros *FGH* 342 F 5 = [Plut.] *Mor.* 833c), attacking his former associates in the hope of clearing his own name (cf. Nippel 1997, 105). On Androtion see *APF* 913 and Jacoby's introduction to *FGH* 324.

⁶⁰ *IG* ii² 5947, *Agora* XIX H 109 = Finley 1952, 85c face B; the family became prominent in the late Hellenistic period. *IG* iii¹ 1642, recorded by Lüders in the city, may not be the same stone as ii² 5947, attributed to the deme area (cf. *AEE*² no. 105, note).

⁶¹ *IG* ii² 5936; *Agora* XV 42. 121; *IG* ii³ 983. 38. Also, found on different sites, in re-use, near the deme area, two rosette stelai commemorating Prokl[es] son of Prokl[eides] G., councillor in (?) 336/5 (*Agora* XV 42. 122) and his father or son [Prokl]eides Prokl[leous], *SEG* 57. 213–4 (cf. Pologiorge 2009, no. 7).

Pallenis, and as hipparch or phylarch in the 330s or 320s; Theopantos son of Nikostratos II, taxiarch in 281/0, will be his grandson (SS).⁶² Charinos son of Demochares G. served as parasite with Epilykos; his father Demochares was councillor in (?) 343/2, his younger brother Epicharinos is attested as secretary of the Council in 304/3. Menestratos son of Straton G., councillor with Demochares, is probably the Menestratos Ga[rgett]ios named on our largest curse tablet.⁶³

Despite the above indications of connections with the deme, land-ownership, or the Mesogeia (Athena Pallenis), the wealthier demesmen on the whole seem to have derived their resources from outside activities. The families of Diophanes and Apollodoros (*APF* 1413), Diphilos (4477), and Arcestratos and Phanostratos (14100) all had mining interests. Epikrates (4889), whose dikast-ticket was found on the Pnyx, had a son who manumitted a female slave resident in Kydathenaion; Kallikrates son of Demokrates freed one male and two female slaves resident in Melite. A family group that used the name Kallimachos left tombstones found in Piraeus.⁶⁴ Thaumarete wife of Timonides, who dedicated a group of objects (mainly jewellery) on the Akropolis in 398/7 (D. Harris 1995, II no. 71) may well be the wife of Timonides G., *APF* 13858, trierarch c.373/2.

Erchia

The deme's agora seems to have been at or near Pousiri, south of Spata, a site with a good source of water which produced the deme's sacred calendar (*SEG* 34. 111, *LS* 18); it has settlement remains and evidence of a 'substantial temple' of the (?) early fifth century,⁶⁵ possibly the Pythion or Delphinion. Between this site and Spata are two hills, Tsoumba Sideri, with no significant remains, which Vanderpool (1965*a*) identified with the Pagos of the calendar, and Magoula, with evidence of

⁶² Epilykos, *APF* 8429 XVII, Athen. VI 234f (the Nikostratos listed as parasite in *SEG* 34. 157. 14 is unlikely to be from Gargettos, since this would leave only c.5 letters for his patronymic); Peek 1942 no. 117, found in the church of Panagia Vlassara or Vlastara in the Agora (A. Mommsen 1868, 97 no. 114, see *IG* ii³ 4. 248). Peek notes that there were further blocks to the right which would have carried additional names, so the honorands were perhaps phylarchs rather than hipparchs (this point is missed by Bugh 1988, Spence 1993, and *AO*). The ephebe Dionysios G. of 305/4 (*IG* ii² 478) may be the D. son of Pythokritos attested as phylarch in 282/1 (*SEG* 21. 525. 28), probably father of the Pythokritos G. who served as councillor c.210–200 (*IG* ii³ 1231). The Pythokritos son of Diosk[ourides] of *IG* ii² 7850 (kioniskos) may belong either to G. or to Sypalettos.

⁶³ Athen. 6. 234 f (= Polemon F 78); *IG* ii³ 4. 75. 39–40; for Epicharinos see *LGPN* no. 6. Curse tablet, *SEG* 58. 265 B 118.

⁶⁴ Epikrates, Kroll 1972 105c; his son Polykrates, *IG* ii² 1571. 6. Kallikrates, *ibid.* 1570. 10–17 (a slave 'family', cf. ch. 6 n. 14). Kallimachos, *IG* ii² 5932 = *CAT* 2. 351 (Piraeus); cf. perhaps 5949 = *CAT* 2. 874a (no provenance) and 5955 (Piraeus). Apollodoros (*APF* 1413) may possibly have been named on the curse tablet Wunsch 1897, 103 (Wilhelm 1904, no. 7, a 7; ch. 14 n. 83). Loutrophoros of Hierokles son of Hieron G., from the city area, *SEMA* 184/5 = *CAT* 2. 380c (Bergemann 1997, 192, peribolos F 14). The restoration of [Garget]tos on the Totenmahlrelief *IG* xii 8. 98 as the deme of Ktesichares and Pythodoros is doubtful, but note *IG* ii² 2679, dotal apotimema for a daughter of Pythodoros G., 305/4 and 303/2, 2700 + dr.

⁶⁵ Vanderpool 1965*a* with *BCH* 1965 p. 1009, Doric capital dated c.490.

Early Helladic and Mycenaean occupation, and two Mycenaean chamber-tombs, which he identified with the Polis of the calendar. As at Lamptrai, a hill occupied in the Bronze Age would have been used only for cult purposes in the classical period.

Spata seems to have been a collecting-point for inscriptions in post-classical times, and texts found there are not necessarily to be attributed to the deme (indeed, three fragments of one of the casualty-lists from the Kerameikos found their way to the area).⁶⁶ However there are Erchian tombstones from Agios Georgios Kokla; others (plus dikast-tickets) were recorded in Spata and Liopesi, and may have come from the Kokla burial area or another.⁶⁷ Since Erchia, with six or seven councillors, was the largest deme in the area, there is also a possibility that some of the smaller inhabited sites in the surrounding countryside may have been affiliated to the deme.⁶⁸

The ‘calendar’ was (like most ‘religious’ documents from demes) a record of required expenses and perquisites, concerned only with the obligations of deme officials; it was not a complete record of the cultic activities of demesmen (let alone their wives and daughters).⁶⁹ It seems now to be generally agreed that the

⁶⁶ *IG* i³ 1144 b–d: b–c were copied by Fourmont and by Ross in the ruined chapel of Panagia Mesosporitissa, d by Milchhöfer in the new church of Evangelistria. Both were apparently on the large hill Burani between Papangelaki and Spata (Milchhöfer, 1887 and *KvA Text* III–VI, gives this name to the whole hill; *KvA* map VII marks ‘Bura’ on a northern spur). The Evangelistria church was apparently on its E end, above Bala (so *KvA Text*; ‘west’ in Milchhöfer 1887 seems to be an error). Milchhöfer thought that Panagia Mesosporitissa (at ‘Amburakia’ according to Ross’s notes, *IG* i¹ 432b–c; i² 928 gives ‘Burani’, from Lolling) might have been on the Evangelistria site (cf. also *Polemon* 1, 1929, 40–42 where frag. d is attributed to Mesosporitissa; *AGC* 21 X8/Y4 no. 7, placing the Mesosporitissa site on the NW end of Burani, perhaps follows Milchhöfer 1887). Illegal excavations by villagers are noted by Milchhöfer 1892, 18, and J. Papademetriou 1956 (in the 1930s). *IG* ii² 1213, referring to a *trikómia* (see Lambert 2000b, 78–80) and i³ 247 (n. 89) both came from Spata.

⁶⁷ *IG* ii² 6097, 6100–1, 6109, 6120, and 5867 (see below, n. 79), came from Kokla, as against only 2 stones from the Spata area; ii² 7020 is the only Paianian stone from this site, which casts some doubt on Bicknell’s suggestion (1976) that it was a burial area shared by Erchia and Paiania. It is unclear, in any case, whether in antiquity tombs clustered at Kokla rather than lining the whole road from Paiania to Erchia. Kokla has been explained as an Albanian village-name, but may come from Gr. *kokkala*, bones. *IG* ii² 6132 is now attributed to Eiresidai. The dikast-tickets of Eupolemos I E. and his son Timodo[t]os (Kroll 1972, 16c, 37b) presumably came from a single burial plot. Eubios son of Eupolemos II E., councillor in the 250s (*IG* ii³ 921. 32), may be a grandson (SS) of Timodotos. Paianian stones from Spata: *IG* ii² 6834, 7039, 7087, (?) 12665.

⁶⁸ See n. 90 on Kydantidai and Ionidai.

⁶⁹ I summarize here Humphreys 2004, 177–88. Updates: Horos of Zeus Epopetes Nephaios (no provenance) *IG* ii² 2616 with Papazarkadas 2009c (*SEG* 59. 185); Pirenne-Delforge 2011. Epops is discussed in Harder 2012 vol. 2, 920–33; she doubts whether Kallimachos knew anything about Erchian cults. Leukaspis, Habicht 1994b, 222 no. 9. Apollo Apotropaios, Di Nicolò 2012, 32–6. Takeuchi 2013 reads *e|n Aulóni* (not *Pylóni*) in A 20. N. D. Robertson 1996 suggested that Erchia’s Basile was Daira, to whom Paiania sacrificed; this would give the Eleusinian goddesses more of a presence at Erchia. On the Erchian Plynteria see now Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 138–9; on the Tritopatores ch. 10 nn. 124–5. Lykeion: Ritchie 1989, [Plut.] *Mor.* 841d–e, 843f, 852c, *AD* 51 B 1, 1996 (2001), 46–8 (cf. *AR* 1996–7, 8–10).

arrangement of the text in five columns more or less equal in expense was designed to spread the burden among a larger number of liturgists/officials.⁷⁰

It is noticeable that Erchians sacrifice only sheep and goats (and piglets), though one offering is designated *antibous*;⁷¹ this might suggest that most of the deme was hilly, stretching north and west of the centre at Spata rather than south and east; if Erchia-by-Paiania was the name of a hamlet, perhaps it was to the southwest, near Kokla where Erchian tombstones have been found.

The ‘calendar’ is one of our main sources for sacrifices marked *ou phora*, ‘to be consumed on the spot’ (and related terms). The very useful discussion of G. Ekroth (1999) shows that this was not a traditional norm related to the characteristics of certain gods or heroes and the offerings made to them, but concerned the distribution of meat among worshippers.⁷² She suggests that where meat was designated for a limited group of worshippers consumption on the spot would be appropriate; this fits the Erchian sacrifices given to women and to the Pythaistai (ch. 20 n. 45), but it is also noticeable that sacrifices made by the deme on the same occasion may be treated differently. When the Erchians went to Athens in Metageitnion the sacrifices to Zeus Polieus and to Apollo Lykeios were *ou phora*, but those to Athena and Demeter were not. One might imagine that some of those who travelled from the deme camped in the Lykeion and shared meat not available to fellow-demesmen who had homes or kin in the city, but this will not explain the *ou phora* sacrifice to Zeus.

It is generally assumed that shares of meat taken away from sacrifices, where this was permitted, were distributed raw, but we have no explicit evidence on this; nor do we know whether in classical Athens meat-shops sold raw or only cooked meat.⁷³ I had wondered whether *ou phora* sacrifices were spit-roasted whole, but again there seems to be no evidence, although it is conceivable for small animals eaten by limited groups, such as the

⁷⁰ The suggestion that the ‘greater demarchy’ was the more expensive version of two lists of biennial sacrifices (Mikalson 1977) does not account very satisfactorily for the term *démarchia* (nor does Papazarkadas 2011, 145–6) or the division into 5 sections; I prefer my idea that Erchia was appointing additional ‘demarchs’ (not unlike the division of funds among ‘archons’ in Plotheia, n. 47).

⁷¹ Note however Rosivach 1994, 81–2 on the general rarity of cattle-herds in Attika. Jameson (*per ep.*, 1999, cf. Brulé 1987, 35–6) thought ‘a sheep, in place of the ox sacrificed in the city’—yet why should this be specified?

⁷² Ekroth 1999 demolishes the suggestion of Scullion 1994 that *ou phora* sacrifices were ‘chthonic’. Her own view that the provision was introduced when sacrificial programmes were reorganized is open to the objection that written evidence tends generally to come from such reorganizations. Useful list of references in Lupu 2005, 275–6 (cf. also Scullion 2000, 165). Jameson 1999 points out that some of the *ou phora* rubrics were *added* to the Erchia list (see Dow 1965); he suggests that one reason for selling meat (he assumes that it was sold raw, by office-holders) was that the victim was too small to feed all participants; also, elite participants might prefer to consume it at home.

⁷³ Theophr. *Char.* 9. 4 may suggest that raw bones were available (Diggle 2004, 295). The term *hephthopôleion* for shops selling cooked meat is first attested in the 3rd c. Note *IG* ii³ 4. 214 (Steinhauer 1994b), a list of prices for (probably) cooked meat from Piraeus, perhaps late 1st c. BCE. When *IG* i³ 82. 23–4 specifies that meat is to be distributed raw to metics, and *Agora* XIX L 4a 23–4 has raw meat divided between the two sections of the Salaminioi, the implication is a restriction of communion. See also Jameson 1998, 178–9; R. Parker 2010a; Naiden 2013, ch. 6. Useful discussion of sale of meat in Berthiaume 1982.

Apatouria lambs (ch. 19 n. 34). Georgoudi 1979, an important study of modern Greek village festivals in which ‘sanctified’ meat is boiled, shows that there is much variation in whether meat is eaten on the spot or taken away, and in the latter case whether it is removed raw or cooked.

The deme’s most important festival, probably associated with an assembly, was almost the last of the year, on Skirophorion 3rd. Athena Polias received a sheep ‘in place of an ox’, and sacrifices were also made to Kourotophos, Aglauros, Zeus Polieus, Poseidon, and probably one other recipient. The festival may have been parallel to the local Plynteria celebrated in Skirophorion in Thorikos, at which that deme sacrificed an oath victim, sheep to Aglauros, Athena, and Poseidon, and an ox to [Kepha]los; a deme meeting was held at which euthynoi and their paredroi were appointed and sworn in. Erchia probably made similar preparations for the transition to the new civic year, although we do not know their exact form. Presumably demes had to appoint their councillors before the end of the year.

Erchia had at least one priestess, probably more than one; skins from the sacrifices to heroines on Hekatombaion 19 and Pyanopsion 14, to Hera on Gamelion 27, and to Semele and Dionysos on Elaphebolion 16, were given to ‘the priestess’. The only male religious officials mentioned in the calendar, apart from the five ‘demarchs’, are the Pythaistai and the herald. Possibly a phratry priest officiated at other festivals in the Pythion (and Delphinion?), but if so he did not get perquisites from deme sacrifices.

The calendar and the new demarchy-system may have been introduced because the deme had experienced problems in recruiting demarchs who would conscientiously carry out their religious obligations;⁷⁴ moreover, the financial provision for cult seems modest for a deme of Erchia’s size (note however Steinhauer 2009a, 71). One does not get an impression of active commitment to deme activities on the part of the wealthier families (though, as we shall see, some of these probably retained property in the deme). Some evidence of tension is provided by a speech attributed to Isaïos (12), from an appeal following a deme diapsephisis.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Demarchs or their substitutes are honoured for carrying out all the sacrifices prescribed for the deme in SEG 22. 117 (Ikaron; cf. SEG 2. 7, Halimous); it may not have been uncommon for demarchs to omit some of the smaller offerings at peripheral sites.

⁷⁵ Cf. Table 7.13. D. H. Is. 16–17; the case is here ascribed to the general diapsephisis of 346/5, but we do not know whether D. H. found explicit evidence of this in the fuller text of the speech available to him. 346/5 seems to us late for Isaïos (cf. Develin 1991), but he is also credited with a speech against (*pros*) Boiotos in an appeal from a deme (F. VI Thalheim 1903), again attributed to the general scrutiny of 346/5 (ch. 30 n. 30). The Euphiletos case, however, also has procedural irregularities that might be less problematic if his rejection had been the result of a local scrutiny or an exceptional reconsideration of his qualifications. The case had apparently been heard by arbitrators, who had given judgment in favour of E., at an earlier stage (§ 11); Paoli (1950) plausibly suggested that E. and his kin had brought a private suit for damages (*blabê*) against the deme (we know of two such suits against genê, [Din.] F 11a *Against (kata) the Kerykes*, and the threatened suit of Phrastor of Aigilia against the Brytidai, [Dem.] 59. 60, ch. 20 n. 113, in which Ph. was challenged to take an oath before the arbitrator; probably there was no formal appeal against the decisions of genê, which had no official role in the system of citizenship). It seems more

The appellant was vigorously supported by his father, his paternal half-brother, the husbands of his half-sisters, his half-siblings' mother's brother, and other kin whose exact relationship to him is not specified; the affair may well have mobilized two opposing factions in the deme. The name Euphiletos is attested later in Erchia, so he may well have won his case.

The speaker of Isaios 12 was one of Euphiletos' half-brothers, probably the oldest; he was thirteen years older than Euphiletos, and may be the Hegesias (II) son of Hegesippos who dedicated the statue of a Lysias (*IG ii² 3843*; his brother?) in the city area (see Table 24.4). Nikoxenos son of Hegesias E., who with two men from Pallene manumitted a woolworker living in Iphistiadai in the (?) 320s, may be the son either of Euphiletos' half-brother or of Hegesias III son of Anthippos E., probably a cousin (FBS) of Euphiletos and his siblings, who was buried in the deme area in mid-century (*IG ii² 6112*).⁷⁶ Dexikrates son of Hegesias E., who appears on a mid-century list of (?) epilektoi, and whose son Dexis was commemorated by a

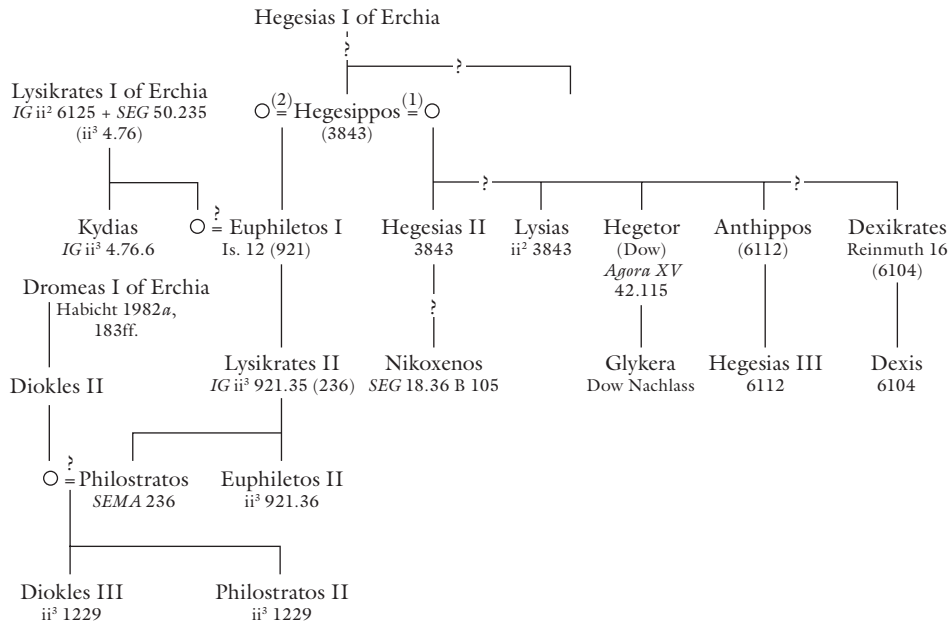


TABLE 24.4. Erchia: Isaios 12

likely, however, that the appellants should resort to this strategy in an affair concerning only one deme than that they could do so in a case arising from the general diapsephisis, when one might expect procedure to be less fluid. Euphiletos' mother's offer to take an oath before the arbitrator in the Delphinion, noted by Gernet 1937*b* as another procedural irregularity, should also in my view be seen as an example of fluidity—arbitrators are not likely to have kept to strict rules—and not as a reason for rejecting the speech (an oath was also taken at the Delphinion in the Mantitheos-Boiotos case, [Dem.] 40. 11).

⁷⁶ Nikoxenos and his co-manumittors (*SEG 18. 36 B 104–8*) were perhaps acting for a prostitute (see E. E. Cohen 2003), since they do not seem to be related to each other.

stele also dated to the middle of the century, found in Piraeus, may belong to the earlier generation.⁷⁷ The names of Lysikrates (II?) E. and his son Euphiletos (II?) who served together as councillors in the 250s, suggest that Euphiletos or a descendant may have married into the family of Lysikrates I E., commemorated by a relief stele of the early fourth century found in the city, and his son Kydias, who served as councillor in 341/0. Euphiletos' early experiences might well have persuaded him to seek influential allies in the deme. Euphiletos II's brother Philostratos, commemorated by a kioniskos found in the Agora, may have married into the wealthy and conspicuous deme family of Dromeas; Philostratos' sons Diokles and Philostratos II served as ephebes in 205/4.

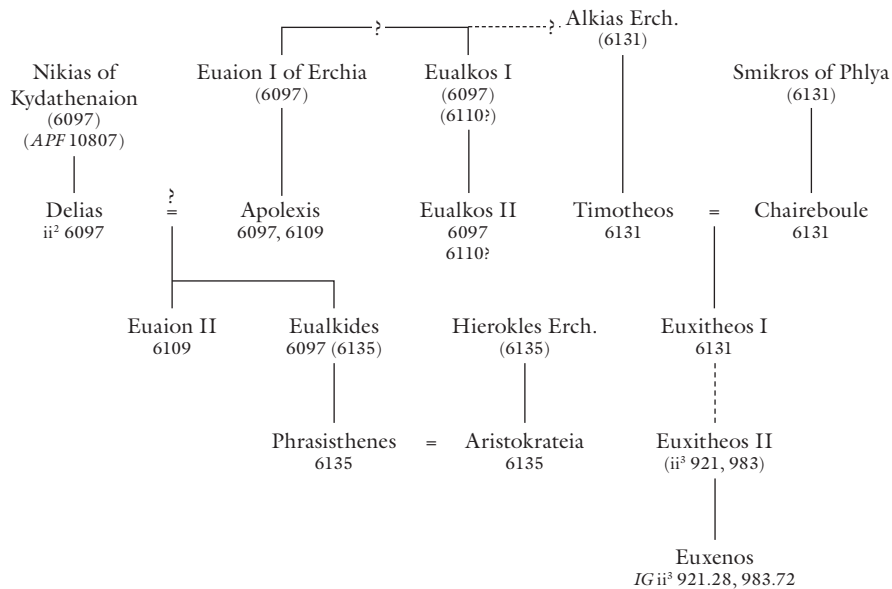
The better-known Erchians were on the whole conservative in their politics—Isokrates' family (15. 161) will not have been the only one to suffer financially during the Peloponnesian War—and several of those who successfully recovered their status in the fourth century may, like Isokrates himself, have relied on sources of wealth outside the deme. Among those who retained a base in Erchia a prominent position will have been held by two families that married into the old Athenian aristocracy. *IG* ii² 6097, 6109, and (?) 6135, all found at Kokla, may have come from a single peribolos. Apolexis son of Euaion, commemorated on 6097 (*CAT* 819) with his son Eualkides, his (?) wife, and his (?) cousin (FBS) Eualkos II son of Eualkos I, probably married Delias, daughter of Nikias of Kydathenaion (*APF* 10807) (see Table 24.5). Nikias' family later appears prominently among the Mesogeioi, and married into a wealthy family of Kerykes from Koile. Apolexis' grandson (SS) Phrasisthenes son of Eualkides married the daughter of a fellow-demesman, Hierokles E., and they were buried in the deme.⁷⁸ The names Eualkos and Eualkides suggest an affinal connection also with Alkias E., whose son Timotheos was commemorated on a stone also found in the deme area, to which the names of Timotheos' wife (from Phlya) and his son Euxitheos were added (*IG* ii² 6131). A descendant, Euxenos son of Euxitheos, served as councillor in the 250s (*IG* ii³ 921. 28, 983. 72).

Chrysogone, daughter of Xanthippos of Erchia, married into the Eteoboutadai family descended from Drakontides of Bate, which provided priestesses of Athena Polias (*APF* 4549); she was commemorated with her husband, a son of Polyeuktos I of Bate, by a stone found in the deme. She may have been an epikleros, in which case it is possible that the two families were already related; however, the father of an epikleros could marry her as he wished during his lifetime. The Xanthippos son

⁷⁷ Dexikrates: see ch. 23 n. 19. Hegetor E., councillor in (?) 336/5 (*Agora* XV 42. 115), whose daughter Glykera was commemorated by a stele recorded by Sterling Dow on the Athens market in 1965 (Dow Nachlass, file 'Attic Grave Monuments in Attike; fragments'), may have belonged to this family, as may Hegemon, mentioned in Is. 12. 6 as one of Euphiletos' supporters. Note also Euphiletos son of Straton 'Erx' (= Erch.?), Piraeus Mus. 3577 = *CAT* 4. 445 (Schmaltz 1998, 182–5, pl. 33) and [Strat]ophon son of Straton E., *SEMA* 234.

⁷⁸ *IG* ii² 6135, recorded by Milchhöfer in private possession in Spata; it could have come from Kokla (Bergemann 1997, 204, peribolos Q 16).

TABLE 24.5.
Erchia: Euaion



of Aristophon I E. who was made proxenos at Olbia was perhaps her BS; the Xanthippos (II), Aristophon (II), and Drakontides of E. who contributed to an epidosis in 248/7 should be descendants.⁷⁹

A substantial group of funerary monuments from the deme may indicate a projected or short-lived intra-deme marriage between the family responsible for them and a daughter of the trierarch Lysis E. (APF 9576). Kallikrates I E., the first attested member of this family, seems to have had four sons (their birth order cannot be deduced): Kallistratos I, Antikrates I, Kalliphanes, and Kallisthenes. Kallistratos I was commemorated in the city early in the fourth century (IG ii² 6122). His son Polykleides served as councillor in 341/0; Phile daughter of Kallikrates, buried near the city, will be either Polykleides' sister or more probably

⁷⁹ IG ii² 5867, Chrysogone with [5–6] Polyeuktou Batethen (note by M. Crosby with IG squeeze in Berlin; this seems to exclude [Lysikles]). The stone was recorded in the chapel of Agios Georgios 'about ½ hour's walk south of Spata' (SSW), in an area where *KvA* records graves, c.1km W of Kokla. Habicht (1979, 151) suggested that Xanthippos I, *Inscr. Olbia* 5 (Dubois 1996 no. 21, 340–330), was the father of Xanthippos II (and ? Drakontides) and Aristophon II (IG ii³ 1011 col. I 58, II 33–4). Dubois' date seems to exclude identification of the second honorand in *I. Olbia* 5, Philopolis II son of Philopolis I of Deiradiotai (Table 26.11), as a brother of Polystratos II (APF 12076), unless the grant was being renewed for a descendant. If so, Xanthippos I, like the sons of Polystratos I of Deiradiotai, and his fellow-demesman Xenophon E., may have travelled during the decade(s) immediately following the end of the Peloponnesian War, both to escape the backlash against those associated with oligarchy and to improve his economic position. See ch. 20 n. 131, Table 20.4; the spacing of the dedication, IG ii² 3455 = Marcadé 1953 I, 57–8, seems to require a longer name than Xanthippos, although since the base is round the lettering may not have been entirely symmetrical).

the daughter of his son Kallikrates II, whose stone was found at Moschato.⁸⁰ Descendants of this branch of the family can be traced into the third century. Antikrates I had two sons, Kallikrates II and Aristaios; the latter served as treasurer of Athena in 351/0. Kallikrates II's son Antikrates II was commemorated c.360 in the deme by a loutrophoros and a lekythos, both of which represent him with his mother Archestrata; on the loutrophoros they are accompanied by Aristachme daughter of Lysis E., who was perhaps Antikrates II's fiancée, or his wife in a brief marriage that did not produce offspring. Antikrates II's father Kallikrates II and his brother Theophilos are commemorated on a stele from the same area. The kioniskos of Kalliphanes son of Kallikrates (I) is also dated c.360; the stele of Kallikrates III son of Kallisthenes E., recorded at Liopesi, may have come from the family peribolos.⁸¹ With the exception of the branch descended from Kallistratos I, this seems to be a family resident in the deme.

Many of Erchia's more prominent demesmen, however, at least by the fourth century, had external interests.

Isokrates (*APF* 7716) is said to have served in the cavalry in his youth, so the family may have owned land, possibly in the deme; he claimed that property had been lost during the Peloponnesian War. However, his father already owned a workshop of slave flute-makers, presumably in the city, and most of Isokrates' own very considerable wealth probably came from students' fees. His parents were buried in Kynosarges.⁸² Isokrates wrote an *enkomion* for Gryllos II, son of his fellow-demesman Xenophon, who died in 362 on the Mantinea campaign; there was perhaps some similarity in their views on politics (interest in Persia). Xenophon himself, despite his taste for farming, horsemanship, and hunting, had met

⁸⁰ See *APF* 9576, with table; Bergemann 1997, 204, peribolos Q 15. Kallistratos I, *IG* ii² 6122 = *AEE*² 134, painted stele, 'NW of the palace'. Polykleides, *IG* ii³ 4. 76. 10; since the name is comparatively rare, and the demes were probably adjacent, there may be an affinal relationship with the family of Polykleides of Kydantidai, who is named on a curse tablet of (?) the 320s, *SEG* 58. 265 A III 86. Damasistrate daughter of Polykleides, commemorated by a relief naiskos of c.350–330 from (?) Piraeus (*IG* ii² 11037 = *CAT* 4. 430), may well be the daughter of one of these two men. Phile, *SEMA* 235 (second half of the 4th c.); Kallistratos II, *SEMA* 229.

⁸¹ Antikrates II, *IG* ii² 6100–1 = *CAT* 4. 371, 2. 371b. Loutrophoroi—at least those represented in relief on stelai, Dehl 1981—do not universally commemorate unmarried persons; Kerameikos P 663 represents a young mother, apparently the deceased, handing her baby to another woman. However, one should not conclude too rapidly that the shape had no association with unfulfilled expectations. A brief and childless marriage—or even perhaps one cut short in the infancy of the first child—would perhaps barely have counted as 'marriage' in Greek eyes (cf. ch. 11 n. 36). Kallikrates II and Theophilos, *IG* ii² 6120 (Ag. Georgios near Kokla); in my view Kallikrates II must be the father of Antikrates II and not, as stated by Kirchner ad loc., his son. Kalliphanes, ii² 6123, no provenance; Kallikrates III, ii² 6121.

⁸² See Humphreys 1983a/1993, 116 on the funerary monuments (Bergemann 1997, 192 G 1). The connection to Isokrates' family of Theodoros son of Theodoros E., *IG* ii² 6115 (kioniskos, 3rd c.) and his (?) brother or son Pheidon II son of Theodoros (cf. Tuplin 1980), 6133 (kioniskos, 3rd c.?) is doubtful, given the frequency of the name Theodoros; they should however be related to Euthykrates son of Pheidon I E., commemorated on Salamis c.350 with his (?) wife Nikostrata by a relief stele (ii² 6111 = Hamiaux 1992, no. 195, *CAT* 2. 254). Euthykrates' children were orphaned: Finley 1952 no. 126 B (no provenance; 'Eleusis' in M. C. Taylor 1997, 280 no. 113, seems to be an error).

Sokrates in the city as a young man and seems to have been heavily compromised by association with the Thirty; he was condemned to exile *in absentia* in the 390s and spent much of his life outside Attika. His grandson Xenophon III son of Diodoros was granted honorary citizenship of Ephesos in or after 306/5.⁸³ Thrason and Thrasyboulos E., who took the opposite line in foreign politics, were active in military service and public affairs, and presumably had a base in the city.⁸⁴

Aristolochos son of Charidemos E. was a banker ruined in a major bank crash perhaps at the time of the Social War in the 350s; he must have operated in the city or Piraeus, though he also owned some land (*APF* 1946). Deinias E. may be the Deinias who donated land to the city for the Lykourgan stadium.⁸⁵ Euandros son of Euainetos I is recorded as registering and leasing a mine in the 350s; the Euainetos (II?) E. who lent money secured on land on Lemnos may be his son.⁸⁶ Pheidestratos son of Autodikos E., commemorated on two lekythoi of the beginning of the fourth century as a young cavalryman, was buried just outside the city.⁸⁷ Theogenes, who served as dikast and basileus, and belonged to the genos Koironidai, was probably also resident in the city.⁸⁸

Kydantidai and Ionidai

The recently discovered decree issued jointly by these two small demes (*SEG* 39. 148) should imply that they were neighbours, and that a certain degree of fusion had taken place. It is also possible that they ‘shared’ three seats on the Council.⁸⁹

⁸³ D. L. 2. 54, Table 5.5. Gryllos (II) had one son, Xenophon II; Diodoros, his younger brother (named after their mother Diodora; or perhaps her father was a Diodoros) had two sons, Xenophon III (*SEG* 33. 932. 14) and Gryllos III. On Xenophon I’s exile see Tuplin 1987. Develin *AO* p. 314 reports a suggestion of D. M. Lewis that the hipparch Kratinos of 349/8 was of E. (*APF* 8760), but the name is not uncommon.

⁸⁴ *APF* 7305; Thrason was active in the alliance of Athens with Thebes against Sparta; both he and his son Thrasyboulos evidently saw Macedon as a greater threat than Persia.

⁸⁵ See Humphreys 1985*a*. Another Erchian prominent in the Lykourgan period is Tharriades son of Tharriades, councillor in 341/0 (*IG* ii³ 4. 76. 5, 74, 82; he served as syllogeus and proposed two honorary decrees) and tribal sophronistes in 331/0/29 (*IG* ii² 1181 = *SEG* 34. 151). Hagnias son of Dromeas I E. is attested as trierarch in 326/5 (*APF* 126); for his descendants, very prominent in the 3rd c., see Habicht 1982*a*, 183–5; ch. 15 n. 13.

⁸⁶ *APF* 5247, *Agora* XIX P 9. 32, [33]; Euainetos II?, Finley 1952 no. 105 (Culasso Gastaldi 2006, no. 2).

⁸⁷ *IG* ii² 6103 = *CAT* 219*a* = *AEE* 467 (Pheidestratos’ name is lost); 6117 = *CAT* 4. 219 = *AEE* 473, both from the junction of Kolokotronis and Stadiou streets. Schmaltz 1970 dated ii² 6117 to the second half of the 4th c.; *CAT* follows the earlier dating of *IG*. Thereus, represented on 6117 with Pheidestratos and Ph.’s parents, may perhaps be an adolescent brother, or Ph.’s squire (would a squire wear the petasos?).

⁸⁸ Kroll 1972, no 163, [Dem.] 59. 72, cf. ch. 20 n. 122. The Koironidai are an Eleusinian genos, but members of several Eleusinian genê had settled in the Mesogeia and other areas E of the city by 507.

⁸⁹ Traill 1975*a*: in 343/2 Ionidai has 2 councillors and Kydantidai 1; thereafter, until 307, Kydantidai has 2 wherever attested, Ionidai 1 in (?) 336/5, perhaps 1 and a vacant line in 341/0. Note that *Agora* XVI 68 may be a deme decree of K. rather than Kyd[athenaion], ch. 25 no. 10, and that *IG* i³ 247 may be a decree of [Kyda]ntidai (ch. 19 n. 11); it seems to deal with deme funds lent out at interest, cf. i³ 243, Sypalettos, ch. 29 n. 51.

The new text was brought to Liopesi by men from Koropi; there is no further information on provenance, but *prima facie* this does not favour the location earlier assigned to Kydantidai on the southern slopes of Mt Pentelikon. A better indication is now provided by the (still unpublished) excavation of the funerary peribolos of Praxiteles K. near junction 15 of the Attike Odos.⁹⁰ There are a number of sites in the Mesogeia east of Spata to be assigned either to small demes or to hamlets; two of these may have belonged to Kydantidai and Ionidai.⁹¹

The Herakleia were apparently celebrated twice each year, the festivals being known as the libation-Herakleia and the summer Herakleia (*spondeia*, *therina*); the latter may have been the more important festival. Arrangements were the responsibility of the priest of Herakles and two kolokratai, the latter apparently liturgists appointed for the year. In 331/0, the year of our text, all three men belonged to Kydantidai; the obligation to provide liturgists may perhaps have alternated between the two demes.⁹²

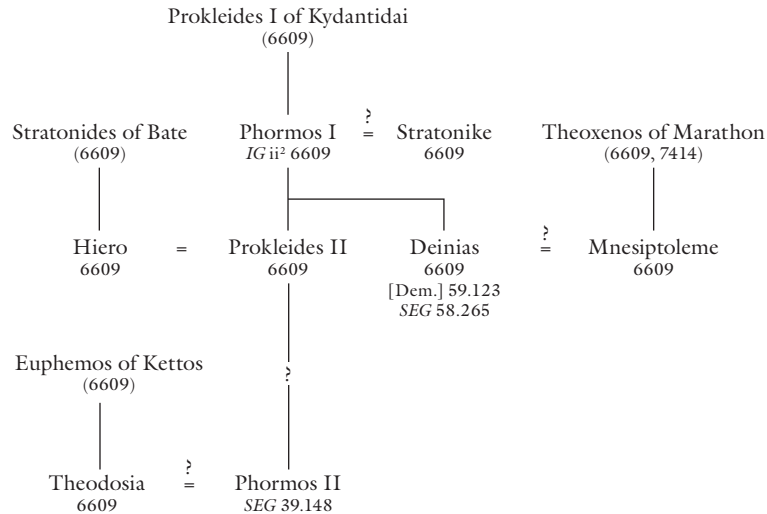
The decree awards crowns to the priest and kolokratai, and provides for publication in the sanctuary of Herakles. Its proposer, Leonteus son of Antiphanes of Kydantidai, may have been a cousin (FBS?) of one of the liturgists, Leonteus

⁹⁰ Peribolos, Steinhauer a. o. 2005, 171–2, cf. Steinhauer 2009*d* n. 63; stones name Konon son of Konon K. and Chairias son of Praxiteles. This location may be Matringou, supporting Traill's position (1975*a*) for K. at 'Kato Charvati', a term that seems to cover the settlement sites marked by *KvA* VII E of Charvati (Vlichos) and XII ENE of it (Matringou). Ionidai may perhaps have been at Vlichos; this would fit Pausanias' statement (6. 22. 7) that Ion was son of Gargettos, although such genealogical statements do not seem necessarily to imply contiguity (ch. 23 n. 7; above at n. 8). Traill 1986 put Ionidai at Draphi (n. 121 below) and Kydantidai at Mendeli, but the fact that Teithras (Pikermi) had its own Herakleion may be a reason not to put Ionidai and Kydantidai too close to it. *IG* ii² 2609, horos of a temenos of Herakles, was reported by Milchhöfer (1887, 88 no. 28) from 'Tschulundra, WSW of Spata'; it should perhaps be attributed to Kydantidai-Ionidai rather than to Erchia (Whitehead 1986*a*, 203) or Teithras (Möbius 1924). However, it may have travelled. On Ion's tomb at Potamos (Paus. 1. 31. 3) see ch. 20 n. 92. P[er]axiteles K. was named on the curse tablet *SEG* 58. 265 (A col. II 57; a whole group from the deme in col. III, some re-listed on side B); his son A[ischas?] was anagrapheus in 305/4, *Agora* XV 58. 85, and his grandson Praxiteles II Aischeou councillor in 259/8 (*IG* ii³ 983, Philinos).

⁹¹ From north to south: Vourva (cf. Vanderpool 1965*a*), Lappari-Mazareika (assigned by Traill to Konthyle on the basis of *IG* ii² 6533, but one stone commemorating a woman is very weak evidence [ch. 25 n. 43], and the inland trittys of III Pandionis should not have stretched so far east; note that Mazareika, where this monument was found, is SE of Spata and not where *KvA* VII marks Lappari), and the two sites at the N and S ends of Karababa explored by Steinhauer (1982, 1994*a*); the N site seems to be Milchhöfer's Vathy Pigadi, Merkuri on *KvA* VII (Milchhöfer 1887, 87–8). Steinhauer (1994*a*, n. 8) assigns all these sites to Myrrhinoutta except the site on the S end of Karababa, which he takes to be a hamlet of Philaidai; these identifications, however, seem very questionable (Myrrhinoutta was probably coastal, n. 116).

⁹² Did the offerings at the *spondeia* consist only of libations? It is not certain that both festivals were annual. Matthaïou (1989) suggests alternation in the appointment of liturgists; R. Parker (1996, 332) is reluctant to envisage any form of fusion. *Kolokratai* (cf. Whitehead 1993) seems to be a variant of *kolakretai*, itself perhaps a form of *kolagretai*, thigh-collectors (P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 139; Masson 1997, 90; Matthaïou, op. cit.; Van Wees 2013*a*, 40–4; ch. 21 n. 66).

son of Menestratos K.⁹³ The other liturgist, Phormos II son of Prokleides II K., came from a well-attested family which set up a stele over four metres high in the Kerameikos commemorating Phormos I and his sons Prokleides II and Deinias. Deinias acted as witness for Apollodoros of Acharnai in the Neaira case, and is named (more than once) on a curse tablet of the Lykourgan period. The liturgist is presumably his nephew (BS) Phormos II, son of Prokleides II (see Table 24.6).⁹⁴



Notes: The size of the stele implies that it was intended to become a family monument, but it is not certain that any names other than those of Phormos I and Stratonike were cut before it was set up. Theodosia could be a second wife of Phormos I, but Phormos II seems more likely.

TABLE 24.6. Kydantidai: Prokleides

The most prominent family in Kydantidai was that of the fifth-century general Nikias and his descendants, which may have died out with Nikeratos III, who served as diaitetes in 330/29, as hieropoios of the Amphiaraia in the following year, and as a member of Lykourgos' Pythais in (?) 326/5. Their wealth came mainly from owning land, workshops, and slaves in the mining district.⁹⁵

⁹³ Lambert 1997a (F 16 A 8) and Papazarkadas 2011, 308 no. 44 suggest a connection also with Leonteus Antikleidou K[-5-] of *Agora XIX* P 26. 16, but here Kydathenaion is more likely, since he acts as guarantor for a Kydathenaieus leasing property in Kydathenaion; cf. Antikleides son of Antikles Kydath., ephebe in (?) 333/2/1, *IG ii³* 4. 342 (cf. also *APF* p. 36, Antikleides Kê). See also ch. 26 n. 44.

⁹⁴ *IG ii²* 6609 = *AEE²* 203, 230; *AEE²* has fr. a (203) still *in situ* in or near Agia Triada in the Kerameikos. See also *APF* 14962; Hildebrandt 2006 no. 348, pl. 111 (his date c.410 must be too early). In [Dem.] 59. 123 the text should be emended from (*Deinias*) *Phormidou* to *Phormou*. See n. 97 on the curse tablet *SEG* 58. 265. Additions were made to the stele ii² 6609 (at least from line 11, probably from line 5) as further members of the family died (ch. 11 n. 28). Mnesiptoleme daughter of Theoxenos of Marathon, perhaps the wife of Deinias, had a sister who married into a prominent family in Sounion (*IG ii²* 7414, Table 26.10).

⁹⁵ *APF* 10808. Nikeratos III owned land at Maroneia, *Agora XIX* P 28. 24, cf. 26 (339/8); P 25. 15, 46. The Kleistrate daughter of Nikeratos who in 405/4 (or earlier) dedicated a silver incense-burner

By the Lykourgan period, although Nikeratos III was still respected as a symbolic link with Athens' golden age (Nikias I had been one of Perikles' leading successors, his son Nikeratos II had been murdered by the Thirty), the most active figures in the deme were the politician Polyeuktos and, probably, Nikokles son of Lysikles (*APF* 10903), who performed the eutaxia liturgy for his tribe *c.*330, served as parasite of Athena Pallenis, and bought an eschatia in the deme for 162½ drachmas in the hekatostai sales. Two larger parcels were also bought by demesmen, Nikochares son of Theophilos paying 1000 dr., and Antikleides son of Antig[ne]s 1875.⁹⁶ Nikokles appears with about seven other members of the deme in a cluster on a curse tablet of the Lykourgan period; the writer may have been a member of the deme, and the clustering suggests conflict over deme affairs or a question (such as rights to citizenship) in which the deme was involved.⁹⁷

We know less about Ionidai, but some archaic-sounding names among its better-attested families perhaps suggest that the decision to claim independent deme status was based on the presence of elite families in the village in the sixth century.⁹⁸ Chremes son of Philoitios, secretary in 351/0 and councillor in 343/2, and his son Ph[iloi]tios, who served on a tribal board *c.*325, may be descended from the Philoitios commemorated *c.*500 by *IG* i³ 1231, found in the city, and/or the Chremes whose father dedicated *IG* i³ 783 with him on the Akropolis *c.*500–480; and Melieus son of Ilioneus, councillor and tribal hieropoios in 341/0, may descend from the Melieus who was kalos *c.*525.⁹⁹ Chionides I. on Imbros in 352/1, *IG* xii 8. 63.

weighing 1300 dr. with bronze supports (D. Harris 1995, V no. 274), was presumably the daughter of Nikeratos II.

⁹⁶ Eutaxia, *IG* ii³ 550; Athena Pallenis, *SEG* 34. 157. 16 (with comm.); hekatostai, Lambert 1997*a*, 16 A 3–8. Lambert also restores the name of [Pheid]oleos Phe[i]do[stratou] K., councillor in 335/4 (*Agora* XV 43. 48), in F 16 A 2.

⁹⁷ Polyeuktos (on whom see M. H. Hansen 1983*b*) does not appear on the tablet *SEG* 58. 265 and may perhaps have written it (Humphreys 2010*b*). Of the 12–14 demesmen named on this tablet, 5 are attested elsewhere: Praxiteles, whose son was buried in an impressive peribolos near junction 15 of the Attike Odos (n. 90); Deinias and Nikokles, with Xenokles and Kalliteles, both of whom were councillors *c.*336, *Agora* XV 42. 128–9. Kalliteles (whose father Kalliphanes appears in A III 78) was crowned in 337/6 (Lambert 2004*b* no. 20, *IG* ii³ 325; this stone is probably a dedication), and served as diaitetes in 325/4 (*IG* ii³ 4. 35. 28).

⁹⁸ There were archaic graves at Vourva, and an archaic sphinx was found at Vathy Pigadhi (n. 91). Cf. perhaps, in Kydantidai, Spinthon son of Lamedon, councillor in 335/4 (*Agora* XV 43. 46), who may have been a descendant of the Spinthon who dedicated *IG* i³ 684 on the Akropolis *c.*510–500.

⁹⁹ Chremes, *IG* ii³ 293 with *SEG* 14. 51; ii³ 4. 75. 7; Philoitios, *Hesp.* 15, 1946, 117–18 no. 25 (the name is not so far attested in any other deme before the Roman period; Chremes is less rare). The Ilione whose 4th c. relief lekythos was found in the Agora (*SEMA* 1979 = *CAT* 3. 250) may possibly be related to Melieus son of Ilioneus of I., *IG* ii³ 4. 76.

COASTAL TRITTYS

Philaidai

The approximate location of the deme, inland from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, is not in doubt,¹⁰⁰ but information about its activities and members is disappointingly scarce. Since the Brauron sanctuary is fairly well explored (though not well published), it appears that Philaidai either inscribed no deme decrees or set them up elsewhere. It is in any case doubtful whether the deme ever had any responsibility for the sanctuary. Herodotus' story of a Pelasgian raid on Brauron from Lemnos implies that by his day it was believed that Brauron already in the sixth century attracted visits and offerings from women living in other parts of Attika; and the tradition associating Peisistratos with Brauron may have derived from developments in the sanctuary under the tyranny.¹⁰¹ The name of the deme, Philaidai, suggests that the sanctuary was controlled by the *genos* Philaidai which claimed descent from Ajax of Salamis, but by the middle of the sixth century the leading family in this *genos* was evidently already settled near the city.¹⁰²

Of the deme's three trierarchic families the descendants of Deinias son of Euages, *tamias* in the middle of the fifth century, seem to have derived their wealth from mining.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ AGC 21 X8/Y4 no. 31, archaic temple remains inland from Brauron; nos. 33–35, settlement; AD 26, 1971, B 1 37–8, tombs dated c.400, with traces of roads and periboloi (*KvA* VII remains SW of Palaio Vraona?) in the area Kepoi. Cf. also W. Thompson 1969*b*, Antoniou 2002. Steinhauer 1994*a* suggests that his site on the S end of Karababa belonged to Philaidai. See also Goette 2005 (map p. 34).

¹⁰¹ Photius (ed. Theodorides 1982) s.v. *Brauronia* ascribes the sanctuary to Peisistratos. Hdt. 4. 145, 6. 137–40. Evidence for cult on the site goes back at least to the 8th c.: Themelis 2002, cf. Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009, Despines 2010, Kalogeropoulos 2010*b* (Mycenaean tomb, AR 2014–15, 18). Pace P. Wilson 2010*a*, the Dionysos dedications IG i³ 1407/SEG 54. 330 and SEG 61. 175 do not necessarily imply theatrical performances (cf. Goette 2014). On Sourvinou-Inwood's view (1988*a*) that 'bears' were selected representatively from the Kleisthenic tribes see ch. 21 n. 73. Brauron is said to have building remains from the 7th–6th c. (*Archaiologia* 39, 1991, 15ff.); the small early temple is dated c.500 by Mylonopoulos and Bubenheimer 1996*a*. The date of the Brauronion on the Akropolis is uncertain. See also Ekroth 2003; R. Parker 2005*a*, 228–30 on the problems of interpreting the site at Brauron. Several important texts, one dated 416/5, remain unpublished (Peppas-Delmousou 1988, 330; cf. Lawton 1995, no. 73; a new 4th c. text from the area of the Library of Hadrian, AR 1996/7, 7). Good air photograph, Vlachopoulos 2010, 67 fig. 89.

¹⁰² Cf. ch. 20 at n. 130. The Pelasgian story, which justified the conquest of Lemnos by Miltiades IV, may indicate that he had some knowledge of the Brauron area.

¹⁰³ APF 5232, *Agora* XIX P 19. 25, Ktesias Euagido[u Ph.] leases a mine in 346/5. The other liturgic families are APF 1792 and 6347 (a Brauronian prosopography is published by Antoniou 1980). It is suggested in *Hesp.* 64, 1995, 333–6 that the creditor Aristogenes on a *horos* from the Teithras area is APF 1792, but the name is fairly common. Patrokles son of Hierokles, who served as *hipparch*, probably in the second half of the 4th c. (SEG 12. 145. 4) might be related to the [3–4]kles who proposed an unpublished law of the 3rd c. from Brauron (SEG 52. 104). The Melanthios commemorated on two *lekythoi* of the second half of the 4th c. from Agia Triada, between Markopoulo and Porto Rapti (SEMA 2156–7, CAT 1. 873–4), may be an ancestor of Diotimos Melanthiou, councillor from Ph. in the 250s (IG ii³ 921. 59; Kephale is an alternative but topographically less plausible possibility).

Halai Araphenides

This deme was the neighbour of Philaidai to the north, and had its own sanctuary of Artemis, associated like that of Brauron with the myth of Iphigeneia; at Halai she was Tauropolos, the bull-tender. The name formed the basis for Euripides' story in the *Iphigeneia in Tauris* that Iphigeneia had been transported to the Crimea by Artemis and brought back by Orestes.¹⁰⁴ According to Euripides there was a mock human sacrifice, with a male victim, at the Tauropolia; for Menander (*Epitrepontes* 451–2, 470–90) this was an all-night festival attended by women, at which young men got drunk and a girl who left her companions (both slave and free) was in danger of being raped.

The area of Aliki, where presumably the lagoon approximately marks the site of the saltpans of the ancient period, and the bay of Loutsa, has produced a considerable amount of archaeological material and three deme decrees. Two of these were to be set up in the sanctuary of Artemis, and seem to have been found *in situ*. Excavations in 1956–7 and 1976 uncovered the foundations of a poros temple dated to the fourth century, with associated earlier material, and further buildings (with a fifth century phase) about forty metres south of it; this seems to have been the area of the sanctuary of Artemis. A site half a kilometre to the west produced the third inscription, which refers to competitions (*agónes*) at the Dionysia, and was to be set up in the deme's sanctuary of Dionysos.¹⁰⁵

This decree (*SEG* 46. 153/49. 143), passed in 341/0, names a Phormos as demarch; since the name is rare and the demes perhaps relatively close, an affinal connection with Phormos of Kydantidai (n. 94) is possible. The proposer Philokles son of Philokydes and the two choregoi honoured, Antimachos son of Archemachos and Soinautes son of Nausistratides, are not otherwise attested, but Antimachos' brother Kallimedes served as councillor in the year of the deme decree (*IG* ii³ 4. 76. 53); Demoteles son of Antimachos, polemarch c.330 (*IG* ii² 1578) may have been the choregos' uncle (FB; ch. 29 n. 147). Nausistratides was probably related

¹⁰⁴ Some emulation of Brauron in the elaboration of the cult, or at least its myths, seems likely. Terracottas from the site apparently go back to the 6th c.

¹⁰⁵ Kotzias 1925–6 published Whitehead 1986*a*, no. 59, which was found in a Roman house, and discussed the topography of the area, providing a map. *SEG* 34. 103 (Whitehead no. 60), according to a note on *IG* ii² 5501, was found near the chapel of St Spyridon south of Loutsa. Excavations in 1956–7 on a site where there had earlier been excavation by Kyparissis and illegal digging found a poros temple, 4th c., with altar perhaps earlier; terracottas 6th–5th c.; many sherds 5th–4th c., tiles, dedication base, perhaps choregic; also the inscription concerning the Dionysia, and a fragment of a relief of the end of the 6th c. representing a woman (funerary?) from a site c.200 m south of the temple. Further excavations 1967–76: site 40 m S of temple, 2-room building with 5th c. and Hellenistic periods, and other classical/late classical material. See now Bardane 1998; Kalogeropoulos 2010, 2013 (with maps); Goette 2014, 85–7. *IG* i³ 1255–8 considers Velanideza a hamlet of Halai, but see below n. 116, Phegaia. On salt-production see Langdon 2010.

to the Nausistratos H. whose son or daughter was named on *IG* ii² 5508 = 5518a (cf. below at n. 112).

A decree published by Kotzias (1925–6) praises two benefactors and awards them olive crowns, proedria, and a share (*meris*) of sacrifices, to be given to them by the hieropoioi; the honorands may not have been deme members, since demesmen presumably all shared in the sacrifices (at the Tauropolia?). The demarch named in this text, Archias, should be the father or son of Apollodoros Archiou H., who served as councillor in 341/0.¹⁰⁶ *SEG* 34. 103, now dated in the 320s, honours Philoxenos son of Phrasikles for his choregia of a team of pyrrhichistai (dancers), and his performance of other deme liturgies, and awards him a crown of 500 drachmas with a further 20 dr. for sacrifice. The honours are to be announced at the *agon* of the Tauropolia; Philoxenos is to have *proedria* at all competitions in the deme, and is to be invited by the herald to take his seat. The demarch is to have the decree inscribed, and the treasurers of sacred funds (*tôn theiôn*) are to pay 20 drachmas for the stele.¹⁰⁷

Tombs of Halaieis have been found at Vraona and Velanideza, and may have moved there from the deme area. The descendants of Mnesippos I of Halai evidently formed a large lineage in the deme, which can be traced into the third century. Two of its members may have won victories in the Amphiaraia Megala of (?) 329/8. Pythippe, daughter of Mnesarchos IV, had a dowry of 1100 dr. secured in 273/2 on land in the Laureion area owned by her husband (see Table 24.7).¹⁰⁸

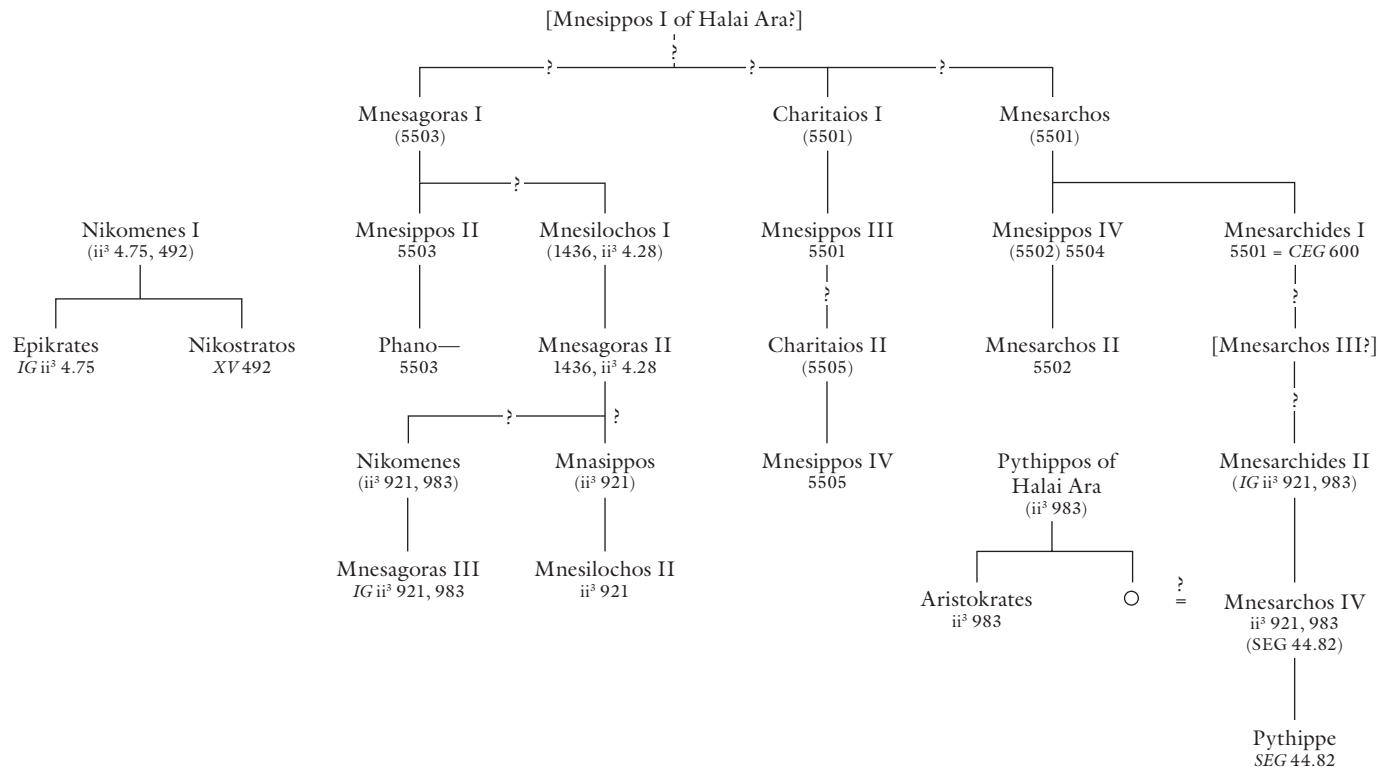
The trierarch Nikostratos son of Nikeratos H., whose stele was recorded at Spata, may have belonged to Halai Araphenides rather than Halai Aixonides; if so, he will have been related to Nikostratos son of Nikomenes H., listed as (?) a kleruch on *Agora* XV 492. 67.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ *IG* ii³ 4. 76. 51 (the reference in *LGPNA* Archias 33 should be to *PAAH* not *PAA*). Since Tracy 1995 (124) down-dates *SEG* 34. 103 to the 320s, Kotzias' decree should perhaps follow it, and the demarch should be taken to be the councillor's son.

¹⁰⁷ See Tracy 1995, 124, 128 for the date and confirmation of the reading 20 dr. (not 50) in line 32. The tamiai (responsible for all the deme's sacred funds, or only those of Artemis?) are also to provide the money for sacrifice, but not, apparently, for the crown.

¹⁰⁸ Earlier table at *IG* ii² 5501; cf. Humphreys 1983a/1993, 112. See also *APF* 10242; however, the trierarch of *IG* ii² 1609. 80 and 1612. 364 might be Mnesarchides son of Mnesikles of Laki(adai), attested as choregos in 361/0, *IG* ii³ 4. 484; cf. the [Mne]sarchides of VI Oineis in *IG* i³ 1144. 63 (Stephen Lambert, who kindly examined ii² 1609 for me, reports that it is very worn; it still seems to read ΑΙΛΑΙ, but ΛΑΚΙ is just possible). He may also be the M. who served as archon's paredros in the late 340s (the date 340/39 suggested in *AOP* p. 338 is unlikely, since [Dem.] 58, where he is mentioned, § 32, was probably delivered in 341/0 or before: see Gernet 1960). Pythippe, *SEG* 44. 82 (archon Glaukippos; Kiteza Kalybiou, a farm site on the road from Kalyvia to Anavyssos); her father Mnesarchos was councillor twice in the 250s, *IG* ii³ 921. 43, 983. 51. The Mneson Hal. of Finley 1952, no. 14 probably belonged to Halai Aixonides; the Mnesistratos Hal. who freed a slave living at Melite in the (?) 320s (*IG* ii² 1569. 27f.) could belong to either deme. Note also Korias daughter of Mnesikrates Hal. and Lysimache, Piraeus Museum 11725, late 4th c., Pologiorge 2009, 213 = *SEG* 59. 279.

¹⁰⁹ *APF* 11019; see however Whitehead 1982. The name Nikomenes reappears in the 3rd c. in the Mnesippos family.



Notes: IG ii² 5502 = CAT 2.448b represents Mnesarchos (standing, bearded) with a seated woman, his mother or wife: 5503 = CAT 2.407a shows Mnesippos II seated, with a standing woman who may be his daughter. It seems likely that the name Nikomenes came into the Mnesi- family through alliance with that of Nikomenes I, a fellow-demesman. Mnesarchides and Mnesippos of Halai, victors in the Amphiarraia Megala of (?) 329/8 (Knoepfler 1993), may be Mnesarchides II and Mnesippos IV (IG vii 414).

TABLE 24.7. Halai Araphenides: Mnesippos

Noumenios son of Kallias H., who appears on the same list (l. 66), should be, or be related to, the man of the same name who bought some of the property of Eumathes of Phaleron, in that deme, at the sale of property confiscated from the Thirty; the Noumenios of Halai named on a curse tablet of (?) the third century may be a descendant.¹¹⁰ Eukritos son of Daitarchos H. also appears on *Agora XV* 492 (l. 61); he may have been related to Daisios son of Euthias and his sons Euthias II and Euthykritos, commemorated on a stele of 340–317 found at Vraona.¹¹¹

Two men in the deme who achieved some prominence in the fifth century may have traceable descendants. Sokrates son of Antigenes H., who served as general in 432/1 and 431/0, may have been the grandfather of Sokrates II son of Habron, who was councillor in (?) 343/2 (*IG* ii³ 4. 75. 14), made a dedication in the city to the nymphs (*IG* ii² 4592), and was commemorated with his (?) wife by a relief naiskos to which the name of a son or daughter of Nausistratos H. was later added (*IG* ii² 5508 = 5518a). The Epizelos H. whose son Demophanes served as councillor in 259/8 (Philinos) and sitophylax in 239/8 (Athenodoros), and proposed *IG* ii³ 1029 in 234/3 (Lysanias), may descend from Pythodoros son of Epizelos, who served as hipparch, and (later) as general in the Peloponnesian War.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ *Agora XIX* P 2 abc 10; *Agora XV* 492 is usually dated c.370, but is probably a list of kleruchs from the 360s (Humphreys 2010a). Chairephanes H., who was a kleruch on Samos in 346/5 (*IG* xii 6. 261) had a homonymous descendant who contributed to the epidosis of 248/7 (*IG* ii³ 1011). The curse tablet Wünsch 1897, 11 may belong to the 3rd c., and the name Noumenios, which could be given to any boy born on the first of the month, is not a reliable basis for family reconstruction. Chairippos son of Chairedemos H. served as diaitetes in 330/29 (*IG* ii³ 4. 33) and headed an eranos-group that freed a slave living in Melite around the same date (*SEG* 18. 36 A 140 ff.); trapeza commemorating his wife, to which his name was added, from Piraeus, *SEMA* 267.

¹¹¹ *IG* ii² 5468; the sons' names were added later. The question whether stones found in the Mesogeia but not in the deme area should be attributed to H. Araphenides (rather than H. Aixonides) recurs with *IG* ii² 2701 (Finley 1952, no. 32) marking land mortgaged for 500 dr. to dekadistai led by Hieromnemon H., and for 130 dr. to eranistai led by Theopeithes of Ikarion; the Lysistratos with whom the agreement was deposited could be the L. of Halai of *Agora XIX* P 42. 5, but the name is common. Cf. the loutrophoros of Euboulos son of Timarchos of Halai *SEMA* 63, found with the lekythos of a Euktemon, *SEMA* 1860, at Velanideza: the provenance suggests H. Araphenides but the names Euboulos and Euktemon are found in H. Aixonides (Table 29.21). The stele and loutrophoros of Hieron son of Hierokles H., on which he is represented as a bearded warrior, with his father and a squire, came from the Kato Charvati area (Peppa-Delmousou 1975; *SEG* 24. 253 = *CAT* 2. 883 the loutrophoros, *SEMA* 65 = *CAT* 2. 882 the stele, attributed to Pallene in *SEG*, and to Pikermi in M. J. Osborne 1988 no. 10, where Kaineus son of Hierokles is mistakenly attributed to the same family, cf. Humphreys 1990a). See also ch. 25 n. 39 on the family of Philokrates of Oa and Deinias of Halai, commemorated at Velanideza; *IG* ii² 5486 = *CAT* 1. 879, the boy Theophrastos son of Theomnestos H., from Laureion. Note also that the monument of another boy, Arrileos (II) H. (no provenance) was, as Peek 1942, no. 363 pointed out, duplicated in *IG*: ii² 5465 = *CAT* 0. 914 is the same stone as 5526 = *CAT* 238. Eupolis son of Arrileos I H., councillor in (?) 343/2, *IG* ii³ 4. 75. 12, should be his father.

¹¹² Sokrates II: *IG* ii³ 4. 75. 14, *IG* ii² 4592, 5508 = 5518a (cf. ch. 5 nn. 58–9). Pythodoros (*APF* 12402) choregos in 415/4 (*IG* i³ 960), general in the following year; his service as hipparch (i³ 999; Spence 1993, 265 no. 30 with pl. 12) was presumably earlier, perhaps in 422/1 when he was one of those who took the oath for peace (*AO* pp. 138–9). Epizelos II as sitophylax, *IG* ii³ 1029 + Kritzas 2015.

Araphen

The deme was evidently located in or near modern Rafina.¹¹³ We would know little about it if a fight between two brothers over the division of an inherited plot of land (*chôrion*) in the deme, after which one of them died, had not led eventually to a court case for which Isaios wrote a speech. The value of the half-plot to Thoudippos, the survivor of the fight, may have been more symbolic than financial; he and his sons seem to have been resident in the city. Thoudippos proposed the Council's list of increased tribute assessments in 425/4, and presumably already had some political experience by that date.¹¹⁴ His two sons held office, Kleon as treasurer of Athena in 377/6 and Anaxippos as supervisor in the dockyard in 356/5; Thoudippos II, son of one of them, is attested as trierarch, and was executed in 318 as an associate of Phokion. Astyphilos, son of the brother who died, Euthykrates, was very young when the fight took place; this may imply that the brothers did not divide their father's estate until both of them had sons, and that Euthykrates had been farming the land in the deme.¹¹⁵ After Euthykrates' death his widow's second husband farmed Astyphilos' share of the land, both during his childhood and later, when Astyphilos left the deme in the 390s to serve as a mercenary, a career he pursued for about twenty-five years. The case provides an interesting example of the tensions generated when absentee deme members asserted formal legal claims to land in the deme with which they did not on a regular basis concern themselves.

Phegaia and Myrrhinoutta

As possible locations for these two demes we have several small sites on the E side of the Mesogeia plain, plus a coastal site at Agios Andreas Zouberi (Nea Makre). Early discussions put Phegaia at Velanideza, on account of the name (both indicate an area with oak trees); there is also some probability that in Strabo's list of coastal demes (C 399/9. 22) Myrrhinous (between Halai and Probalinthos) should be emended to Myrrhinoutta, which would put it at Agios Andreas (cf. Traill 1986, 146–7). Stephanos (s.v.) puts Halai between Brauron and *Phegaia pros Marathoni*, but it is not clear to me whether *pros* + dat. in his text has to mean 'near' or can be a vaguer indication of direction with reference to a

¹¹³ R. G. Osborne (1985*a*, 194) notes a site at Kioupia, NW of modern Rafina, and argues that the remains identified as those of Araphen by Eliot (1962) are post-classical. It should be noted that the Rafina bay provides little natural shelter for shipping. It had apparently become the site of an industrial establishment by the later 19th c. (*KvA* IX), and perhaps on that account subsequently acquired a jetty, as a result of which it became a terminus for ferry traffic from Attika to Euboia and Andros.

¹¹⁴ The suggestion that Thoudippos had married a daughter of Kleon of Kydathenaion (Wade-Gery and Meritt 1936, 392, followed by *APF* 7252) is controversial; ch. 4 n. 46.

¹¹⁵ Bourriot (1982) dates the fight after 404, on the grounds that Araphen would have been more or less deserted during the Spartan occupation of Dekeleia, but a date c.414 seems preferable (ch. 7 Case 7).

well-known place; he (also?) uses *plésion* and *engys* for ‘near’. A possibility remains that Agios Andreas was part of Probalinthos (ch. 25 n. 14), but current opinion puts Probalinthos at Vrana (and Marathon, ch. 31 n. 44, at Plasi). Pending further discoveries, the evidence favours assigning Agios Andreas to Myrrhinoutta and three or four hamlet sites along the eastern side of the plain to Phegaia.¹¹⁶

Phegaia

The deme had temene of Menelaos archegetes, Herakles archegetes, and the Dioskouroi (R. Parker 2005*a*, 71); at some date in (?) the fourth century it made a loan of 300 or 700 dr. secured on a house in the city.¹¹⁷ It probably sold some land in the hekatostai sales; the Hierok[les] who appears as purchaser, and

¹¹⁶ Leake, Loeper, Kirsten, Vanderpool (1974), and Traill put Ph. at Gerotsakouli, c.2 km SE/SSE of Xylokerisa (assigned to Probalinthos). Two Ph. tombstones were found at different places in this area, that of [P]ythangelos son of [P]ythodoros (*APF* 12432) at Kako-Melisse near the path leading to the monastery of Daou Pendeli (*SEMA* 674), and that of Antiphates son of Kephisodoros (*APF* 8386) at Agios Andreas near Nea Makre (*SEMA* 669 = *CAT Suppl.* 44 PE 71). Milchhöfer put Ph. at Velanideza, known for its archaic grave monuments (*IG* i³ 1255–8); Aristion (1256, c.510) might be an ancestor of [A]risti[o]n son of Philistides Ph. councillor in (?) 343/2, *IG* ii³ 4. 75. 18, but otherwise these stones provide no very obvious clue to the deme affiliation of Velanideza (Ross 1855, 227 noted that the name has the same meaning as Phegaia). Kotzias (1925–6) put Ph. at Gourilache, NW of Aliki. Draphi was suggested in *BCH* 1956, 246–7 (repeated in *SEMA* 673), but the gravestone of Polykles Ph., on which this suggestion was based, seems to have come from the Araphen area (*SEG* 41. 205). Steinhauer 1994*a* (map p. 176) assigns 3 sites to Myrrhinoutta: one round the N end of Karababa (including Milchhöfer’s Vathy Pigadhi), the second round Vourva (including Lappari and Mazareika?), and the third round the early Christian basilica of Agios Vasileios (where *KvA* VII marks ‘verfallenes Kapelle mit Säulenstrumpfen’, at the beginning of the Skemphthis valley?). This seems a large area even for Phegaia, particularly since there is an argument both from etymology and from Stephanos for including Velanideza in Phegaia rather than in Halai. The Vathy Pigadhi site might have been an outlying hamlet of Erchia (but see above at n. 71); Konthyle is another possibility, but on current locations it would be separated from other demes of III Pandionis by Philaidai. *AD* 56–59 B I 382–4 and *Mes.-Arg.* 281 (see *SEG* 54. 254 *bis*/55. 71) report a large site at Ag. Andreas Zouberi, but there was little excavation. See also Oikonomakou 2004. *Mes.-Arg.* 281 still has Probalinthos here. Burial area near Nea Makre with material of Geometric period and late 5th c., *AD* 40 B, 1985 (1990), 72–3; *AR* 2005–6, 14, from *AD* 54 B 1 (1999), 96–7. For Stephanos cf. § 319 Anthedon: *estí kai hetera plésion Gazés pros tói paraliói meri*.

¹¹⁷ *IG* ii² 1932, c.380; tax obligations are being shifted, perhaps from tenants to the managers of cult property (cf. Gabrielsen 1987). Nikostratos Ph. (*APF* 11055, see Culasso Gastaldi 2011), whose obligation is transferred to the Dioskouroi, may be the grandfather (FF) of Nikostratos II son of Archedemos Ph., who proposed a decree c.350 for the hieromnemes of the sanctuary of the Kabeiroi on Lemnos and was honoured as treasurer towards the end of the 4th c. (Culasso Gastaldi 2010, 360), of Polyphilos son of Archedemos H., named on a horos (eadem 2008, no. 3), and of Akeratos son of Archedemos, councillor in 341/0 (*IG* ii³ 4. 76. 60). The relation of the Lemnian N. to the N. Ph. who appears on *Agora* XV 492, a list of kleruchs possibly sent to Samos in the 360s (Humphreys 2010*a*) is unclear. Archedemos II, probably son of Nikostratos II or Akeratos, served as councillor in the 250s (*IG* ii³ 983. 89). This family may conceivably have been connected with that of Archemachos I Ph., whose sons Autoboulos and Diodorokles were commemorated by monuments of the mid-4th c., at least one of which, *IG* ii² 7633, was found in Athens, near the Acharnian gate (*AEE* 1228). *Pace CAT suppl.* PE 41 (= ii² 7635), the Archemachos who was syntrierarch in 322 (*APF* p. 69) more probably belonged to Anagyrus, ch. 23 n. 57. For 3rd c. descendants of Archemachos Ph. see Habicht 1976.

perhaps also as one of the selling officials, may be the Hierokles Ph. who registered a mine in (?) 341/0.¹¹⁸

Kephisodoros son of Eschation Ph., attested as syntrierarch in the middle of the fourth century, may well have owned property in the deme; his father's name suggests that the family owned an *eschatia* (hill farm), and the tombstone of his son Antiphates was found near Nea Makre.¹¹⁹

Pythangelos son of Pythodoros Ph. was buried in the late fourth century at Rhamnous (*SEMA* 674); his father was councillor c.336, and syntrierarch on two ships in 322 (*APF* 12432; *Agora* XV 42. 76, *IG* ii² 1632. 182, 334).

Myrrhinoutta

We know little about its demesmen; Alkimachos, who as a councillor proposed decrees in 335/4 and 325/4, and served as *diaitetes* in 330/29, may have been a minor political figure.¹²⁰

Teithras

The south-east part of Mt Pentelikon should have belonged to a deme of II Aigeis, which may have controlled (?) Mendeli, Draphi, and Charvati in addition to Pikermi, where epigraphical material belonging to Teithras has been found, including part of a sacrificial calendar.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Lambert 1997a, F 2. 28, 33; Hierokles, *Agora* XIX P 27. 96. Another selling official, Polyk[—], may be either Polykles Ph., whose daughter's dotal horos (*IG* ii² 2664, Finley 1952 no. 138) was found at Trachones and whose tombstone (*SEMA* 673) was found in the approximate area of the deme, or Polykrates son of Polyeuktos, councillor in (?) 343/2 and perhaps again in (?) 336/5 (*IG* ii³ 4. 75. 19; *Agora* XV 42. 78, without patronymic). Kallimache daughter of Polyeuktos Ph., commemorated by a stele (*AEE*² no. 374), was probably Polykrates' sister; the family can be followed into the 3rd c. A Theolaos of Phegaia served as councillor on Samos in the mid 4th c., *IG* xii 6. 262 II 32; probably the name Theollos on the early 4th c. *Ioutrophoros* *SEMA* 671 is a variant (or error), and it should be attributed to a kinsman.

¹¹⁹ *APF* 8386; Antiphates, n. 116 above, buried with two women, one possibly of Phegaian origin. The *lektythos* of Kephisodoros and his wife Pheidylla, *IG* ii² 7636 = 7640, *CAT* 2. 394c; Eschation and Kephisodoros, *SEMA* 670, *CAT* 2. 445b.

¹²⁰ *SEG* 21. 272 + 39. 82, *IG* ii² 1629 = ii³ 370, R/O 100; ii³ 4. 33.

¹²¹ The sources are translated in N. F. Jones 2004, 117–21. Pentele, perhaps at Mendeli, is attested as a deme of Ptolemais in the Roman period and may earlier have been a hamlet of Phlya, which was transferred from VII Kekropis to Ptolemais in the 3rd c. (see Traill 1986, 128 n. 17). Material from Draphi (*BCH* 1956, 246–7) does not so far suggest that the site was more than a hamlet. Charvati was the site of a large estate in the 19th c. at which stones collected (Priptis 1988, Milchhöfer 1887, 85–6), but two deme-sites are marked near it on *KvA* VII (one S, one E by S, see n. 90), and Vanderpool is said to have seen a burial site in the area of (Kato) Charvati (*AD* 29, 1974 A 194ff.; Traill 1986, 128 n. 17 says there is more material at Mendeli than at Charvati). *KvA Text* III–VI, 37, suggests a sanctuary site at Kalisia N of Draphi; Steinhauer 2001, 86 takes Draphi to be part of Teithras. It is not clear where the boundary between Gargettos and Teithras (if there was no intervening deme) should be placed. *SEG* 24. 151–3 came from the church of the Metamorphosis at Pikermi, and the calendar fragment *SEG* 21. 542 (*LSS*

The calendar, inscribed on both sides, preserves only dates in Boedromion; the deme sacrificed a male sheep to Zeus on the 4th or 14th, and a sheep to Athena on the 27th, with a piglet and prothymata for Zeus. It is not certain that it was set up in the Koreion, devoted to the worship of Demeter and her daughter, where the stele containing *SEG* 24. 151–3 (see 57. 131) was erected.¹²²

A lease granted by the deme (see below) mentions a temenos of Zeus and property of the hero [Da?]tyl[os] and (?) of Aigeus, a heroon in the Agora (?), a Herakleion, and a heroon of (?) E[pi]go[nos]. All these properties seem to have lain close together, in the centre of the deme; the hero in the Agora may have been the deme eponym Teithras son of Pandion, attested in the Aristophanes scholia.¹²³ Teithras probably sold some property in the hekatoistai sales, one parcel apparently fetching more than 9050 dr.¹²⁴ At the date of its list of leases granted in perpetuity (*SEG* 24. 152), it owned at least four pieces of property leased in this fashion.

The sequence of events represented by the texts on the stele *SEG* 24. 151–3/57. 131 is difficult to reconstruct. We start with a date, the demarchy of Euthippos, and a proposal by Eudikos that the perpetual leases granted by the deme should be listed. This is followed by a decree proposed by Pandios: a perpetual lease is to be granted to Xanthippos and his heirs. The lessees' tax liabilities are also specified, as are the circumstances in which they may claim relief from their obligations (enemy action), and the date on which payments are due (Elaphebolion). The proposal for a list of perpetual leases is repeated: it is to be drawn up by the demarch and three commissioners, and is to specify the rent due in each case. Anything on the stone contrary to Pandios' proposals is to be erased. This is followed by a list of three leases, which does not include the lease granted to

132) was found c.2 km to the N; the dedication *SEG* 21. 520 = *Agora* XV 45 also came from the area (about 4 km E of the church), as perhaps did a horos marking land mortgaged to an Aristogenes (*Hesp.* 64, 1995, 333–6). Finlay and Leake saw remains at Pikermi (Möbius 1924); cf. also Pollitt 1961.

¹²² Dow (Nachlass, file 'Teithras') dates side A c.350, and side B, inscribed in a different hand after the stele was set up, not much later. For another possible deme Koreion see ch. 27 n. 68. See Whitehead 1986*a*, 186–7, and Humphreys 2004, 184, for sacrifices on Boedromion 4 and 27 in Erchia. The linkage of Athena and Zeus on the latter date suggests that they were the deities of the Polis (as at Erchia) or of a phratry. See now Papazarkadas 2007*a*.

¹²³ Restorations here are obviously very uncertain (Möbius 1924; Wilhelm 1935; Papazarkadas 2007*a*, *SEG* 57. 131, removes Datylos). Kearns 1989 ignores this text, but notes that Datyll[os] appears in the records of the Treasurers of the Other Gods, *IG* i³ 383. 76 (429/8). On the temenos of Herakles *IG* ii² 2609, attributed by Möbius to Teithras, see above, n. 90. Hero Teithras, Schol. Ar. *Frogs* 477; Kearns, op. cit; BArch 215562. On the sons of Pandion see *FGH* 328 F 107–8 with comm.; Teithras perhaps appears as an alternative to Pallas, indicating rivalry with Pallene (ch. 18 at nn. 48–9). However, on BArch 215562 he is an ally of Theseus. Lambert's suggestion (2004*a*) that the name of the father of the lessee should be P[yrrho]s rather than P[yrthea]s and that he might be connected with the trierarch Demokles and councillor Demophilos rests on very late evidence.

¹²⁴ *IG* ii² 1580b, see Lambert 1997*a*, F 3. 2–3 (Whitehead 1986*a* followed *IG* in erroneously attributing this text to the poletai records).

Xanthippos, and gives no information on properties or rents. Finally, we have a decree in honour of the demarch Euthippos, praising him for organizing the commissioning of a statue, larger than originally prescribed, and for paying some of the expenses out of his personal resources. This evidently left a surplus in the fund raised by contributions from demesmen, from which Euthippos is granted 100 dr. for a sacrifice.

My impression is that we have here a process in two, if not three, stages, which are unlikely all to have taken place in a single year. In the first stage, presumably set off by some conflict over rights to property and the deme's rent claims,¹²⁵ Eudikos proposed to tighten up the system. Subsequently there was renewed trouble over at least one plot, and Pandios proposed to lease this to Xanthippos and his heirs;¹²⁶ he revised Eudikos' proposals, and his decree was perhaps inscribed in place of that of Eudikos.¹²⁷ Later still, perhaps—because it proved difficult to reach agreement on the deme's claims to ownership and rents?—a decision was taken to commission a new statue for the Koreion. This was perhaps Euthippos' way of extricating himself from a difficult situation; it allowed him to extract money from demesmen who were thought to owe back payments of rent, without a full legal investigation.¹²⁸

The stele is dated before mid-century by Lambert (1997*a*, 176–7), but 'early' spelling in deme documents is not a reliable index, and the reference to enemy action in Pandios' decree might suggest a date either *c.*340–335, when there was a risk of Macedonian invasion, or—since remission of rent in years of poor harvest seems to be envisaged and excluded—during or after the corn famine of *c.*330–325. Blepuros, who proposed the decree for Euthippos, served as one of the dockyard supervisors in 349/8 and as one of Teithras' councillors in 331/0 or 330/29. On the latter occasion he and his colleagues were awarded gold crowns for having taken care of sacrifices during their year of office, and thus evidently lessening the financial obligations of their fellow-demesmen; this suggests that there was conflict in the deme during their year of office. One might then date Euthippos' demarchy

¹²⁵ Public property let on long or perpetual lease was apt to become privatized, either because boundaries shifted or because rents were not regularly collected; cf. ch. 19 n. 152.

¹²⁶ The phrase *ep' amphotera* may imply that either Xanthippos or his son has only female heirs at this date.

¹²⁷ This implies that in addition to the *rasura* noted by Möbius (1924) under the sum of 200 dr. due as Xanthippos' rent, Euthippos' name in the demarchy-date would also be inscribed *in rasura* (cf. Hedrick 1990 on *IG* ii² 1237, Demotionidai), as would Pandios' decree (Pandios' decree, ll. 6ff., is cut stoichedon, ll. 2–5 are not). It then becomes possible that the list of leases *SEG* 24. 152, which does not correspond to Pandios' provisions, had been inscribed earlier, in response to Eudikos' decree.

¹²⁸ The state's decision in 326/5 that contributions to the grain-fund in this and the preceding years could be credited against the debts of the guarantors of the triremes sent to Chalkis in 341/0 (cf. Gabrielsen 1994, 166–7) is not dissimilar. Cf. also ch. 29 n. 134, on the dedication of a statue of Aphrodite Pandemos by members of Halai Aixonides after a dispute over deme funds. It is not impossible that Euthippos and Xanthippos were related.

in the following year.¹²⁹ The Phyleides son of Blepyros who bought land in the deme in the hekatostai sales is probably the councillor's son; Blepsides T., whose class III dikast-ticket survives, perhaps belonged to this family.¹³⁰

Teithrasians were also active outside their deme. Proxenides, whose son Prokleides may have served twice as councillor, is recorded as a guarantor on Delos; Smikythos, whose son Lykomedes appears in a list of (?) epilektoi, made a loan of 150 dr. secured on a house in Alopeke; Mantikles, councillor in 331/0 or 330/29, was perhaps buried in Acharnai.¹³¹ Stele commemorating [Andri?]as son of Kalliades T. and [Kalli?]ades son of Andrias T. found in the Kerameikos area (Thespieôn and Thermopylôn) with a loutrophoros (no inscription preserved) and a kioniskos, *SEMA* 641. Polyeuktos T., whose heirs' dispute is recorded in Demosthenes 41 and whose daughter Kleokrateia dedicated *SEG* 17. 83 with her husband Spoudias of Aphidnai (ch. 31 n. 41) in the city Eleusinion (*Agora XXXI* no. 7), probably also lived in the city.

¹²⁹ *Agora XV* 45. It is not clear whether these sacrifice payments relate to Council sacrifices for which councillors or their demes had to contribute, deme sacrifices in the city, or the whole of the deme's annual calendar; to put the question in Plotheian terms, are the councillors taking over payments normally made from the ateleia fund, or from the demarch/tamias fund? The prosopography of Pandios is too controversial to provide a firm basis for dating. He must belong to the same family as Pandios I and his son Pandios II T., the latter commemorated as a boy athlete on *SEMA* 645, *CAT* 2. 776, a naiskos-stele of the early 4th c. now on Salamis, but it is doubtful whether he can be Pandios I, and he may well be a grandson, child of a brother or sister of Pandios II. Lambert 1997*a*, 176–7 no. 105, arguing for an early date and identification of the proposer Pandios with P. I, notes that one of the lessees of *SEG* 24. 152, Apollodoros son of One[siphon?] (cf. *IG* ii³ 921. 6, 22), may be the father of Themisto, commemorated with her husband (Phlya) on a stone of the second half of the 4th c. from Piraeus. This however does not exclude a date *c.* 330 for Pandios' proposal, particularly since we do not know when Apollodoros' lease was granted. Cf. Tracy 1995, 125 and ch. 25 at n. 75, on *SEG* 21. 644, where invasion is also mentioned. Knoepfler (1986*b*) suggested that the proposer P. was the sculptor of that name (*IG* ii² 4024), who perhaps served as councillor in 369/8, and proposed the decrees *IG* ii² 103 (R/O 33), 105 + 523 (R/O 34), and *SEG* 36. 442, the latter concerned with repairs to the Amphiaraion. The councillor may however be [Pan]dios (or [Rhai]dios) son of Sokles of Oion (VIII), secretary in 355/4 (see *AO*); even if Knoepfler's argument for association with Teithras were stronger, the councillor might be Pandios I.

¹³⁰ Lambert 1997*a*, 176–7 (unlike *IG* ii² 1580 and Whitehead 1986*a*) takes the purchaser to be Blepyros' son. See ch. 22 n. 62, on the date of these texts, and ch. 5 n. 42 on the purchase of land by young men. Blepsides, Kroll 1972, 30b.

¹³¹ Proxenides *ID* 104-26 A 15; Prokleides *IG* ii³ 4. 76. 58, 341/0; 42. 82 (no patronymic), ? 336/5; Smikythos, *Agora XIX* P 5. 15, 38 (367/6); Lykomedes, *SEG* 21. 617, on which see ch. 23 n. 19; Mantikles, *Agora XV* 45, *SEMA* 644. Demo— son of [K]tesiph[on], whose tombstone was found in the deme (*SEMA* 1698; not in *LGP*N), may have been related to Demosthenes son of Demophon T., councillor in 341/0, *IG* ii³ 4. 76. 55.

III Pandionis

Prytany-lists from this tribe regularly group the ‘enclave’ Probalinthos with Kydathenaion, and the small demes Oa and Konthyle with Paiania, to produce three trittys of almost equal size. However, we do not know the location of Oa or Konthyle, and Angele and Myrrhinous, grouped with Kytherros, Steiria, and Prasiai in the coastal trittys by this arrangement, were not coastal in the literal sense. It is not clear whether the inland and coastal trittyes, as defined above, were contiguous.¹

CITY TRITTYS

Kydathenaion

The connotations of nobility in the deme’s name, which raises interesting questions—were the inhabitants of ‘old Athens’, which included the centre of the early city east of the Akropolis, already in the habit of using this name before 507?²—are to some extent borne out by evidence for Eupatrid families and alliances in the deme. Andokides’ family may have belonged to the Kephallidai; Dikaiogenes’ family was linked by marriage to the Gephyraioi; the family of Epigenes belonged to the Mesogeioi and may have had affinal ties to the Kerykes family of Metagenes and Epigenes of Koile; either Epigenes’ family or that of Metrodoros of Kydathenaion (linked by intermarriage) belonged to the Eumolpidai.³

¹ The position of Kytherros is also somewhat uncertain. See the discussion of individual demes below, and ch. 21 at nn. 25–7 for the organization of tribal lists.

² Does the name imply resistance to the development of an alternative ritual and political centre in the ‘new Agora’ in the second half of the 6th century? Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1994*a* for some possible implications of this development; Kenzler 1997.

³ Ch. 20 (n. 81); Table 13.2 on Andokides (*APF* 828); n. 10 below on Dikaiogenes. The reconstruction in *APF* 10807 of Epigenes’ family is problematic. His son Metagenes, who married the daughter of a fellow-demesman, Telokles (perhaps the brother-in-law, ZH, of Andokides, see *APF* 7840), was represented with her and with an unmarried daughter on the Bildfeldstele *IG* ii² 6587 + add. = *CAT* 3. 414a, dated mid-century. This should put Metagenes’ date of birth after 400; he can hardly be a brother of Nikias son of Epigenes I, who won a victory as boys’ choregos in the 380s (*IG* ii³ 4. 540 with D. M. Lewis 1955) and may have been a son of Epigenes II and brother of Epigenes III, who is attested as an elderly councillor in 304/3, *Agora* XV 61. 67 (Table 20.2). G. J. Oliver 2011 suggests that the son of a

Other families used names that have an aristocratic ring: Isonomos, Echepolis, Astyochos. Isonomos K. may have been the man of that name denounced for parodying the Mysteries.⁴ His fellow-demesman Euphiletos son of Timotheos was condemned both for Mystery-parodies and for mutilating Herms; he had a house that sold for 1500 dr., perhaps in the deme, but also owned a house at Semachidai, land at Gargettos, a house, garden, and land at Myrrhinoutta, and land at Aphidnai.⁵ The poet Aristophanes, who moved in the same social circles and parodied rituals on stage, also belonged to Kydathenaion.⁶ [E]ryxias son of Eryximachos K., who made a dedication as victorious choregos between c.425 and 404, may have been somehow related to the doctor Eryximachos son of Akoumenos (who appears with Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposion*, and was accused of mutilating Herms), but can hardly have been his son. The choregos, in any case, must have been a man of some standing; his son Eryximachos II married a daughter of

Metrodoros Ky—honoured in *IG* ii³ 484 for helping Athenians overseas, perhaps c.320, was Konon son of Metrodoros K., councillor in 335/4 (*Agora* XV 43), or his brother, and was a kinsman of the Epigenes honoured by the Mesogeioi (*IG* ii² 1247, ch. 20 n. 138).

The names Lysistrate and Lykophron occur in the family of Dion K. (note that Schmaltz and Salta 2003 no. 9 consider the inscription on *IG* ii² 6572 = *CAT* 3. 390 to be secondary, related to the added figure of the woman in the middle of the group). Platthis (perhaps daughter of Dionysios I K., hellenotamias in 410/9, *IG* i³ 375) made a dedication at Eleusis c. 420 (*IG* i³ 1000 *bis* = *IEleus.* 44); her brother Euagoras served in the council in the early 4th c., *IG* ii³ 4. 21. 48. The Dionysios II K., who served as Treasurer of the Other Gods in 375/4 (*IG* ii² 1446 = *SEG* 21. 551. 6) may be Evagoras' brother rather than his son.

⁴ Isonomos K. was commemorated with his (?) wife Myrtale in the city in the early 4th c., *IG* ii² 6580; the name of his daughter Archestrate, wife of Kephisodoros of Phlya, was added in mid-century. The relation of her husband to Kephisodoros son of Athenophanes K., secretary in 346/5 (*IG* ii³ 502, 503) is unclear, since they cannot be identical and a putative grandfather (FF) of the secretary should have been a contemporary of Isonomos, if the latter was still a young man in 416. The name-pattern and demotic suggest that Isodemos son of Isodemos K., councillor in (?) the Lykourgan period (*Agora* XV 32) and (?) Isiphilos son of Isodemos, epebe in (?) 332/1/0 (*IG* ii³ 4. 342) may belong to this family. (None of the photographs of the squeeze of this text shows any clear reading.) Antikles K., whose sons Antichares and (?) [An]tikleides (lochagos, demotic not preserved) were epebes in this year, was Council treasurer in 343/2 (*IG* ii³ 306); his father Aristokrates son of Phanokles was commemorated by a circular grave monument (lekythos?) found at Trachones, Peek 1942 no. 171 = *SEMA* 344. *IG* ii³ 4. 342 reads the following additional names (in *LG* online): Antigene son of ...ôn; Protarch[os] son of AIXIPA; Phanoma[ch]os son of Aion, who reappears as proedros in (?) 307/6 (*IG* ii² 358 + *SEG* 21. 326. 6, Tracy 1995, 152; his brother Aion II was councillor in 304/3, *Agora* XV 61. 73); and Meg.ôn [*sic*] son of [Ph]ormion, perhaps descended from Phormion son of Aristion K., secretary to the treasurers of Athena in 418/7. Echepolis, *APF* 6176 (perhaps an ancestor of Isandros son of Echedemos, Echedemos son of Mnesitheos, and their descendants, prominent in the 3rd–2nd c., Habicht 1982a, 189–93). Astyochos, *APF* 8828; ch. 14 n. 60.

⁵ *IG* i³ 426. 78–80, 430. 14–18. The scatter of dispersed holdings in N Attika is interesting, and one would like to know when they were acquired. In contrast, the family of Dikaiogenes (*APF* 3733) seems only to have owned city property.

⁶ *IG* ii² 6566 (with p. 891), of the early 4th c., apparently commemorates the poet with a homonymous (?) kinsman, Aristophanes son of Hephaistokrates, a somewhat surprising conjunction given that the tradition credits the poet with four sons, none of them called Hephaistokrates. One of these, P̄hilippos II (named for his FF) probably served as councillor c. 360 (*IG* ii³ 4. 55. 13, Philippos); the councillor Aristophanes of ii³ 4. 48. 26 may be the poet himself in old age, or the son of Hephaistokrates, or a grandson, depending on the date of the list.

Polyaratos of Cholargos, sister of the daughter-in-law (SW) of his fellow-demesman Kleon; a daughter of Eryximachos II married the general Chabrias.⁷

Kydathenaion was also, however, the deme of Kleon, whose populist style of oratory becomes a more interesting phenomenon in view of his origins in this enclave of privilege. He was not a *novus homo*; his father Kleainetos may already have served as choregos in 460/59, and ownership of a slave-staffed workshop (in this case, of tanners) was probably not unusual for city residents. It was Kleon's insistence on presenting himself as a man of the people that allowed his fellow-demesman Aristophanes to present him as a typical specimen of the urban proletariat, and as such obnoxious to elegant young members of the horse-riding upper class.⁸ Kleon's son Kleomedon seems to have returned to a conventional upper-class lifestyle, marrying (as we have seen) a daughter of Polyaratos of Cholargos and winning a victory with a boys' chorus at the Thargelia. Kleomedon's son Kleon II is attested as syntrierarch in 356.⁹

We have the ends of two deme decrees of Kyd[athenaion], both on the same stone, and both prescribing publication in the sanctuary of the Herakleidai. The stone was found (re-used) in the Agora and is dated c.350–330, most probably in the Lykourgan period. The honorand or honorands had also been crowned by the Council and Assembly, and by the Athenian kleruchs on Samos and Lemnos

⁷ APF 11907 C. The choregic dedication (IG i³ 966) is lost, and reports of the name vary: Vernon (*Hesp. suppl.* 8, 225 n. 34) read [Er]yxias, Fourmont (*CIG* 216) II/ZIAS. [Ale]xias—for which one might compare Alexippos, adelphidous (BS or ZS) of Akoumenos, Andok. 1. 18—may not be excluded. (Eryxias, doctor in Piraeus c.325, [Dem.] 33. 18, should be added to the list of bearers of the name on APF p. 464, though we do not know whether he was a citizen: ch. 6 n. 2). A 3rd c. Eryxias in K., *SEG* 58. 207. For the possibility that the gymnasiarch Kallias son of Telokles of IG i³ 969 *bis* belonged to K. (Angele and Myrrhinous also possible) see APF 7840.

⁸ APF 8674; the nickname 'Paphlagonian' was perhaps based on Kleon's deliberately plebeian style of speaking and manners rather than on any specific regional association (cf. Dover 1993, 69–71). On the suggestions that Kleon married a daughter of Dikaiogenes of Kydathenaion and that he had a daughter who married Thoudippos of Araphen see ch. 8 n. 56. D. M. Lewis (*SEG* 60. 197) suggested that the Kleon K— of *Agora* XIX P 26. 35, landowner in Haginos, was a descendant. Kleon's democratic politics were perhaps shared by a family that from c.440–30 used the name Strepheneos, ship-turner. Aristides son of Strepheneos I served as secretary of the Assembly in 369/8 (*ID* 88); Strepheneos II, son of Eudoros, was councillor in 304/3 (*Agora* XV 61. 65); the Strepheneos (III) attested in the cavalry c.250 (Bugh 1988 II B 246) was probably the councillor's grandson. If there is a connection with Aristides and Biote, children of Pamphilos K., commemorated by two stelai found together in the area of ancient Xypete (*IG* ii² 6565, c.350, and 6567, c.360; Bergemann 1997, L 6a), it may have been affinal.

⁹ APF 8674 with 3773. Kleainetos son of [-c. 5-]dros K., ephebic lochagos in (?) 332/1/0 (*IG* ii³ 4. 342), presumably bore some relation to Kleon's family, but the link is hard to reconstruct; he may be a son of [Me]nandr[os] [Al]exand[rou] K. (*SEMA* 350, 4th c.; a Men[and]ro[s] K. is now attested c.350 on Samos, *IG* xii 6. 262 III 31), and his mother could have been a member of the lineage of Kleon I who married within the deme. The Kleomedon whose fine of 50 talents Demetrios Poliorketes, at the request of K.'s son Kleainetos, asked the Athenians to remit (*Plut. Dem.* 24. 6–7) was presumably a descendant of Kleon. Cf. Paschidis 2008, 96–7. P.'s insistence (109 n. 2) that Kleainetos cannot have been ambassador in 306/5 (*IG* ii² 675 + 525, 1492 B 100, cf. D. M. Lewis 1988) may be mistaken.

(Hephaistia), as well as by the deme, and must have been prominent. Dikaiogenes IV, general for Piraeus in (?) 330/29 and 323/2, or a member or members of the family descended from Charias I (*APF* 5604), seem possible candidates.¹⁰

IG ii² 2343 (Gill 1991 no. 12, c.400) is an offering-table dedicated by the priest of Herakles Simon K. and a group of thiasotai, of whom at least Lysanias (below) and Philonides (*PCG* 7. 363ff.) may also belong to the deme. It has been associated with Aristophanes, whose *Daitaleis* had a chorus of thiasotai of Herakles, and with two fifth-century horoi from shrines of Herakles, *IG* i³ 1058 = *Agora* XIX H 6 from the southwest Agora, and 1059 from north of the Agora (Agiou Philippou 5; Dow 1969; Lind 1985; Kostake 2008, 154). These provenances however would *prima facie* suggest Melite (Herakles Alexikakos? cf. Lalonde 2006*a*, 2006*b*) and Skambonidai. Other records lead outside the deme.

Among demesmen who travelled we may note Kallaischros son of Philaios, naopoios at Delphi before 310 and proxenos in Boiotia, with his brother, perhaps before 338 (their father was councillor c.360), and Kephisodoros son of Hippeus, granted honorary citizenship at Ephesos towards the end of the century. Hippeus is attested as guarantor of a lease in 343/2 and as councillor in (?) 336/5; Hypereides' speech *On the kleros of Hippeus* may have dealt with his estate. Hippeus' nephew (BS) Kephisodoros son of Smikythos leased sacred property in the deme in 343/2; his guarantor Leonteus son of Antikleides may have been a fellow-demesman.¹¹ On his service as treasurer of the dockyards in 325/4 see ch. 14 n. 42, Table 5.6.

We can trace a number of other K. families in records of the council, other minor offices, and the ephebate. Olympichos, killed by oligarchs in (?) 411/0 (*SEG* 28. 46 with Matthaiou 2011*a*) left two orphan sons, Lysanias and Hippon, the latter possibly commemorated by *SEG* 29. 210 = *SEMA* 349 (L for A?). Lysanias' son Demostratos was councillor in the early fourth century (*IG* ii³ 4. 21); Demostratos' son Kratinos served c.360 (*IG* ii³ 4. 55) and had a daughter, Timokrateia, represented with her husband on a Bildfeldstele of c.350;¹² Kratinos' brother Demetrios was councillor c.336 (*Agora* XV 42). Philostratos son of Philinos, councillor with Demostratos (*IG* ii³ 4. 21), may be the Philostratos K. who was secretary to the epimeletai for Eleusis in 422–418 (*IG* i³ 391 = *IEleus* 45; but the name is common). Straton son of Stratios, also listed on *IG* ii³ 4. 21, may be the father of Stratokles

¹⁰ Decree, *Agora* XVI 68; Kyd[antidai] is also possible (ch. 24 n. 89) since the stone should be a dedication rather than a decree. The missing crowns may however have been inscribed *hoi dêmotai*, possibly implying a city deme. On Dikaiogenes' family see ch. 7 case 2; his generalships, *IOrop.* 353 (see Humphreys 2009), *IG* ii² 1631. 380 f. Round base for a funeral monument (pillar?), names of son and wife added, *IG* ii² 6569. On the descendants of Charias K. see also Habicht 1979, 16–21, 129. *IG* i³ 426. 66–9 mentions a sanctuary of Artemis Amarysia in K.

¹¹ Kallaischros, *CID* II 119. 28, *SEG* 28. 466; Philaios, *IG* ii³ 4. 55. 6. Kephisodoros son of Hippeus, *SEG* 33. 932. 11; Hippeus, *Agora* XIX L 6. 144 (Papazarkadas 2011, 306 no. 33), *Agora* XV 42. 155, Hyp. F xxv–vi; Table 5.6. Kephisodoros son of Smikythos, *Agora* XIX L 6. 16 (Papazarkadas 307 no. 38), cf. Habicht 1987. Leonteus, ch. 24 n. 93. Eudemos K., executed in 382/1 (Dem. 24. 138) now has a descendant (SS) on Samos, *IG* xii 6. 262 III 33.

¹² *IG* ii² 6598; Timokrateia seated, with standing bearded man, so probably husband rather than father.

son of Straton K., commemorated by a kioniskos at the end of the century.¹³ Archikles son of Ain— K., also councillor on ii³ 4. 21, may be the grandfather (FF) of —otes son of Ainesias K., ephebe in (?) 332/1/0, *IG* ii³ 4. 342.

Another list of Pandionis councillors, *IG* ii³ 4. 26, is attributed by Tracy (1995, 131) to the same cutter as *Agora* XV 52, working c.330–317. If this date is correct, and if Iophon II son of Lysis K. was the nephew (BS) of Prokles son of Iophon I, secretary in 394/3 (*IG* ii³ 4. 42, *Agora* XVIII 35), he will have been a relatively elderly councillor. Teisamenos son of Pythionikos, who freed a slave living in Piraeus c.320 (*IG* ii² 1570. 49–50) will have served a second term as councillor in 304/3 (*Agora* XV 61. 69). Aristokles son of Hierokles (*IG* ii³ 4. 26. 54) may be the son or nephew of the son of Aristokles who was victorious in a diadikasia c.380 (*IG* ii² 1929). Antiphon III son of Pytheas and his (?) cousin (FBDS) Archias son of Aresias, who served together (ii³ 4. 26. 50, 55), belonged to a well-documented family: Pytheas (son of Antiphon I) had been councillor c.336 (*Agora* XV 42) and his nephew (BS) Antiphon II son of Archias was one of the dockyard supervisors in 349/8 (*IG* ii² 1620. 48f.).

Antikles son of Aristokrates K. was councillor in 343/2 (*IG* ii³ 306c); his father, son of Phanokles, was buried in mid-century near Trachones (*SEMA* 344) and his son Antichares was ephebe in (?) 332/1/0 (*IG* ii³ 4. 342). Antikleides son of Antikles, ephebe in the same year (demotic lost), may be Antichares' brother (on brothers in the ephebate see ch. 16 n. 53).

I have argued elsewhere (Humphreys 2010a, 81) that *IG* ii³ 4. 31 may be a list of diaiteitai from 343/2 or 336/5. Tachyllos I K. (l. 14) had a son, Ameinokles I, who was councillor in 304/3 (*Agora* XV 61. 64); he will be the grandfather (FF) of Ameinokles II son of Tachyllos II, proposer of a soldiers' decree perhaps in the 240s (*IEleus* 193; cf. Habicht 1982a, 60; G. J. Oliver 2007a, 178 n. 32; Paschidis 2008, A 67). Pyrrhos (II ?), another son of Tachyllos I, was commemorated with his daughter (name added) on *IG* ii² 6592 (aetoma of a lost stele or naiskos). Tachyllos I (?) son of Pyrrhos (?I) seems to be named on the manumission record *SEG* 18. 44. 8 (*IG* ii² 1570).

Since the name is rare, and not certainly attested in other demes in the fourth century (the reading of *SEG* 25. 220 is far from clear), the Aion commemorated on *SEMA* 215 = *CAT* 3. 386 may be the father of Phanomachos K., ephebe in (?) 332/1/0 (*IG* ii³ 4. 342) and councillor/proedros in 307/6 (*IG* ii² 358 + *SEG* 21. 326, cf. Tracy 1995, 152). Aion II, councillor in 304/3 (*Agora* XV 61. 73) will be Phanomachos' elder brother.

On Moirippos (another rare name) son of Moiragenes K., guarantor for the lease of a house in the deme and son of an epistates of Artemis Brauronia in 350/49 (*IG* ii² 1524 with Walbank 1983, 125) see Papazarkadas 2011, 310 no. 52.

Probalinthos

The site of the deme—separated from the other demes in the tribe—is approximately given by its membership in the Tetrapolis of Marathon; Strabo places it on the coast between (?) Myrrhinoutta (ch. 24 n. 116) and Marathon. This

¹³ *IG* ii² 6595 (misdated at *LGP*N Stratokles 28; correctly dated at Straton 75).

suggests a territory covering the north-eastern side of Mt Agrieliki, between Vrana and the coast and perhaps also the Aulona valley which runs inland in a north-westerly direction from Vrana.¹⁴ A horos marking a temenos of Athena, dated c.440, is said to have been found *in situ* at a site between Vrana and the Marathon soros which also produced a dedication made by Theogenes son of Gyles I P., of the beginning of the fourth century. There may also have been tombs in the area, perhaps lining the road to the temenos; two marble Panathenaic amphorai representing Gyles II with his father, a priest, may have come from here. Theogenes was evidently known in Athens, and not only in his deme; Demosthenes (27. 58) cited him in 363 as having leased an orphan's estate for six years and almost doubled its value (see Table 25.1).¹⁵

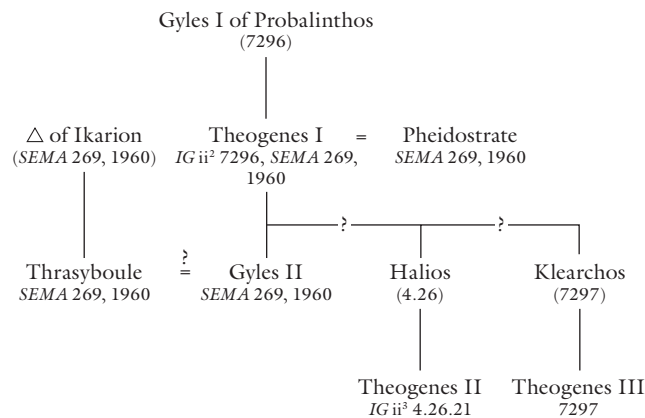
Probalinthos' best-known demesman in the fourth century, doubtless resident in Athens, was the 'economist' Euboulos son of Spintharos, whose father's name may suggest that the family was already prominent in the fifth century.¹⁶

¹⁴ See discussions in Vanderpool 1966*b*; Berthold 1976; Traill 1986 147; Travlos 1988, 219 fig. 313; ch. 24 n. 116. The Vrana area has a BA burial area with tombs dating from MH to LH II, and one burial of LH III A 2. Geometric finds, *AD* 47 B 1, 1992 (1997) 57. The current location of the 'Marathonian' Herakleion at the Gates of the plain, i.e. where Mt Agrieliki is closest to the sea, leaves some doubt whether Probalinthos had any coastal territory. A possible solution to this problem may be to assume that there was friction between Marathon and Probalinthos over the control of the sanctuary, which lay in Probalinthian territory but was popularly associated with Marathon after the battle of 490. In this case it seems also possible that the 'enclaving' (D. M. Lewis 1963) of Probalinthos was due to local conflict within the Tetrapolis and not to central planning. It was perhaps Probalinthos' copy of the Tetrapolis calendar (*IG* ii² 1358 = *SEG* 50. 168) that found its way to Koukounarti, in the mountains above Vrana (chs. 26 n. 74–5, 31 n. 44). It is not clear whether Probalinthos' territory also included Xylokerisa, south of the 'Gates', where two P. tombstones were found (*IG* ii² 7292 = *SEG* 41. 200, Hildebrandt 2006, no. 331; ii² 7304; cf. *AEE* 1072, noted at ii² 7292); these stones may have moved. On the finds from Ag. Andreas Zouberi see ch. 24 n. 116.

¹⁵ The stele *IG* ii² 7296 (cf. *Polemon* 3, 1948, 132; *SEG* 29. 278; Traill 1986, 147) is undoubtedly a dedication and is not to be confused with the Panathenaic amphorai of the 340s serving as funerary monuments (*CAT* 4. 781–2, *SEMA* 269, 1960; cf. Valavanis 2000; Goette and Weber 2004, 97, 118–19; Steinhauer 2009*e* 268–9) representing Theogenes as priest (Mantes 1990) with his (?) wife Pheidistrate, his (?) daughter-in-law Thrasyboule (from Ikarion), a small child, and his son Gyles (both men bearded). A naiskos naming the daughter of a [Probalis]ios and a lekythos of the first quarter of the 4th c. (*CAT* 3. 268) came from the same site (Bergemann 1997, 202 no. P 2 with pl. 10. 4; *SEG* 29. 278; Valavanis, op. cit.). Pologiorge 2003*a* insists that the class III dikastic pinax of Theogenes (or Theagenes) P. found on Salamis should be dated c.300, but *Agora XXVIII* provides no support for the view that bronze pinakia continued in use for jurors after c.350. Theogenes II son of (?) Halios, councillor in (?) the Lykourgan period (*Agora XV* 32. 63) and Theogenes III son of Klearchos P., commemorated by the kioniskos *IG* ii² 7297 (no provenance) may be grandsons of the priest. If the orphan Antidoros who benefited from Theogenes I's management of his estate belonged to Phaleron (*APF* 1024, 1036), the lease ended before (?) 366/5 and the estate may have consisted largely of shares in a banking business. However, the name Antidoros is attested in the 4th c. in 12 other demes.

¹⁶ A Phalanthos Spintharou is named on an ostrakon of the 480s from the *Agora* (*XXV* 657), a Spintharos on another (662), and Melanthios Spintharou on three (640–2); however, a [*Spin*]tharos [*? ek Ko*]ilés is named on a Kerameikos ostrakon (cf. Brenne 2001, nos. 175–6, 219, 248); ch. 30 n. 34, ch. 15 n. 27). Euboulos' son Spintharos II, a drinking-companion of Konon (Dem. 54. 7), is probably the Spintharos who bought a house in the city in the 340s, [Dem.] 59. 39. *IG* ii² 11370 = *CAT* 3. 335a, a relief lekythos of c.370 (no provenance) apparently commemorates Spintharos I with his (?) wife Boulete and son Euboulos.

TABLE 25.1.
Probalinthos: Gyles



Elpines son of Elpinikos P., who served on a board of ten magistrates (hieropoioi? *AO* p. 353, *IEleus* 77) perhaps soon after 350, was buried in the deme area with his brother Eunikos I (*IG* ii² 7292, see n. 14); the kioniskos of the latter's grandson Eunikos II son of Olympiodoros, *IG* ii² 7295, has no provenance.

Two Probalinthians named Endemos served on the council, Endemos I son of E.demos (?) *c.*370 (*IG* ii³ 4. 21, see *AO* p. 300) and Endemos II son of Eudemides (?) in the Lykourgan period (ii³ 4. 26. 61); [Eudem?]ides son of Endemos, councillor in 304/3 (*XV* 61. 235) was probably son of Endemos II.

Lysanias I son of Kallias P. served as archon of the Tetrapolis in a year in which his son Antikrates was one of the hieropoioi; Antikrates also, in 329/8, served as thesmothetes. Another son of Lysanias, Aristokleides, is attested as leasing sacred property *c.*330; his sons Lysanias II and Kleomedon served together in the Council, at approximately the same period. The Lysanias P. who served as priest of Asklepios in (?) 276/5 may be either Lysanias II, at an advanced age, or a descendant. The family seems successfully to have combined local ambitions with office in the city.

Phaidimides P., son of Protarchos (hellenotamias in 407/6), who made a dedication before mid-century on or near the Akropolis with a prayer for wealth, decided to seek his fortune in the kleruchy on Samos.¹⁷ Theophilos son of Philistides I P., councillor in (?)

¹⁷ Tetrapolis, *IG* ii³ 4. 224; thesmothesia, ii³ 4. 84; Aristokleides, *Agora* XIX L 9. 52 (Papazarkadas 2011, 302 no. 10); Lysanias II and Kleomedes, *IG* ii³ 4. 83. 38–9 (dated *c.*330 by Traill; col. III. 58–9 in his new arrangement of the text, 1986, 41–7; it remains, however, doubtful whether this list can be fitted into anything like a normal quota pattern, and the possibility that it should be dated between 322 and 307 should perhaps be left open; cf. n. 83). See ch. 17 on kin serving together as councillors. For the priest of Asklepios see Habicht 1982*a*, 71 (date); Aleshire 1991, 151 (undateable). Another Probalinthian, Telesias son of Telestes, leased sacred property in (?) 343/2, when he was 46 (*Agora* XIX L 6. 112–3, Papazarkadas 315 no. 76; he served as diatetes in 330/29, *IG* ii³ 4. 33. 57–8); he or a younger brother may be the 'neaniskos of Telestes' of Dem. 22. 60 (see *APF* 13519; the term may be applicable to any unmarried young man. Note also that *IG* ii² 4914—not 5914—was a painting and not a statue of Telesias' daughter Alkippe). Phaidimides, *IG* ii² 4319 = *CEG* 760; *IG* xii 6. 262 III 11; Protarchos served as hellenotamias in 407/6, *IG* i³ 377.

336/5 (*Agora* XV 42) was buried on Salamis with his wife and his son Philistides II, who was councillor in 304/3 (*Agora* XV 61. 236, [Philis]tides; *IG* ii² 7299). A new out-of-deme tombstone, *SEMA* 583a.

INLAND TRITTYS

Paiania

The deme clearly lay in the Liopesi area, but it is hard to reconstruct a clear picture of the ancient settlement pattern. There were at least two inhabited centres (possibly more): Upper Paiania, perhaps on the Hymettos side of the deme's territory, appointed only one councillor but may have been the base of the local phratry, which perhaps explains its insistence on a degree of independence. The main deme centre, Lower Paiania, was large, appointing eleven councillors in the period before 307 and twenty-two thereafter.¹⁸

We have only one deme decree, dated c.450–430 (*IG* i³ 250); it is rather poorly preserved, and difficult to interpret. In my view it regulates relations between the deme and an Eleusinion that it does not control, either the City Eleusinion or a sanctuary managed by a *genos* or a neighbouring deme (cf. Ismard 2010, 221). Side B has additional material on the cult of Hekate. The festival with the largest sacrifice on side A (two piglets, two pigs, a lamb) is the Prerosia.¹⁹

¹⁸ Stones moved to churches in the area (see Hadzesotiriou 1973, with map; map also *AD* 55 B 1, 138), and to Liopesi. *IG* ii² 2344, a list of phratores, came from a hill (*lōphos*) with evidence of ancient habitation at 'Kapsospiti, between Liopesi and the foothills of Hymettos' (*AE* 1901, 157–62), i.e., according to *AGC* 21 X7/Y4 no. 31, south of Liopesi, where *KvA* has the area Chalidu (on one of the two hills to the west of it?). Vekres 1994, 414, seems to agree: Kapsospiti at Bourboutsana NW of Ag. Nikolaos, where Milchhöfer placed Cholleidai (but p. 410 says SW at Chalidou). *AGC* 21 attributes settlement remains to X8/Y4 no. 21 Kantza, no. 22 Agios Andreas, and no. 28 Karela (5th c. house), and a sanctuary (?) to no. 29 Agios Georgios o Sklepios (SE of Liopesi); a settlement on Myrteza, N of Kokla, is reported at no. 4. *AD* 25 B 1970, 126, reports excavation of archaic burials (2nd half 6th c. and later) near Ag. Athanasios, E of Liopesi. Sanctuary of Dionysos (horos, *SEG* 57. 162) at Leontari, *Mes.-Arg.* 429; we do not know to which deme it belonged; cf. Kakavogianne 2010. For the phratry see ch. 19 nn. 116–17. We do not know how consistently the separation of Upper and Lower Paiania was maintained (they are distinguished in *IG* ii³ 4. 29 and *Agora* XV 43, not in ii³ 4. 48 and XV 42), or which aspects of deme life, apart from the appointment of councillors, were affected by it (it is a mistake to assume, as Whitehead 1986*a* does, that the sections must have passed independent deme decrees). *AD* 25, 1970, B 1, 126–7, reports excavation of part of a burial area on the E side of Liopesi, later 6th/early 5th c.

¹⁹ I summarize here the more detailed discussion in Humphreys 2004, 154–5. The stone is attributed to Paiania only because it was recorded by Peek at Liopesi; however, the quorum of 100 demesmen in ll. 11–14 implies a relatively large deme (Myrrhinous, *IG* ii² 1183. 22, with a quota of 6–7 councillors, has a quorum of 30). On the Pr(o)erosia see ch. 22 at nn. 107–14; N. D. Robertson 1996*b*; R. Parker 2005*a*, 195, 479.

Paiania had a family of Eumolpidai,²⁰ which may in part explain its interest in the Eleusinian festivals in which men could participate. The Bouzyges Demainetos, general in the Corinthian War, and his predecessor Demostratos, may also have belonged to Paiania.²¹ The Paianian family in which the names Demainetos and Demostratos occur was, in any case, active both in the tribe and in the deme. Demosthenes II son of Demainetos, who served as tribal phylarchos, also set up a dedication in the deme commemorating a victory as choregos for tragedy; it is not clear whether Demain[etos] son of Demosth[enes], commemorated in the deme by a stele dated to mid-century, is his father or a son who died young. [D]emophil[os] son of [D]emeas, buried in the deme, and Demophilos son of Demophanes, who manumitted a slave vine-tender living at Oe or Oa in (?) the 320s, should belong to the same family; one of them served as councillor for Lower Paiania in 348/7.²²

We have a good collection of tombstones from the deme area, some of them clearly from families of some standing. *IG* ii² 7020, a rosette-stele from Kokla,

²⁰ Hierokleides son of Teisamenos P. served as hierophant at some date in the 4th c; *IEleus* 72; *IG* ii² 7057, a stele dated to mid-century (no provenance) may be his tombstone. Cf. ch. 20 n. 99. Teisamenos P., one of the treasurers of Athena in 414/3, may be Hierokleides' father, and may be one of the targets of Aristophanes' reference in *Ach.* 603 to rich Teisamenophainippoi who get an allowance of 3 dr. per day on a trip (as ambassadors?) to Thrace (Teisamenos son of Mechanion, who served on the commission to revise the laws in 403–399, *Lys.* 30. 28, cf. *Andok.* 1. 83, perhaps belonged to Erechtheis, since the name Mechanion occurs in the casualty-list *IG* i³ 1147. 22; cf. also i³ 841; either man could be the proposer of *IG* i³ 179. 6, 415–405). Teisamenos II P., crowned by the demos (*IG* ii² 1496. 60), may be the hierophant's son, and a later descendant, Teisamenos III, served as ephebe in 266/5 (ii³ 917 II 44–5, arch. Nikias of Otryne). Sostratos son of Teisandros and his sons (see n. 27 below) may be related.

²¹ *APF* 3273, 3276; ch. 20 at n. 30, nn. 32, 88. Demainetos son of Timasitheos of Kerameis (3273) will not have been old enough to serve in the Corinthian War, since his father was diaitetes in 371/0 (*IG* ii³ 4. 24; cf. ch. 16 s. 'Pandionis'). Euegoros son of Philoinos P., who perhaps married a daughter of Plato's Lysis (*IG* ii² 7045, from the Kerameikos; cf. *APF* 9574, ch. 20 n. 89, but the relationship of the persons named on this stone is far from clear) may also have been a member of some genos; he held priestly office and concerned himself with ritual matters (*PCG* 5, 231 F 71, *Euboulos*, *Odysseus*, or *Panoptai*; *Dem.* 21. 10). Lykomedes son of Lykophron [Paia]n[i]e[us], whose stone *IG* ii² 7064 was seen by Ross between Liopesi and Kokla, bore names used by the Eteoboutadai (Mattingly 1997, 142 suggests that Archestratos son of Lykomedes, general in 433/2, may have belonged to Pandionis and not Kekropis). Note also that Herodotus' Phye (priestess of Athena Pallenis?) came from Paiania. Euphrosynos P., ambassador to Keos c.350, belonged to a phratry based in Alopeke (*IG* ii² 2345 = *SEG* 47. 187. 14; ch. 19 n. 173).

²² *APF* 3276. Dedication, *IG* ii³ 4. 503, from Kokla; tombstone, ii² 7033, Liopesi; both dated mid 4th c. Cf. *SEG* 53. 240, unpublished marble lekythos of a Demainetos Dē— 'Palleneus', from a peribolos SE of Paiania that also contained remains of a late 5th c. marble sphinx (ch. 32 n. 48). *IG* ii² 7039, Demophilos son of Demeas, seen by Ross (1855, 214) at Spata, is classed by *AEE* 952 (following Ross) as (?) part of a sarcophagus (larnax); by Kirchner as (?) part of a mensa. Demophilos son of Demophanes, *SEG* 18. 36 A 485–8; on the question whether *Oēsi* must imply residence in the Thriasian plain, cf. below n. 39. Councillor, *IG* ii³ 4. 29. 12 (*AO* p. 317–18 has confused Upper and Lower P.; cf. ch. 26 n. 111). A close relation between this family and that of Demades (*APF* 3263) seems unlikely, but note that the Delian text cited at *APF* p. 104 (B 1) is now as *ID* 104–33 attributed to Demades. On the descendants of Demostratos I P., one of whom married a priestess of Aglauros (*IG* ii³ 1002) see Table 17.1.

commemorated Agonochares son of Epichares I; his name suggests aristocratic interests, and his son Epichares II appears in distinguished company on the commission set up to organize the Amphiararaia in 329/8.²³ Demokedes son of Archekomos I was commemorated with his wife Chairestrate (daughter of a fellow-demesman, Eubios) and his son Archekomos II on *IG* ii² 7095, found at Karela; the names suggest local loyalties and perhaps membership of one of Paiania's subsidiary villages, Upper P. or another hamlet. Demokedes served as councillor in the first half of the fourth century. Philokomos P., who served as trierarch in the 320s (*APF* 14654), may belong to the same family.²⁴

Arestorides son of Aresandros II P., whose stele of the first half of the fourth century was recorded in Liopesi, may be a descendant of the Pistoxenos I son of Aresandros I who appears as kalos on a vase of the first third of the fifth century, since the name Pistoxenos also appears in Paiania (see Table 25.2).²⁵

A family that can more certainly be traced back into the fifth century, and continued into the Hellenistic period, begins with Aischylos I son of Pytheas I P., who dedicated a statue on the Akropolis c.440. His grandson Aischylos II son of Pytheas II was one of the lochagoi of Pandionis' ephebes in 333/2/1, an indication of continuing prosperity; descendants can be followed into the second century.²⁶

Polykrates son of Sostratos P., buried in the deme c.360, and his (?) brother —doros son of Sostratos, councillor for Upper Paiania in c.385 or c.355, may be the sons of Sostratos son of Sosippos, who appears in the list of phratores, perhaps from Upper Paiania, of the early fourth century.²⁷

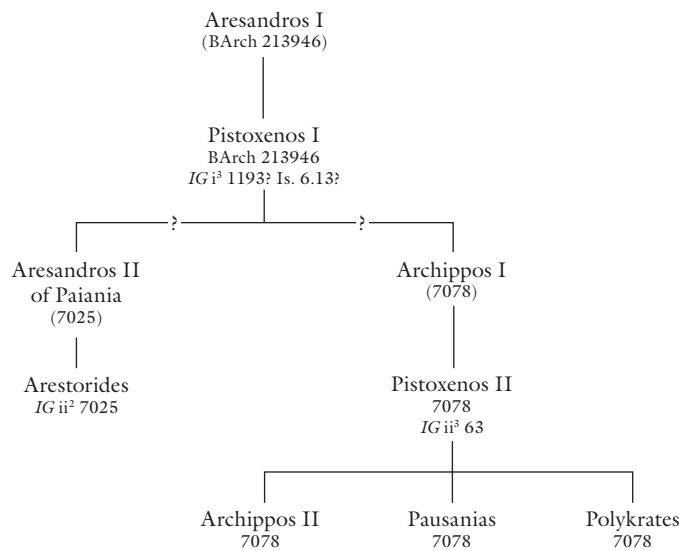
²³ *IG* ii³ 355. They perhaps belonged to the type of wealthy quietist family to which the Lykourgan regime appealed (Humphreys 1985*a*). Autokrates son of Aischines I P., who appears at the end of the deme's councillors in the Lykourgan list *IG* ii³ 4. 26 (16) and was buried in the city (*SEMA* 505), will also have belonged to Upper P., since his son Aischines II appears as an ephebe of Antigonis in 305/4 (*IG* ii² 478. 37).

²⁴ *IG* ii³ 4. 48. 45, see Traill 1986, 31ff., Lower P. (for associations of komai and komoi cf. R. Parker 1996, 328–32; ch. 22 n. 89). The Demokedes son of Demonstratos who made a dedication to Hermes found at Koukouvaia-Philiati (Sphettos), *IG* ii² 4628, bears two names attested in P., but since a Demistrate and a Demonstratides are known in Sphettos he may well belong to that deme. *IG* ii² 13034 = *CAT* 2. 381b, from Karela, may also commemorate Eubios' wife Chairestrate; cf. ii² 11361, from Spata, early 4th c., Eubios Onesimou (but he may not have been a citizen).

²⁵ The kalos (BArch 213946) may possibly be the Pistoxenos of Pandionis who died on campaign in the late 5th c., *IG* i³ 1193. 46 (though it is a long stretch, and these names were perhaps less rare in the 6th–5th c. than later); he might also be the Pistoxenos named in Is. 6. 13. Arestorides, *IG* ii² 7025; his father might be the Aresandros who attacked a client of Lysias (F XIII Thalheim 1913, XV Carey 2007); an Aresandros possibly among the Praxiergidai c.350, *SEG* 49. 188 (doubts, Jameson *per ep.* 1999). Pistoxenos II son of Archippos I, *IG* ii² 7078, in Piraeus museum; the names of his sons Pausanias, Archippos II, and Polykrates were added. The connection with Polykrates son of Sostratos (ii² 7080), if any, is unclear.

²⁶ *IG* i³ 891; the base was re-used in the (?) early 4th c. by a woman, daughter of Kteatos (of Sphettos? *Agora* XVII 318). *IG* ii² 4336, punctuation suggesting early date? Lochagos, *IG* ii³ 4. 334, Reinmuth 8. Descendants, *LGPN* s.v. Aischylos, Pytheas (A. Martin 1989, 174 no. 50, 213/2), Chares.

²⁷ Polykrates *IG* ii² 7080, —doros *IG* ii³ 4. 48. 56–7; cf. Traill 1986, 31–7 (I do not know why the restoration [Theo]doros, with connections to *IG* ii³ 4. 21. 12, and 42. 147, is not considered). Phratores,

TABLE 25.2. Paiania:
Aresandros

Anthippos son of Praxiboulos P., buried in the deme in the middle of the fourth century, may be a son of the Praxiboulos P. who served as hellenotamias in 421/0, and had a slave recorded on *IG i³* 1032. Praxias son of Anthemion, councillor (?) c.330, and Oinanthe daughter of Anth—, buried in the deme in the middle of the fourth century, might have belonged to this family. Oinanthe married a Paianian, Ka— son of Kalliades I; Kallias son of Kalliades (II?), who manumitted a leather-worker living in Kollytos in (?) the 320s, seems to be a younger member of the husband's family.²⁸

Nevertheless, many of the better-known Paianian families had interests in the city. The family of Rhinon—who made a relatively successful transition from

IG ii² 2344, ch. 19 n. 117. Sostratos son of Teisandros, ii² 7090 = *CAT* 1. 825 (dated at beginning of 4th c. by Dow, 'Grave monuments outside Athens', *Nachlass*; attributed by *CAT* to Salamis) died as an adolescent. There is also Sostratos son of Pantenor P., councillor in 304/3, *Agora XV* 61. 57.

²⁸ Anthippos, *IG ii²* 7021, Liopesi area. Praxiboulos I, *IG i³* 285; since the name is not known so far in any other deme, the eponymous archon Praxiboulos of 315/4 may be related, though the generations would be long if he were the grandson (SS) of Praxiboulos I. Praxiboulos' slave, *IG i³* 1032. 110. Praxias, *IG ii³* 4. 83. 5 (see above, n. 17 for the possibility that this text belongs after 322, although if Oinanthe, *IG ii²* 7060, was a daughter of Anth[emion]—Lolling read Anthi—, see *AEE²* 272, and Anthip[pou] may be a possibility—she would have died rather young in that case). Kallias, *SEG* 18. 36 A 251–4. The Praxi- names here may possibly indicate membership of the Praxiergidai. Among further tombstones found in or near the deme area note (1) the naiskos and lekythos of Straton son of Kallistratos, represented with his wife Theomede, daughter of Mnesinos of Oe or Oa (see below, n. 39), and his father (*IG ii²* 7087 and 12665, both recorded at Spata; cf. Kirchner's note on 12665, and Etienne 1975, 384 = *SEMA* 469). Straton served as councillor in 335/4, *Agora XV* 43. 76. (2) *IG ii²* 7056 and 7096, both in the church of St Athanasios, rediscovered *AE* 1956 *Chbr.* 27–31, and the stone of [Ari]staichme daughter of [—]ikrates P. from the same site, *SEMA* 586, late 4th c. (conceivably the father is [Ep]ikrates son of Philodemos P., Aischines' brother-in-law, WB). (3) *IG i³* 1266–7. (4) *IG ii²* 7082, Liopesi, mid 4th c., Satyros P.; cf. Satyros son of E— P., ephebic lochagos in (?) 332/1/0, *IG ii³* 4. 342.

collaboration with the Thirty to the restored democracy—is attested as active in the Paiania phratry, but clearly had a base in the city, and perhaps elsewhere.²⁹ Rhinon's fellow-demesman Kephisophon, whose political stance was perhaps similar, married a daughter of Menexenos of Kydathenaion; the family has a continuous record of political activity lasting into the Lykourgan period, and must have been city-based. We now have fragments of a dedicatory base with a decree dated between 342 and 322 honouring Kephisophon II son of Kallibios (*APF* 3773 D) for his services as councillor (*IG* ii³ 402). He is probably the Kephisophon involved in the Harpalos affair (Deinarchos 1. 25); *IG* ii² 7062, representing a seated old man, Kephisophon Paianieus, probably commemorated Kephisophon I. We cannot tell why the interests of the latter's wife and her sister were represented, in the suit for which Isaios 5 was written (*c.*390?), by Kephisophon's son Menexenos III rather than by Kephisophon himself or Kallibios.³⁰

Charmantides P. is represented in Plato's *Republic* as living in Athens or Piraeus; his grandson (SS) Charmantides II was a pupil of Isokrates, and became prominent enough to be crowned by the city. Philippides I P. and his son Philomelos belonged to the same circle.³¹ The twins Nausimachos and Xenopeithes II, sons of Nausikrates P., inherited an estate in which there was very little landed property; their guardians invested in land (*chôria*) and apartment blocks (*synoikiai*), but there is no reason to assume that these were in deme territory.³² When Phrynion son of Demon of Paiania bought the prostitute Neaira in the 370s he was clearly living in the city, though it is possible that his brother Demochares served as hipparch.³³

Demosthenes I P., father of the orator, owned only city property when he died in 376/5, and the same may well have been true of his brother Demon I; if their

²⁹ *APF* 2254, cf. ch. 19 n. 121; possible tombstone of a son (Agora), *SEMA* 2366. Arrheneides II leased sacred land (a swamp) near the city in (?) 333/2, *Agora XIX* L 10. 40–4 (Papazarkadas 2011, 303 no. 13), and was paid 7½ dr. for hauling three loads of earth from Skiras to Eleusis in 329/8 (*IEleus* 177. 258), which might indicate that he had a farm, with draught animals, in that part of Attika; his son Kallikles was resident in the city in 324, *FGH* 115 F 330.

³⁰ *APF* 3773 D, ch. 7 Case 2 (we do not know which was the elder son); Cobetto Ghiggia 2005. Base, Malouchou 2009 (*SEG* 58. 99, *IG* ii³ 402). Tombstone, *IG* ii² 7062; Kirchner's date may be based on prosopography. For city interests, see also Keesling 2007, 150–2, on *IG* ii² 3443/4129 (with 4566).

³¹ Charmantides, *APF* 15502; *IG* i³ 1328 *bis* (425–400, no provenance) may be the gravestone of Charmantides I. Philippides, *APF* 14670; Paschidis 2008, A 38; on the suggestion made there that the area Philomelidai at Thorikos had once been owned by this family see ch. 20 n. 45.

³² *APF* 11263. Orsimenes P., one of the dockyard superintendants in 334/3 (*IG* ii² 1623 + *SEG* 28. 140) and commemorated with his father Euktimenos and his mother (or wife) on *SEMA* 513, may also have been city-based.

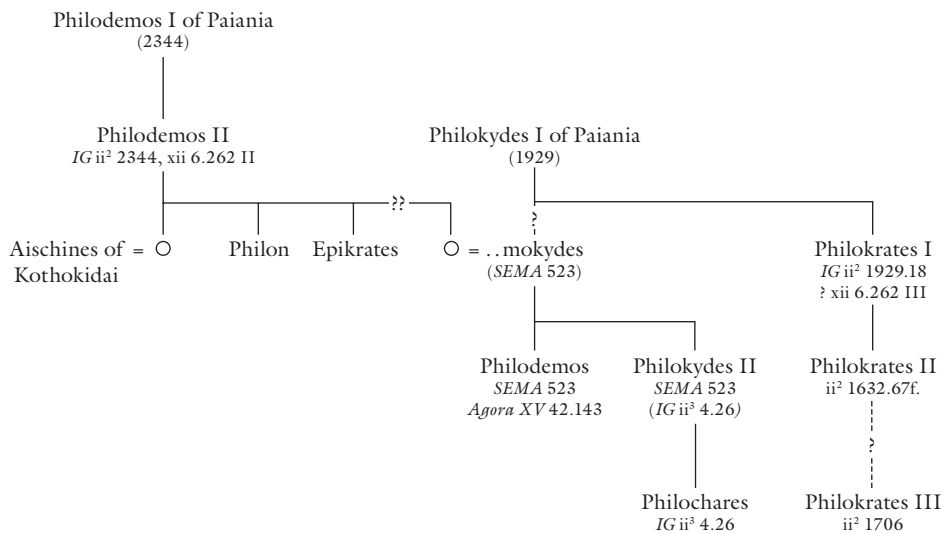
³³ *APF* 3737, with *AO* p. 241 (375/4). A connection with Phrynon son of Eukleides P., named on a dikast-ticket (Kroll 1972 no. 61b, Class IV), does not seem particularly likely. Note also the monument set up by Polystratos son of Polyllides P. to his brother Polyllon on the Akropolis, *IG* ii² 3838 = *CEG* 780, ch. 12 p. 416.

father was the Demomeles recorded as architect for a bridge on the road to Eleusis in 421 (*IG* i³ 79 = *IEleus* 41), the move to the city may well have taken place in his lifetime or earlier. Demon (II?) son of Demomeles (II?) gave his house and garden to Asklepios, and in return was appointed priest; this again implies city residence.³⁴ Demon I, Demosthenes' uncle (FB), served as tribal priest, but the family does not seem to have been active in the deme. When Demosthenes came of age, he was supported for deme membership by a Philodemos P. At this date Demosthenes was already preparing to sue his cousin (FBS) and guardian Demophon, which would explain why he was not sponsored by a close agnate, but he perhaps also passed over his third guardian, Therippides P., with whom he seems to have been on relatively friendly terms; it seems possible that Philodemos was selected because he was resident in the deme and well known to its members.³⁵ We now have evidence that a Philokrates and Philodemos P. were serving as kleruch councillors on Samos c.350 (*IG* xii 6. 262 III) (see Table 25.3). Although the names are common, this Philokrates may well be Philokrates I, who lost a diadikasia case c.380, his father presumably being dead by this time (*IG* ii² 1929 with *SEG* 44. 85). The genealogical reconstruction by which Aischines (born c.390? Ch. 24 n. 6, 26 n. 96, 28 n. 8) married a daughter of the Philodemos son of [. .]mokydes, who served as councillor in Athens c.336 and was commemorated with his brother [Phi]lokydes on *SEMA* 523, is unsatisfactory. By normal marriage patterns Aischines' wife and her brothers Philon and Epikrates should have been born c.375–365 (*APF* 14625 II suggests from the ages of his children that Aischines married c.350). It seems more likely that Aischines' father-in-law is to be identified, with the kleruch, as Philodemos II son of Philodemos I P., who appears in the early fourth century phratry list *IG* ii² 2344 (ch. 19 n. 117). If the name of the councillor Philodemos came from a link with Philokydes' family—which is hardly a necessary assumption—his mother may have been a sister of Aischines' wife.

³⁴ *APF* 3597 (Demon II would be Demosthenes' FBSS); Aleshire 1989, 163–4, Demon's priesthood perhaps 330/29. We do not know which of the Athenian Demons was associated with 'Demon's syn-oikia' at Kolonos, Aisch. 1. 125. Nikomachos son of Ainiades P. served in 215/4 (Diokles) on a board supervising cleaning and repairs in the Asklepieion (*IG* ii² 1539 = Aleshire 1989 Inv. VII 7); as general for the paralia in 222/1 (Archelaos) he had founded a sanctuary of Aphrodite Hegemone at Rhamnous (*IRb* 32, 35). For religious activity see also two dedications by Nikagora wife of Philistides P., *IG* ii² 1472. 13–15 (D. Harris 1995, VI no. 40) in 325/4 to Athena on the Akropolis, and *IG* ii² 4602 to Zeus Soter in Piraeus *kata manteian*.

³⁵ For Demon I see ch. 21 n. 92. It is generally assumed that Philodemos was Demosthenes' principal sponsor, but the phrase *di' hon eis tous Paianeas enegraphēs hōs isasin hoi presbyteroi* (Aisch. 2. 150) may only mean that Philodemos was a witness. (Therippides perhaps had mining interests, *SEG* 28. 205, 29. 155.) Tombstone, *SEG* 17. 104 = *SEMA* 523 (Table 4.7). Demostratos son of Demokydes, commemorated by a kioniskos found at Eleusis (*SEMA* 510), may be a descendant, but names in Demo- are common in this deme. Philodemos as councillor, *Agora* XV 42. 143.

TABLE 25.3.
Paiania: Philodemos
APF 14625



Demades seems, like Demosthenes, to have grown up in the city area, perhaps in Piraeus rather than Athens, since hostile traditions—presumably derived from insulting remarks in speeches—characterize him as a sailor, shipbuilder, or ferryman; he seems to have made his money through politics, and had interests both on Delos and at Delphi.³⁶

Another family that was clearly city-based is that of Chairephilos the salt-fish-seller and his sons, who were granted citizenship on the proposal of Demosthenes. The sons may have joined the cavalry, but there is no reason to suppose that any land acquired by this family lay in the deme.³⁷

³⁶ APF 3263; cf. Brun 2000; Paschidis 2008, A 2, A 7 (I do not think references to Demades' interest in food need imply a deprived childhood). Delos: the context of the reference in *ID* 104-33 B 9 is lost, but D. wrote a book on Delos and the birth of Leto's children, *FGH* 227. Delphi: D. was made proxenos, perhaps on the occasion of the Lykourgan Pythais, in which he took part: *FD* IV 6. 49-57, no. 14 (= III 4. 383, Jacquemin a. o. 2012 no. 54). Note that Byrne 2010 suggests that *IG* ii³ 929 was proposed by D. and later reinscribed. Charidemos II son of Charidemos I P., also proxenos at Delphi, may be the Ch. attested as syntrierarch in 322, and son of the diaitetes of 330/29 (*APF* 15392 identifies them; his proxy was renewed in 324 (Achaimenes) according to Pouilloux 1951. The diaitetes Ch. I appears as a kleruch on Samos, *IG* xii 6. 262 III 6.

³⁷ *APF* 15187. On the date of the citizenship grant see M. J. Osborne 1981-3, III p. 75-6, Worthington 2000; references to the sons in the comedies of Antiphanes may imply a date before the dramatist's death c.333-30. *Pace APF*, there seems to me no reason why the Chairephilos son of Pheidon P. who manumitted a slave working in the salt-fish business in the late 320s (*SEG* 18. 36 A 510-13) should not be Chairephilos I, who would have been born c.380 (for performance of liturgies by sons during their father's lifetime see ch. 5 nn. 46-7). Two of his sons were young bachelor hangers-on of the hetaira Pythionike in the 330s or earlier (*PCG* s. *Antiphanes* dates the *Halieuomenê*, F 27, soon after 345); the oldest, Pheidon II, was perhaps already a married man. Pamphilos son of Chairephilos performed the eutaxia liturgy for his tribe c.330, *IG* ii³ 550, and may have served as proedros in 327/6, ii³ 362; his brother, [-9-] Pheidonos P., was tribal epimeletes of Pandionis before the end of the 4th c. (*SEG* 36. 299 = *IG* ii² 1152. 5-6; ch. 21 nn. 125-6);

Diodoros P. and his descendants apparently maintained some foothold in the deme, since one of Diodoros' sons was buried there, but the family developed mining interests.³⁸

Another family with mining interests is that of Phanotheos son of Lysippos P., who registered a mine in 341/0 (*Agora XIX* P 27. 60). His son Thallos is recorded as *tamias* on a dedication perhaps of the Lykourgan period (*IG ii²* 3208). Lysippos son of Philinos, who appears on the council list *IG ii³* 4. 83. 10 (see n. 17) may be Phanotheos' nephew (BS or ZS). Since the name Phanotheos appears in no other deme, and Phanokles is otherwise only attested in Rhamnous (*IG xii* 6. 262 IX 10), the early fourth century tombstone of a Phanokles (I), to which the name Phanotheos was added in (?) the third century, probably belongs to this family (*IG ii²* 12870, *CAT* 139). The councillor Phanokles of c.336, *Agora XV* 42. 137, should be a grandson, brother of Phanotheos.

New epigraphic discoveries may still surprise us any day, but the area of Paiania has been fairly thoroughly explored, and the absence of any honorary deme decree from the Lykourgan period is noteworthy, especially since we have such a text from the local phratry. Paiania may have been a deme in which collective activity was inhibited by the concentration of the interests of most of its wealthier members elsewhere and at higher levels of political activity.

Oai/Oa

A location in the area of Papangelaki, north of Liopesi, is rather feebly supported by reports on two tomb monuments, and may perhaps be called into question by

since he might have been called after his MF there is no strong reason to restore his name as [Pheidippos]. (The Pamphilos and Demosthenes of the curse tablet *SEG* 58. 265 are now attributed to Phyle.)

³⁸ *APF* 3953; tombstone *IG ii²* 7040 ([Paia]neus), recorded at Liopesi (probably not Simos, since this man married a daughter of Aristomachos of Alopeke, and the names of Simos' sons were Diodoros and —ides). Simos owned an *ergasterion*, *Agora XIX* P 23. 7 (c.350); he and his son —ides are both recorded as leasing mines (P 26. 164–5; P 13. 27–8). Simos' *kaminos* appears on the mortgage *horos* *SEG* 32. 236; another *horos*, *SEG* 32. 233, marked a mine leased by him. Diodoros I may have served as councillor for Upper P. c.385 or c.355 (*IG ii³* 4. 48, *SEG* 36. 218. 57). Note further on Paiania: Paus. 1. 23. 10 reports that the well-known 5th c. general Phormion P. had land in the deme; it is unclear what his source was. The rare name of his father Asopios is attested in Agryle and Hermos. Andron II son of Alkimachos P. and Kallippides II son of Timonax P. manumitted a slave woolworker living in Kollytos in (?) the 320s, *SEG* 18. 36 A 427–32, possibly acting for a prostitute (E. E. Cohen 2003), since they do not seem to be closely related; on Andron see *APF* 623 (*IG ii³* 4. 48, in which Alkimachos appears as councillor, l. 54, is now dated c.385 or c.355, Traill 1986, 31–7; *IG ii³* 4. 83, where Alkimachos son of Andron is listed l. 8, is dated by Traill, *ibid.* 41–7, c.330, but see above n. 17 for the question of a later date). Kallippides (II) was perhaps a cousin (FBS) of Medon son of Kallippides I P., buried with his daughter Kallippe in the city, *IG ii²* 7065, and—since the father's name, Timonax, is rare—possibly a brother of Eukrit[os] son of Timonax, commemorated by a stele of unknown provenance of the mid 4th c., *ii²* 11428. Stephanos P. acted as guarantor for a lessee of sacred property on Salamis in (?) 343/2, *Agora XIX* L 6. 139f. (The Stephanos cursed on *Kerameikos III* 6. 4 is probably from Paionidai, cf. ch. 14 n. 83; but Polymnestos P., *APF* 12048, may possibly be cursed on this tablet (c.350). Kirchner's suggested attribution of the grave frieze *IG ii²* 11646 (no provenance; see also Schmaltz 1978, 90 f.) to P. is very dubious.

finds of tomb monuments with the demotic Oêthen/Oiêthen along the road from Paiania to Markopoulo, between Koropi (Sphettos) and Spata (Erchia). Although Dow 1963*a* insisted that Oai in the Mesogeia and Oe in the Thriasian plain were clearly distinguished in the classical period by their demotics, the terms Oathen, Oiathen or Oaieus being used in the case of Oai, whereas Oêthen and Oiêthen were used by Oê, it is hardly possible to locate Oê so far from the rest of VI Oineis; either some demesmen of Oê moved west at some date (later 5th century?), or the spelling of demotics was less consistent than Dow believed (cf. ch. 30 n. 42; however, Threatte 1980, 227–8 provides little encouragement for this case). There is also a family from Oê further east, in the area of Angele (*SEMA* 469, n. 60 below), but it seems consistently to have intermarried with families of that deme. The prosopographical evidence is not decisive. Menon son of Menios Oêthen and his son Menoitias (*SEG* 48. 296) could have been related to the dockyard supervisor of 356/5, Menios Oiêthen (*IG* ii² 1622. 479–80), and to Menon Oêthen, the treasurer of Athena and the other gods in 390/89, but we also have a Menon son of Menios of Oa recorded on a list of kleruchs perhaps sent to Lemnos or Imbros (*IG* ii² 1952c + *SEG* 15. 129, cf. Cargill 1995), and the names are common. Other identifications link the group more definitely with Oineis (ch. 28; Lambert 2000*c*).³⁹

The deme may have contained some landowning gentry: there are aristocratic names (Aridelos; Euthoinos and Klearistos, sons of Philarchides) and a family prominent in the cavalry in the third century.⁴⁰ Otherwise we hear of demesmen

³⁹ There seem to be no textual reports of settlement remains in the immediate vicinity of Papangelaki, but see n. 18; ch. 24 n. 90 (though *KvA* map VII, Spata, has a settlement between Papangelaki and Charvati); if Oai (or Oa) is to be located in this area, the deme-site at Vlichou ESE of Charvati may be a candidate. Tombs: *IG* ii² 7820 = *CAT* 3. 843; 5600 = *CAT* 3. 349a (attributed to Spata). *CEG* 518, from Charvati, might belong to the family of Pausanias I and II O., councillors in the early 4th c. (*LGPn* nos. 30–2), but the name is also known in this period in Paiania. The stone mentioned in *KvA Text* III–VI 6 (attributed to Papangelaki by a MS note in the copy of the DAI library in Berlin) seems not to have been published elsewhere. In Philochoros (*FGH* 328 F 28) Oie is a daughter of Kephalos, which might support a location for Oai closer to Kephale; see however ch. 28 n. 77 on Oe. Cf. Habicht and Hallof 1995, 290, on Kolonos/Kolonai. References to Oe in the Mesogeia are collected by Etienne 1975, Kakavogianne 1998, *Mes.-Arg.* 399–406; cf. also n. 22 above on Demophilos of Paiania, who owned a slave *Oési*. Xenokrateia daughter of Eukleides Oiethen was perhaps commemorated on *IG* ii² 6958 = *CAT* 172 and 12250 = *CAT* 3. 341, both attributed to Velanideza (Vierneisel-Schlörb 1988, 79; however, 12250 may be Xenokrateia daughter of (?) Sosibios of Halai Aixonides, Table 29.24, cf. *CAT* 3. 396, Petrakos 1992). On the monuments of Deinias O. and family from Velanideza see ch. 24 n. 111. *SEMA* 726 attributes the tombstone of Sostrate daughter of Amphikedes and Kalliades son of Deinias (*CAT* 2. 349c) to Oa, not Oinoe. Note that the Euonymides son of Pytheides —(?)eus buried in the city (*SEMA* 725) must owe his name to descent from Pytheides of Euonymon, councillor in 367/6 (*IG* ii³ 4. 54); the evidence for the demotic is not at all clear. The daughter of Mnesinos Oiethen, who married a Paianian (*IG* ii² 7087) had a brother, Charmeides, who appears with other members of Oineis demes in western Attika on *IG* xii 9. 1242 (l. 9).

⁴⁰ Aridelos, *APF* 1615; Euthoinos and Klearistos, sons of Philarchides councillors in (?) the 340s, *IG* ii³ 4. 26. 20–1, ch. 17 n. 18. Eupolemos son of Makareus O., councillor in the Lykourgan period (*IG* ii³ 4.

elsewhere: Moschion of Oai appears as a contractor supplying *ixon* (birdlime or gum?) to the sanctuary at Eleusis; Charidemos son of Sosikleides O. frees a slave woolworker living in Keiriadai; Pythilos O. leased deme land at Teithras with a member of that deme.⁴¹

Konthyle

The suggested location at Mazareika, south-east of Spata, rests only on the find of a single tombstone of a woman, which is not a reliable indication.⁴² Demesmen have left remarkably little trace; the Opsi[ades] who dedicated *IG* i³ 740 to Athena at Brauron in the early fifth century may have belonged to K. or to Potamos, since these are the closest demes in which the names recur.⁴³ Eucharis son of Euarchos K. was honoured by the Council for organizing the publication of laws in 304/3 (*IG* ii² 487), and as an elderly man proposed *IG* ii³ 911, honouring Kallias of Sphettos, in 270/69; a younger demesman, Lykomedes son of Diochares, seems to have been pro-Macedonian (Paschidis 2008, A 54 and A 64).

COASTAL TRITTYS

Kytherros has been conjecturally located at Pousi Kaloyerou, north-west of Porto Rapti (see below); the locations of the other demes are fairly securely fixed.

Myrrhinous

This deme, located at Merenda, was the largest in the trittys, represented by six councillors. Rescue excavations on the site of the Olympic equitation centre, for which we only have preliminary reports (Kakavoianne 2003, 2009; legends in 2009, 193 not legible even with magnifying glass; *Mes.-Arg.* 103–26, 177–244), uncovered prehistoric material (Neolithic to Mycenaean), remains of a classical

26. 55) may be the grandson (SS) of the Eupolemos O. of ii³ 4. 21, if that list is dated relatively early. Dromokles son of Arkesas O. proposed the cavalry decree *SEG* 21. 525 in 282/1; he may have been affinally linked to Nikogenes son of Arkesas of Euonymon, one of the hipparchs, and possibly also to the Erchian family in which the names Dromeas and Dromokleides occur (ch. 23 n. 13, 24 n. 85).

⁴¹ Moschion, *SEG* 34. 122. 63 (*IEleus* 159); Charidemos, *SEG* 25. 180. 26; Pythilos, *SEG* 24. 152 with Papazarkadas 2007*a*; 2011, 154. The musician Damon may have belonged to Oa (*APF* 9688 XIII, cf. P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 341–2).

⁴² *IG* ii² 6533 = *CAT* 2. 431; Kallisto (daughter of Philokrates K.) seems to be represented as a young married woman (seated). Mazareika, where the stone was seen, is placed $\frac{2}{3}$ of the way from Vathy Pigadi ('Merkouri' *KvA* VII) to Spata by Milchhöfer, *KvA Text* III–VI, 5; SE of Spata by *AGC* 21 X8/Y4 no. 25.

⁴³ Opsiades K. councillor in the first quarter of the 4th c., *IG* ii³ 4. 21. 15; on the location of Potamos see ch. 26 n. 111. The names Opsios and Opsiades were perhaps commoner in the 5th c. than later.

poros temple (Artemis Kolainis?), sanctuaries of (?) Aphrodite and of Zeus Phratrios (dedication by priest, Xenophon son of Philoxenos M.), a public building of the late fourth century with later stoa (agora?), another building with stoa, two buildings close to burial areas thought to have ritual functions, houses, farms, roads, and graves.⁴⁴ It had a famous ancient statue of Artemis Kolainis (Pausanias 1. 31. 4), in whose sanctuary the deme decree *IG ii*² 1182 was published. It was also the base of the phratry Dyaleis.

This deme decree, which cannot be closely dated, honours a benefactor who has paid money on behalf of the deme and is expected to continue his payments. He was presumably crowned (the beginning of the text is lost), and is to have an honoured seat at all spectacles (*theai*) organized by the deme. Pheidippos—possibly the deme’s tamias—and the secretary (*antigraphus*) Meixias are to pay 30 drachmas from deme revenue for publication of the decree. The honorand seems to have made payments on behalf of the deme, which perhaps had been unable to meet a demand for tax (eisphora) on its land-holdings.⁴⁵

*IG ii*² 1183 (R/O 63, *SEG* 54. 205), reassigned by Traill 1986, 132 from Myrrhinous to Hagnous, has been reattributed to Myrrhinous following discovery of a horos marking property of Artemis Kolainis (*SEG* 63. 156; cf. P. Wilson 2015 n. 138). The beginning of the decree is lost; the preserved portion starts with an oath to be taken by the deme’s euthynos, logistes, and synegoroi, before they scrutinize the performance and accounts of the previous year’s demarch. If all appears to be in order, the ten officials vote by secret ballot; if a majority approves, the scrutiny is ended. If not, the matter is referred to the deme assembly; a quorum of thirty is required for the hearing. This scrutiny would be part of the

⁴⁴ *SEG* 63. 169–70, new text of *Hesp.* 19, 1950, 25–6, a dedication by a Xeñophon to Apollo Pythios, said to have been found at Merenda (Feyel 2011; *BE* 2014, 144; cf. the oath by Apollo in *IG ii*² 1183); eadem 2015. *SEG* 63. 156, horos of land and house mortgaged to the *koinon Myrrhinousiôn*, loan from money of Artemis Kolainis, from Kalyvia Thorikou. Cf. also *IG ii*² 4817 (Roman); Vivliodetes 2005, 2007. *SEG* 60. 197, a copy of a letter from David Lewis to E. Vanderpool, 22. 9. 78, with suggested readings in *Agora XIX* P 26. 365–417 of which Langdon was apparently unaware, convincingly restores ll. 399–403 as referring to the sale of the property of Philokrates of Hagnous (cf. 446–460); the sale probably began at l. 365 (ch. 27 n. 41). Philokrates would have owned land both in his own deme and in Myrrhinous (ll. 372, 383–5, 396, references to temple of Artemis and to Eikadeis).

⁴⁵ The text of *IG ii*² 1182 is lost and is known only from copies made by Koumanoudes, Lolling, and Velsen. Koumanoudes (*ap. IG ii*¹ 575) classed the lettering as *bonae actatis*. The restoration to *a[n]a[lóm]a* in l. 22–3 can hardly stand, since *merisai* usually occurs either with a precise sum (as here) or with a more general expression such as *to analóma*; perhaps *ton [t]a[mia/n]*? The Pheidippos of l. 23 (the honorand?) is presumably Pheidippos son of Apemon M., *APF* 1350. Apemon won a victory with a boys’ chorus at some date before c.370 (*IG ii*² 1138. 16–17), so Pheidippos should have been born by c.380; he was still alive in 328/7, when he contributed as a non-councillor to a dedication commemorating the Amphiarraia of the previous year (*IG ii*³ 360. 37). Habicht 1993*b* suggested that the secretary may be the Meixias named on the curse tablet *SEG* 40. 269, perhaps from the period of the Lamian War; this identification is fragile, but a date for the deme decree in the Lykourgan period seems likely. The deme may have sold land in the hekatostai sales, Lambert 1997*a*, 185–6 no. 11. P. Wilson 2010*a* attributes the theatre token *SEG* 53. 227, found S of Markopoulo, to M.

business of the first deme meeting of the year; the purpose of the decree appears to be to specify the responsibilities of deme officials, proceeding through the year. The beginning of the year is also the date on which loans are made from the funds of the deme's sanctuaries; the decree specifies that the priests who grant loans are to take security in the form of land, houses, or multiple dwellings (*synoikiai*), and are to mark the pledged property with a horos bearing the name of the god whose money has been borrowed. If a priest fails to do this, he is penalized. On the fifth day of the month in which this first deme meeting is held (Hekatombaion or Metageitnion?) the demarch is to sacrifice a plerosia-victim worth (?) 50 dr., and he is to distribute the meat on the seventh to those present at the deme assembly. On Poseideion 19 the deme holds another meeting, to deal with the Dionysia; this may be a meeting after the festival to honour choregoi. The end of the text is lost; there will presumably have been at least one further meeting, perhaps in Skirophorion, at which councillors and (?) other officials for the coming year were elected and new deme members were admitted. The text was dated c.340 by Koehler; it gives the impression of a decline in deme life, with anxiety about the control of deme officials and creditors and about attendance at deme meetings.⁴⁶

A liturgic family that showed interest in local affairs is that of Diopieithes II son of Diophantos, who served as one of the two phratriarchs of the Dyaleis in 300/299. Their interests, however, were not confined to the local area.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ On the analogy of the quorum of one-fifth usually accepted for the Athenian Assembly (cf. Feyel 2007, 23 n. 14), this figure would give Myrrhinous, which appointed 6–7 councillors in the 4th c., a membership of c. 180 adult demesmen, comparable to the c.80 of 3-councillor Halimous. The ten chosen men who are to vote by secret ballot to decide whether the demarch has passed his euthynai (ll. 16–20) are in my view the euthynoi, the logistes, and 8 synegoroi (for other views see Whitehead 1986a, 119; Haussoullier 1884, 81; R/O 63; SEG 54. 205; Magnoli 2005). In l. 20 *ephesis* should mean 'referral' (by the euthynoi), not 'appeal' (by the outgoing demarch): see ch. 19 n. 94. The commentary of R/O 63 is confused. The ballot was secret because voting in a small community was riskier than in the Athenian Assembly. A demarch would be a powerful figure, whose actions might arouse resentment leading to the formation of factions. The curses in this text are a normal part of oath-taking and not 'public curses' of the type known from M/L 30 + SEG 31. 984–5 (on which see ch. 20 n. 31). It is not clear whether appeal would be heard immediately, at an assembly meeting associated with the euthynai, or at an extraordinary meeting convened later. The horos, IG ii² 2767 (connected with ii² 1183 by Wilhelm 1909, 50–1; missed by R/O), may also document a cult of Dionysos in M. P. Wilson 2010a suggests that the horos marked land serving as security for a theatre lease, but has to assume that it secured rent rather than capital value; there is no certain example in which rent is not specified, and the horos is better explained by ll. 27–30 of the deme decree. On the dates of deme meetings and the association of plerosia with them see ch. 22 n. 117. The cost of the plerosia-victim can hardly have been [500] dr. as restored in l. 33; [50] dr. would have paid for an ox, sufficient for a well-attended assembly, but in view of the low quorum a sheep costing [10] dr. may have been adequate (P. Wilson 2012 accepts the restoration and argues that there must have been a market at the Plerosia). The meat was presumably taken home by demesmen after the meeting (ch. 24 n. 73). On the Dionysia see also Wilhelm 1906, 238; P. Wilson 2012; ch. 22 n. 103.

⁴⁷ On liturgies see APF 4435; Diophantos II son of Phrasikleides councillor in 337/6, IG ii³ 324, 325, (?) ii² 1623. 210–12. Tomb of Diopieithes I son of Diophantos I, SEMA 446 (city). Eutaxia (Diophantos III son of Diopieithes I) IG ii³ 550; dedication at Eleusis (Diophantos III) IEleus 88. On the phratriarch Diopieithes II see ch. 19 n. 189. Lambert 1997a also suggests that the purchaser of land at (?) Prasiai for

The family descended from Meidon, known from a large group of tomb-monuments excavated at Merenda, clearly maintained a distinctive local presence; two of them claimed expertise as manteis.⁴⁸

Myrrhinousians active in the mining district may have maintained a foothold in the deme. Mnesidamas son of Aristodamas I M. appears as a mine lessee c.340; his brothers Kallisthenes and Poulydamas both served as councillors, and his grandson Aristodamas II son of Kallisthenes served as one of the tribal epimeletai in the late fourth century.⁴⁹ Aristogeiton M., who acted as arbitrator for the Salaminioi in 363/2, may possibly have belonged to this family; in any case he and his fellow-arbitrator Stephanos M. are likely to have had mining interests.⁵⁰

We can also, however, identify in Myrrhinous, as in other demes, prominent families based in the city or elsewhere for whom no interests in the deme are attested. Eurymedon M., who married Plato's sister Potone, probably owned land at Eiresidai in the plain north of Athens; his son Speusippos became head of the Academy.⁵¹ Eurippides son of Adeimantos M., a conspicuously wealthy friend of Konon attested as ambassador and choregos in the 390s–380s, presumably had a base in the city. His daughter Kallistomache was buried at Cholargos.⁵² Menelaos son of Menelochos M., who contributed 1000 dr. towards the payment of the debts of Konon III, Onetor IV, and others in 326/5, and perhaps served as ambassador to Persia in the 340s, seems likely also to have had a base in the city, although Menalkes M., whose son was buried in the deme, may have belonged to the same family.⁵³

500 dr. (F 4. 2–3) may be a son of [Ch]arikleides [M.], *APF* p. 572 (cf. *APF* 4435). Mnesitheos son of Tachyboulos M., *APF* 10297, bought land at Sphettos from Timarchos of that deme in (?) the 350s, *Aisch.* 1. 97–8. Phaidros M., although clearly resident in the city, owned land in the deme; since it was leased when his property was sold (*IG* i³ 426. 104–5), his family may have recovered control.

⁴⁸ *SEMA* 449, 452–4; the excavation has never been published. See also Despines 1998. The name of Kleoptoleme in this family may suggest a connection with the family of Kleoboulos (Table 8.5). Simos M., represented on his grave stele of c.410–390, *IG* ii² 6902, as a priest, was buried in the city. For other M. tombstones from the deme area see below, nn. 52, 53; *IG* i³ 1315 *bis* (without demotic); *SEMA* 11, 445, 447; *SEG* 53. 210/57. 217.

⁴⁹ Mnesidamas, *Agora* XIX P 26. 356–63; Kallisthenes *Agora* XV 42. 179, ? 336/5; Polydamas *IG* ii³ 4. 83. 27 (c.320?, cf. n. 17 above). Aristodamas II, Traill 1986, 88 (either SS or DS). Cf. possibly Agesidamas son of Alexis M., buried in the Kerameikos after 317, *SEMA* 444.

⁵⁰ *Agora* XIX L 4a 6–7; Stephanos is attested as a member of a naval symmory between 356 and 340, *APF* 12891, and may have had mining interests: see ch. 26 n. 66, on Kephisodotos of Aithalidai.

⁵¹ Strictly speaking, ownership of the land at Eiresidai (D. L. 3. 42) is attested only for Eurymedon II, either a brother of Speusippos or a son, left by Speusippos in his paternal oikos when S. was (de facto) adopted by Plato. Against the view that Eurymedon I M. was the 5th c. general E. son of Thoukles see *APF* 8792 XI; the name may well have been given to a number of unrelated boys born in Athens after the battle (though E. of M. is rather young for this).

⁵² *APF* 5949 plus *SEG* 38. 208 (horos of property securing lease of his son's 4000-dr. estate, *IG* ii² 2646 = Finley 1952 no. 157). Kallistomache, *SEMA* 450.

⁵³ Cf. also Chairigenes I son of Chairephon M., epistates at Eleusis 332/1–329/8 (*IEleus* 158. 7), whose (?) grandson Chairigenes III son of Chairigenes II was secretary in 256/5 (Antimachos: *IG* ii³ 987, 989). Menalkes, *APF* 9963; loutrophoros of his son, *IG* ii² 6898. Menalkes' father seems to have married a daughter of Menalkes of Sphettos; her dowry horos *SEG* 21. 563, Millett 1982, 146 B (1500

In the third century the leading family in the deme was probably that of Thoukritos son of Alkimachos, hipparch and general in the 250s–240s.⁵⁴ The family can be traced back for four generations to Kleoboulos I M., whose sons Kleomachos, Epipseithes, and (?) Kleopeithes were commemorated by a stele of the first half of the fourth century, found east of the city. The lekythos of Kleopeithes' son Kleoboulos II may have come from the same peribolos. Kleoboulos II's (?) grandson (SS) Kleoboulos III would be the father of Alkimachos (in turn, father of the general Thoukritos) who served as hipparch and as paredros of the eponymous archon Nikias in 282/1. Since the names Alkimachos and Thoukritos also occur together in the neighbouring deme Angele, it is possible that Kleoboulos III married a descendant of Alkimachos son of Kephisios of Angele, who was appointed as ambassador to Byzantion in 378/7 and died c.340, the name of his son Thoukritos being later added to his stele. In turn, Thoukritos of Angele may have owed his name to a marital link with Thoukritos of (?) Myrrhinous, commemorated with his wife Philte and son Antigenes on two monuments of the early fourth century found at Merenda.⁵⁵

Sosigenes III M. also served as hipparch, or as phylarch, at some date between 288 and 262; his homonymous father or grandfather, Sosigenes II son of Sosigenes I, served as councillor c.330 or c.320.⁵⁶ Diokles of M. served as priest of Asklepios in 340/39, and is represented with his father Dieuches on a lekythos perhaps commemorating the death of the latter. The Die[uches Myr]rhinos[ios] named on a horos of the late fourth or early third century was probably Diokles' son. This family may have been affinally linked with the medical lineage of Dieuches of Phrearrhioi.⁵⁷

dr.) was found at Merenda. Aischylides son of Aristarchos M., who served twice as councillor (*IG* ii³ 4. 26. 30, *Agora* XV 42. 178), and may be the —des Aristarchou who manumitted c.320 (with Gorgathos son of Sosistratos of Kydathenaion) a labourer living in Alopeke (*SEG* 18. 36 A 398f.), might be another city resident.

⁵⁴ *IRb* 10 (c.252, Kallimedes), 11 (Kleomachos, Kallimedes, Thersilochos, + 1), c.255/4–247/6. He was honoured by the garrison at Rhamnous, dedicated a seat there (*IRb* 130), and had a portrait set up in the sanctuary of Nemesis (*SEG* 41. 86; *IRb* 10; cf. *IG* ii³ 4. 293). It is not clear whether the Thoukritos Alkimachou M. who proposed a decree in 226/5 (Ergochares, *IG* ii³ 1147), and served as councillor in 219/8 (*IG* ii³ 1155. 88) is the general, in old age, or a grandson (SS); see Paschidis 2008, A 76 (Gauthier, *BE* 1994. 300, identifies the general with the proposer; the fact that he heads the list of Myrrhinous councillors in ii³ 1155 also provides some support for the view that the councillor was an elderly man). The Thoukritos attested as hipparch (?) and in the cavalry c.250 is probably the same man (*IEleus* 183, Thou[kritos?]; Bugh 1988, I B 33, II B 268); also perhaps the Thoukritos who contributed to the epidosis of 248/7 (*IG* ii³ 1011 II 71, Diomedon).

⁵⁵ See Table 8.5. There seems to be a possibility here of reconstructing a network of local families of Myrrhinous and Angele, linked also to a lineage from Athmonon resident in the coastal trittys of Pandionis. Further stones found at Merenda by Papademetriou, published by Mastrokostas 1961 and thence in *SEG* 21 and *SEMA*, do not connect with other records.

⁵⁶ Sosigenes III, *IG* ii³ 949; Sosigenes II, ii³ 4. 83 (n. 17).

⁵⁷ Diokles, Aleshire 1991, 106 no. 3992 = 4041; Stele III 3. 8–9, *IG* ii² 4391. Diokles and Dieuches I, *IG* ii² 6889 = *CAT* 2. 342b (no provenance; *CAT* takes them to be brothers but since Dieuches is seated and Diokles standing this is less likely; ch. 11 n. 36). Dieuches II, Finley 1952 no. 114, from the Pnyx. Dieuches of Phrearrhioi, ch. 6 n. 3; 26 n. 84. The Dieuches of *IG* ii² 11144, a lekythos of the first half of the 4th c., should belong to M. or to Phrearrhioi.

At a slightly less distinguished social level, three members of the deme are attested as neighbours in Piraeus in 341. Euthykles son of Euthymenides M. reported to the poletai a synoikia owned by Meixidemos M., who had incurred debts to the state through acting as guarantor for five tax-farmers who had defaulted on their payments. Meixidemos' building adjoined plots owned by Euthykles and by Euthymachos M., who was probably related to Euthykles. Although Meixidemos' land was bought by Telemachos son of Theangelos of Acharnai, and not by Euthykles, it is quite likely that the whole process was cooperative and that Meixidemos continued to occupy his property, paying rent (or interest) to Telemachos until he could afford to pay off a debt which could be seen as an irregular form of mortgage (*prasis epi lysei*).⁵⁸

A family of perhaps similar status and interests commissioned two relatively ambitious funerary monuments: a stele found in Piraeus, with a relief of two sphinxes flanking a loutrophoros on which the young hoplite Athenodoros M. is represented with his father Telesiphron, and a naiskos, perhaps set up in the city, commemorating Telesiphron's daughter Nikarete. Athenodoros II son of Telestratos, probably a grandson of Telesiphron, is attested as a guarantor on Delos in mid-century.⁵⁹

Angele

The deme should have lain approximately in the area of modern Angelisi, north-east of Markopoulo. One tombstone is said to have come from this area; a horos marking land owned by the eponymous hero Angelos (*SEG* 61. 157) was recorded at Markopoulo, as was a stele commemorating four generations of a lineage from Oe whose members took two of their wives from families in Angele. The last of these wives, Archestrate daughter of Meletos I A., who was perhaps responsible for setting up the stone, came from a well-attested family (Table 5.2). Her brother Menestratos served as priest of Asklepios in the third quarter of the fourth century;

⁵⁸ *Agora XIX* P 26. 463–98; cf. ch. 5 n. 87. R. G. Osborne's analysis of this incident (1985*a*, 1–5) exaggerates the degree of connection between the persons involved (the Pausistratos Philistidou of *IG* ii² 2385 I 10 belongs to Athmonon, not Aixone; Telemachos son of Hermolochos may have been an immigrant metic whose onomastic link to Telemachos of Acharnai was coincidental; the son of Hermolochos farmed a tax given to Theseus, not Asklepios). Meixidemos may have been related to the deme-secretary Meixias. Since it hardly seems likely that his activities as guarantor were consistently unsuccessful, he may have been a banker. Euthykles II son of Euthykles I M[yrrhin]o[usios], commemorated *c.*350 on a stele from Piraeus (*IG* ii² 11396 with Peek 1942 no. 163), may be either Meixidemos' neighbour or his father; Eupolemos son of Euthykles I, who served as one of the amphiktyons on Delos *c.*342/1 (*ID* 42. 5, *ID* 104-28. 4, *IG* xii 5. 113), and as one of the treasurers of dockyard funds in the late 330s, *IG* ii² 1627. 73, will then be either the neighbour's son, or his brother. Euthykates son of Euthykates M., councillor *c.*330 or *c.*320, *IG* ii³ 4. 83. 32 (n. 17), probably belongs to the same family.

⁵⁹ Telesiphron and Athenodoros I, *IG* ii² 6905, *c.*400 = *CAT* 2. 813; Nikarete ii² 6901 (*AEE* no. 880 gives 'Athens' as provenance); Athenodoros II (whose father Telesistratos may have been either a second son of Telesiphron or a kinsman who married Nikarete when she became an epikleros; since Athenodoros I is represented on his tombstone as bearded, the former alternative is perhaps more likely, because Nikarete probably would not have been married when her brother died), *ID* 104-8 B 10, *c.*360–330 (*LGPN* no. 93 conflates Athenodoros I and II).

Menestratos' son Meletos II is attested as councillor c.330 or c.320, and as a dedicant in the Asklepieion. Menekles son of Menestratos and Menandros son of Menes, both councillors in the first quarter of the fourth century, should belong to the same family, as should Menekleides (whose daughter Nikopatra married a demesman of Anaphlystos and was commemorated with him on a stele of the mid-fourth century), and Menippos, recorded as contributing naval equipment before (?) 366/5. The trierarch Melesandros A., active c.366–340, *APF* 9804, was probably the M. son of Menippos whose grave stele (*SEMA* 5) has been found in the city (cf. son of Melesippos A., honoured at Rhamnous, *SEG* 47. 160). There may also be a relationship with the family descended from Prokleides I son of Menekrates, who married his daughter to a fellow-demesman, Thoukritos son of Alkimachos A.⁶⁰

The deme's most prominent member in the fourth century, the general Chares, is hardly likely to have spent much time there. He was presumably responsible for arranging that the honorary citizenship granted to the Odrysian royal family led to registration of at least one of its members in his deme.⁶¹ Other members of the deme who left their mark in the city are the son of [P]edieus, perhaps represented on his stele as a priest, and Philagros, who set up an imposing grave monument for his daughter Hegilla.⁶²

⁶⁰ Stele, *SEMA* 469 (all one hand), c.350. Cf. Table 5.2, and for further links of this group to other local families Table 8.5. Marchiandi 2011*a*, 151 asserts without evidence that the stone came from a 'family peribolos' of Archestrate's kin; Etienne 1975 thinks it was set up by her husband. Thoukritos' family *IG* ii² 5228, from Markopoulo. *IG* ii² 5230 = *CAT* 2. 331b is said to have come from 'south of Spata' (Milchhöfer 1887, 91 no. 41; *KvA Text* III–VI, 11). The stone commemorates Epichares and Ergochares A., probably father and son (Epichares seated, Ergochares standing), and also names their wives (the name of Ergochares' wife Demostrate added in a different hand, *CAT*). Theogenes son of Ergophilos A., councillor c.330 or c.320, *IG* ii³ 4. 83. 24 (n. 17), may belong to this family (the son of a Theogenes A. who made a dedication to Aphrodite at Daphne, *IG* ii² 4585, if related to the councillor, is more likely to be his uncle, MB, than his son). Cf. also *IG* ii² 11124, boy Ergokleon (?) with standing man, seated woman (Demos[trate?]), from the same area, Milchhöfer no. 42. Horos, Kirchner and Dow 1937, 9 no. 8 (missed by Kearns 1989). The lekythos commemorating Hippostrate daughter of (H)ip(p)omachos A. (seated, with standing hoplite—her son?—and 2 servants), found in a peribolos near Glyka Nera (*SEG* 57. 209; Iakovos 2008; *AD* 60, 176–8), seems to be that of Hippostrate daughter of Promachos A., *SEG* 61. 181 = 57. 209/63. 177.

⁶¹ Chares made a dedication commemorating a victory as choregos in 344/3 which gives the name of his father Theochares (*IG* ii³ 4. 494; *APF* 15292; Agelidis 2009, no. 85; perhaps named on *SEG* 38. 31 = D. R. Jordan 2000*b* no. 12). He is now also attested as trierarch c.355–3, *SEG* 45. 148 (cf. Pritchett's remarks criticizing the view of him as a 'condottiere', 1974, 77–85). Rheboulos son of Seuthes of Angele, *IG* ii³ 351, 331/0, cf. M. J. Osborne 1981–3 III 66–7; also Lambert 1997*a*, 174–5 no. 99, on Teres, possibly a member of the same Thracian family. Cf. ch. 21 n. 117.

⁶² [P]edieus (*AEE* 21), *IG* ii² 5236 = 5240 = *CAT* 1. 336 (*SEG* 26. 276). Hegilla, *IG* ii² 5239 = *CEG* 590 = *CAT* 3. 369b; the epigram mentions her husband (*posis*), but she died at the age of 25 and Philagros, represented with her, seems to be her father (cf. *CEG*; Schmaltz and Salta 2003, 75, poem added later). On the trierarch Telokles A. see *APF* 13584 and above, n. 3. On the horos *SEG* 21. 655 the creditor's name is read as Polydeukes of Angele (not Polydeukios) in Dow Nachlass, file 'Horoï'.

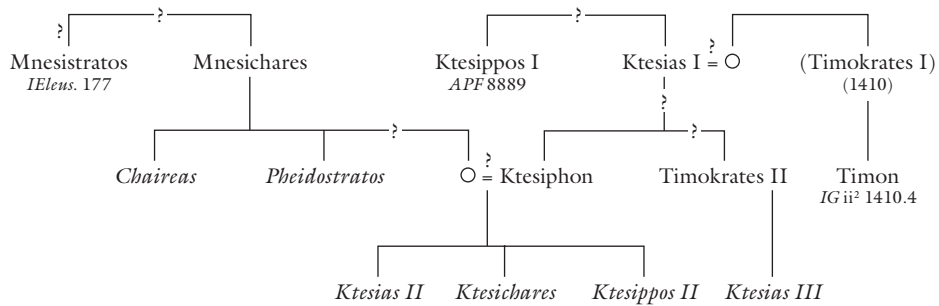
Kytherros

This deme is located conjecturally by Traill (1986, 47–51) at Pousi Kaloyerou, which would place it between Angele and Steiria. There are remains of a small classical temple. If this identification is correct, the presence of Kytherros in the list of the twelve ancient towns of Attika might perhaps be due to traditions associated with the flourishing late Mycenaean site on the coast at Perati. So far, however, there is no epigraphic evidence to support the location.⁶³

The only record of deme activity is *IG ii*² 2496, a lease of three buildings in Piraeus—a workshop, a dwelling attached to it, and ‘the shed on the dungheap’—granted by a board of eight meritai to a tenant from Aphidnai. The lease was granted in perpetuity, at a rent of 54 dr. per year, 7.5% of the property’s taxable value, which was rated at 7 minai; the tenant was to be responsible for taxes and was required to make repairs to the workshop and house in the first year of his lease. He was also to set up a record of the lease in an adjacent hero-sanctuary, by whose priest, Philippides, the document is dated. The stele bears a relief of the hero (seated) and a standing female figure, which suggests that the business to be carried on by the tenant was connected with the sanctuary.⁶⁴ The meritai, a group of eight demesmen responsible for managing part of the deme’s property, came in the main from only two families, possibly linked by marriage, which may suggest that the division of the deme’s capital into *merê* (or at least the creation of this group of meritai) had taken place one or two generations earlier (see Table 25.4).⁶⁴ The meritai do not appear elsewhere in our records; however, Chaireas and Pheidostratos, sons of Mnesichares, may have been related to Mnesistratos K.,

⁶³ The spelling of the demotic, at least in private texts, fluctuates between Kytherrhios and Kytherios (Kytherios e.g. *IG ii*² 7093). On the Twelve Towns see ch. 18 at nn. 43–8; Mycenaean tombs south of the deme-site are noted by Traill 1986 (with map; cf. also Diamant and Traill 1986). Some of the tombstones attributed by Koehler and Kirchner to immigrants from the island of Kythera may belong to members of the deme: see *IG ii*² 9110, Piraeus, early 4th c., Diokleides Kytherios, seated, shaking hands with Minakos, standing, and an armed man behind Diokleides (only the name Minakos raises doubts about an Attic attribution, and this is a name attested—only once—elsewhere in Greece, in Amphissa, W. Lokris; Minako in *ii*² 12141, *SEG* 58. 241); 9111 Epiktesis daughter of Onasos or Onasas K. (cf. Onasas of Athmonon, *SEG* 24. 197. 8), relief stele dated early 4th c., Conze 1893–1922, 669; 9113, kioniskos, Philoxenides son of Philokrates K. All these are listed in *AEE* (724–5, 728) among citizens, together with no. 723, Demophon son of Demonikos K., known only from a report by Lenormant (1866, 68) and presumably omitted by Koehler and Kirchner owing to doubts of his reliability (*AEE* 11–12; since the stone is said to be a kioniskos, the appearance of Demonikos son of A(d)metos K. as councillor in the first quarter of the 4th c., *IG ii*³ 4. 21. 42, does not provide much support). Note also the conjecture D?amios in *AEE* 722 = *IG ii*² 6612.

⁶⁴ *IG ii*² 2496 = M. Meyer 1989a A 145, Lawton 1995 no. 129. We do not know for certain whether the priest was a demesman; it is of course possible that a demesman of K. resident in Piraeus had ‘discovered’ a hero and given the deme a shrine with an endowment for its upkeep. On meritai see Jameson 1982. Provision for war damage need not imply an imminent threat (Jameson, *per ep.*, 1999). See Papazarkadas 2011, 124–5.



Note: The name of Ktesichares suggests a link with the family of Mnesichares. Unrelated *meritai*: Antimachos son of Amphilachos, Demaratos son of Leosthenes.

TABLE 25.4. Kytheros, *meritai*: IG ii² 2496

recorded as general on Skyros in 329/8, and to Mnesige[ne]s son of Kalliteles, who served in the council in (?) the 320s; the three sons of Ktesiphon and their (?) cousin (FBS) may have been descended from a brother of Ktesippos son of Simulos K., who escaped a liturgic obligation early in the fourth century.⁶⁵

Some of the deme's territory may have lain in the hill country of the inner part of the Perati peninsula, which separates the bay of Porto Raphti (Steiria–Prasiai) from that of Brauron. This may have been the location of the eschatia of Phaidippos of Kolonai, which produced a significant quantity of firewood, although there was also enough farmland to yield over 1000 medimnoi (c.5250 litres) of grain and over 800 metretai (c.3950 litres) of wine; there was also grazing for horses.⁶⁶ Phainippos, who had been adopted into Kolonai, had apparently inherited this estate from his natural father Kallippos, since he claimed that part of it was attached as security for his mother's dowry.

The speaker of [Demosthenes] 42, who had challenged Phainippos to antidosis, had done well out of mining but had recently run into financial difficulties. He had a brother (42. 22), and seems to have been familiar with the estate in Kytheros; after delivering his challenge he left slaves on the property to look after his interests, and he had taken kin and friends with him on his tour of inspection (§§ 5–7). He may have been a member of one of the two wealthy

⁶⁵ Mnesistratos, *IEleus* 177. 404; Mnesige[ne]s (or -te[le]s?) *IG* ii³ 4. 26; Ktesippos I *IG* ii² 1929. 20, *APF* 8889. His family may have been linked to that of Timokrates K., whose son Timon served as tamias in 377/6 (*IG* ii² 1410. 4–5).

⁶⁶ *APF* 14734 (add Kroll 1972 no. 158). The speaker of [Dem.] 42, whose aim is to show that Phainippos is richer than himself, no doubt exaggerates the size of the estate, but eschatiai containing woodland may often have been of considerable acreage. The dowry claim was specious (§ 27). It appears that Phainippos' MF Philostratos had married his daughter to Kallippos with a dowry at a date when he had, or still hoped to have, a son. By the time Kallippos died it had become clear that his widow was an epikleros, and Philostratos had decided to make Phainippos his heir; formal adoption did not take place until after Phainippos had come of age and inherited his genitor's property.

families of Kytherros for which mining activities are attested—perhaps one of the brothers Antiphanes and Antisthenes II, sons of Antisthenes I K.⁶⁷

Steiria

The deme-site was in the north-western part of the bay of Porto Raphti. Two gravestones have been found in the area; one is illegible, the other commemorated Komos (?) son of Nausias. Apart from this, evidence for the activities of demesmen comes from outside the deme.⁶⁸

Hagnon S., honoured as founder in Amphipolis, was notorious for his wealth and and evidently well-known in the city; he is named in Kratinos' comedy *Fat Cats* (*Ploutoi*) as a man who claimed to have old money, although his father Nikias was the factotum (*phortêgos misthôtês*) of Peithias. Hagnon's son Theramenes, the oligarch, was also a target of comedy, as an associate of sophists. No descendants are attested.⁶⁹

Thrasyboulos son of Lykon S. may have derived his democratic politics in part from rivalry in deme and tribe with Hagnon and Theramenes. He married his daughter to Nikias II son of Nikeratos II of Kydantidai, after the execution of Nikeratos by the Thirty had given him the status of a martyr. Confiscation of Thrasyboulos' property by the Thirty evidently did the family no lasting harm; his son Thrasyboulos II was fined ten talents shortly before 343 (*APF* 7310, 10808).

Evidence for ownership of land by Steirians is scanty. Oulias S., councillor in 328/7, may have bought land sold by the Melaineis, on the north-east end of Mt Parnes, in the hekatostai sales.⁷⁰ Kallikratides II son of Kallikrates S. lent 1000 dr.

⁶⁷ *APF* 1194; on this family, active at tribal level, see ch. 21 n. 121. Antiphanes is attested as trierarch before 330 ([Dem.] 42 is dated to the early 320s); he and his brother freed a slave living in Agryle in (?) the 320s, *SEG* 18. 36 B 329. The puzzling aspect of the speech is that it concerns only the eschatia in Kytherros, although Phainippos must surely have had other property. Selective publication of the arguments delivered in court may explain this, but only if we assume that the speaker wished to justify himself to readers who knew Phainippos in this local context. (The other wealthy mining family in Kytherros is that of Aspetos and Demostratos, *APF* 3623.) D. M. Lewis 1994 noted that an Autophon, perhaps son rather than father of Hegemon Autophontos K., councillor in the early 4th c. (*IG* ii³ 4. 21. 41) is probably attested three times as landowner in the mining area: *Agora XIX* P 13. 51–6, P 24. 4, P 27. 86 (here at Thorikos).

⁶⁸ Site, Lauter-Bufe 1989; market (?) building, Kakavogianne 2009, 186. Tombstones, *IG* ii² 7462, 7464 = *SEG* 21. 925 (Komos or Kophos Nausio[u] *LGPN* no. 5; Kothos Nausitho[ou] *IG*).

⁶⁹ *APF* 7234, Kratinos *PCG* 4 F 171 ll. 67–71, performed in 429? *LGPN* s. Peithias (1) suggests a possible identification with Peisias (1), father of the kitharoidos Meles, but Peithias (9), father of Leon of Salamis, seems more likely. Cf. ch. 26 at nn. 88–9. Pesely 1989 notes that Hagnon founded a cult of Artemis Tauropolos, worshipped near Steiria at Halai Araphenides, in Amphipolis.

⁷⁰ On Isaïos F 22–3 Thalheim 1903, a suit about guardianship, see A. R. W. Harrison 1968, 97–8 n. 1; *APF* 8242; ch. 3 n. 27. Property seems to have been in dispute, but its location is unknown. On *IG* ii² 7456, found Piraeus (?), commemorating Diokles son of Dionysodoros S. with his father, his sisters and a (?) ZH added later, see Bergemann 1997 31 n. 272, 213 no. 26.

with Philon of Rhamnous secured on a house in the Agora area; he served as one of the epistatai of Artemis Brauronia in 335/4 and as anagrapheus *c.*330, and his father Kallikrates son of Kallikratides I was a lessee of land at Eleusis in 331/0. They presumably lived in the city.⁷¹ Kalliades I son of Aristophon S. served as phylarch in 282/1 (*SEG* 46. 167, cf. Habicht 1997); his elder brother Aristodemos II was taxiarch in the following year (Ourias, *IG* ii³ 882. 24), and their father, son of Aristodemos I, was councillor in 335/4 (*Agora* XV 43). Later descendants are attested.

Prasiai

This deme seems to have occupied the south and southwest sides of the Porto Raphti bay, including the Korone peninsula, on which the deme lease text *SEG* 21. 644 was found. *IG* ii³ 4. 237, a dedication to Artemis by a man who had been crowned by the deme, also came from Korone; a second lease, *IG* ii² 2497 (*SEG* 21. 645) was also found in the Porto Raphti area, and a third at Natso.⁷² A cult of the Herakleidai in either Prasiai or Steiria is attested by the marker of an eschara found in this area (*IG* ii² 4977, 4th–3rd century). Prasiai also had sanctuaries of Apollo—perhaps located at Natso—and of Athena Pronaia, and the tomb of Erysichthon. Theoriai to Delos left from its harbour; as we shall see, several demesmen had interests on the island. A head of Apollo dated *c.*490, and a base signed by the sculptor Pythis, dated *c.*510–500 (*IG* i³ 1018 *ter*), perhaps came from the Apollo sanctuary.⁷³

⁷¹ Oulias, Lambert 1997a, F 10 B 20; *IG* ii³ 360. 7. Kallikratides' loan, *Agora* XIX H 98; Artemis, *IG* ii² 1524 col. III 127 (ii³ 4. 63 may relate to this or another board on which K. served); anagrapheus, ii³ 469; Kallikrates, *IEleus* 177. 373 (cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 307 no. 36). Theoxenos son of Kallikrates, dikastic pinax *SEG* 39. 181, correcting *AG* II no. 44 (Class I or II? from a grave near the junction of the Sacred Way with Peiraios St), may be a brother of Kallikratides I. Cf. also Kallikrates son of Kallikrates S., *SEMA* 621, kioniskos (date uncertain). Note also the stele, crowned by a siren and two mourning women, commemorating Proxenides S. with his daughter Menippe and wife Aristodike, confiscated by the police in Piraeus, *IG* ii² 7452 = *CAT* 3. 397 (mid-4th c.); ii² 7470, naming a Proxenides S. alone (Piraeus), is not closely dated. Zopyros son of Kratynon (?) S., who served in the council *c.*330 or *c.*320 (*IG* ii³ 4. 83. 36, n. 17) might be the Zopyros (?) who appears on a curse tablet (Wünsch 1897, 103, cf. Wilhelm 1904, 122) if we could be sure of either reading, but the Wheeler transcript of ii³ 4. 83 has Sôpros (Traill 1986, 42; names in Sôti- ?), and the only other 4th c. attestation of the name Zopyros, in *IG* ii³ 4. 342 col. I 15, is equally dubious (there is no basis for the restoration [Pras]jeis at the head of this column, where a longer demotic would be preferable). *SEMA* 623, monument of Myrtilos son of Cha[ir?]-eleides S. and wife, found in the city; Myrtilos served as councillor in (?) 336/5, *Agora* XV 42. 187. There may be an affinal link with Myrtilos of Prasiai, *IG* i² 1072.

⁷² See also Camp 2015. The temple is marked on the map of Kakavogianne 2009, 183. *SEG* 21. 780 is missed by Whitehead 1986a and Lauter-Bufe 1989; possibly the *IG* lease text found on Korone came from the deme's sanctuary of Artemis rather than—as Lauter-Bufe assumes—from the leased plot. The third lease, *SEG* 51. 153, specifies that half of the rent is to be paid at the election meeting in Metageitnion.

⁷³ Paus. 1. 31. 2, Apollo (a phratry altar?) and Erysichthon; Phanodemos *FGH* 325 F 2, theoriai (ch. 20 n. 36); Bekker 1814. I 299. 6, Athena Pronaia, allegedly founded by Diomedes. Natso: Apostolopoulou-Kakavogianne 1986, cf. *AR* 1991–2, 9; Stewart 2008, 591; head and base re-used in Early Christian

The Korone peninsula had houses, and was fortified in the early third century, perhaps in the years after 287; the fort seems to have been occupied by Ptolemaic troops during the Chremonidean War.⁷⁴

Tracy (1995, 125) points out that the lease *SEG* 21. 644 (11–14) makes provision for the possibility of an invasion of Attika, which suggests a date in the period preceding Chaironeia, in the Lamian War, or in 318.⁷⁵ The previous tenant, Polysthenes, whose name is erased, may have defaulted.⁷⁶ The tenant in the other deme lease, Kirrhias son of Poseidippos, is named with his father and at least two other persons on a base recorded at Markopoulo. Poseidippos is attested as syntrierarch at a date between 356 and 346/5; another son, —phos, perhaps leased temple land at Delos. They seem to have maintained a strong interest in the deme.⁷⁷

Another demesman who appears in the Delian records (as a guarantor) is Demochares III son of Nikolaos. Alkiades son of Demochares I, buried in Piraeus with his wife, two sons, and (?) a daughter-in-law, was probably the uncle (FB) of Demochares III (see Table 25.5). One of Alkiades' sons seems to have married Demokrateia, daughter of Archedamas of Anagyrous; her brother Archenomides appears as a witness in [Demosthenes] 35. 14, testifying that a loan agreement about a trading voyage was deposited with him, which indicates that he was a resident of Piraeus. Alkiades of Anagyrous, who supplied six caps (*piloi*) for the public slaves at Eleusis in (?) 333/2, may have been a son of Demochares and Demokrateia, adopted by his mother's kin into Anagyrous.⁷⁸ Elpon son of Elpon P. travelled further afield, settling on Imbros as a kleruch; his son or brother Eusthenes served as a councillor in Athens c.330.⁷⁹

additions to a Hellenistic building, sherds ranging from Mycenaean to late Roman, Geometric strata. There were grave terraces along the road between Prasiai and Steiria.

⁷⁴ Houses, Lauter-Bufe 1989, cf. N. F. Jones 2000; fort, G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, 153–5, with references to earlier discussions.

⁷⁵ Text ascribed to the cutter of EM 12807 (= *SEG* 34. 103, Halai Araphenides), who worked c.340–290. See also *SEG* 62. 80.

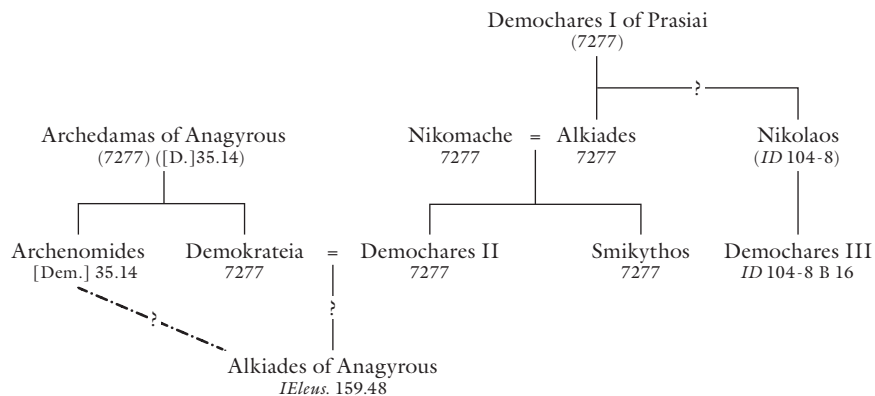
⁷⁶ Polysthenes had held a lease in perpetuity; no new tenant's name was inscribed. The text is interesting because it shows that there had been deme-owned farm equipment on the plot, which was handed over to the lessee.

⁷⁷ Kirrhias, *IG* ii² 2497. 3, 10; 7286 (the stone is inscribed on both sides and is therefore unlikely to be funerary; however, Kirrhias' name is accompanied by that of a woman on side B). Stones from Steiria in Markopoulo, *IG* ii² 7464, 7472. Poseidippos, *APF* 12132; Kroll 1972, 100b doubts whether *IG* ii² 1898 (no provenance) belonged to this P. —phos, *ID* 104-8 B 33 (the demotic is uncertain). Papazarkadas 2011, 291–3, suggests that Kirrhias was related to Theodoros son of Kiron P., guarantor for a lease of sacred land in 343/2 (*Agora* XIX L 6. 13–14; note that the Kiron of *SEG* 58. 265 is now assigned to Pithos, not Prasiai); the leased plot was called the Theodoreion and may have been donated by or confiscated from Theodoros.

⁷⁸ Names on *IG* ii² 7277 added successively.

⁷⁹ Elpon, *IG* xii 8. 63a 11 (352/1); *ibid.* 99, his tombstone, where if the reading in line 2 is Pra[s]ie[os] he was perhaps commemorated with his sister and brother-in-law (ZH; Menestratos of Euonymon). The name of Eusthenes suggests that Elpon I or II may have married a daughter of Elpon (I?)'s colleague in 352/1, Eusthenes of Kolonai (X).

TABLE 25.5.
Prasiai:
Demochares



A Demokrateia is also named as daughter of Demoteles P. on a group of tomb monuments dispersed by the antiques market.⁸⁰ Thymokles P., whose daughter Sostrate's monument *IG* ii² 7287 apparently came from the same dealer, was (or was related to) the Thymokles P. who is recorded as trierarch in 356 and as boys' choregos in 331/0 (*APF* 7401 with *SEG* 25. 177. 6).

Prasiai may have sold land in the hekatostai sales; at least two, and perhaps four or more, properties at Prasiai, plus one at Paiania, were sold by a single group. One of the purchasers, the son of Lykinos, who perhaps paid over 1300 dr., may have been a demesman, a brother of Lykophron son of Lykinos, named on a list of unknown purpose.⁸¹

One of the wealthiest families ascribed to the deme is that of Pronapes son of Pronapides, who won victories with four-horse chariots at the Nemeia, Isthmia, Panathenaia, and perhaps elsewhere, and served as hipparch, at some date in the 450s–430s. He is attributed to Prasiai on the basis of a statement in the letters of Themistokles (viii p. 747 Hercher 1873) that a Pronapes of Prasiai was one of the prosecutors at Themistokles' trial. There are however, some chronological difficulties in this identification.⁸²

Habronichos son of Aristokles I P., whose names may suggest upper-class ancestry, was councillor probably in the Lykourgan period; the service of his (?) nephew (BS) Aristokles II son of Aristokleides may possibly date to the period after 322.⁸³

⁸⁰ *IG* ii² 7287, 11118 = *CAT* 3. 319, 12023 = *CAT* 4. 850, *SEMA* 581 = *CAT* 3. 846; Richter 1954, 83–4.

⁸¹ Lambert 1997*a*, F 4. 9–10, [-10-]s Lykinou pays ΤΤΧΔ†††. Lykophron, Reinmuth 1971, no. 16. 13; this may be a list of epilektoi of c.350 (Humphreys 2010*a*).

⁸² *IG* i³ 880 (victories), 511 (hipparchy); *APF* 12250. The hipparch Pronapes was a colleague of Lakedaimonios son of Kimon, born in the 480s or 470s, and is unlikely to have been old enough for identification with the prosecutor. The latter may be an ancestor of Pronapes of Erchia, treasurer of sacred funds in 433/2 (*IG* i³ 293. 14, 344. 16), or of Pronapes of Aixone (*APF* 1395).

⁸³ *IG* ii³ 4. 26. 41, ii³ 4. 83. 19. Traill 1986, 41–7 argues that the irregular quotas here are due to mis-copying by Wheler.

IV Leontis

This tribe contained a large number of small demes, only Phrearrhioi having more than four councillors, and they are oddly scattered (see ch. 21 pp. 728–9, and the discussions of individual trittys below). Many demes have not been located with any certainty, and even trittys affiliation is doubtful in some cases. Here I have grouped Leukonoion, Kettos, Cholleidai, Oion Kerameikon, Hybadai, and Aithalidai with the demes assigned to the inland trittys by Traill (1986), and Upper and Lower Potamos with the coastal trittys. Stanton 1994 has Kettos, Leukonoion, and those two Potamos demes in the city trittys.

CITY TRITTYS

The arrangement adopted here leaves Leontis with a very small city trittys, consisting only of the two demes Skambonidai and Halimous, which moreover were widely separated from each other. Skambonidai may have turned out to be smaller than expected because, although densely settled, it had a high proportion of metics among its residents; furthermore, some Athenians living near the borders of the area popularly known by this name may have preferred to register in the more respectable-sounding Kydathenaion or Kerameikos (or Diomeia, ch. 24 n. 8).¹

Skambonidai

This deme is generally placed north of the Agora, although the arguments for the location are rather weak. The deme decree *IG* i³ 244 was found ‘in a house near the Theseion’, i.e. on the west side of the Agora; the identification of a

¹ Traill allocates Upper and Lower Potamos to the city trittys, placing them in the upper reaches of the Ilissos, but the arguments are weak, and this location merely intensifies the geographical incoherence of the city trittys. Note that the situation now revealed in the Voula area—several hamlets belonging to Halai Aixonides (ch. 29)—suggests that there were probably a number of hamlets also in the north-western part of the same coastal plain (much of which was occupied by the old airport); these hamlets could have been occupied by unlocated demes of Leontis, or they might have opted for affiliation to Aixone rather than Halimous.

sanctuary with a well, in the northern part of the Agora, as the Leokoreion, the shrine of the daughters of Leos, and the deductions (1) that this would have been the cultic centre of the tribe Leontis, and (2) that it must therefore have lain in or close to a deme of Leontis, are open to question. We have a dedication by tribal epimeletai of Leontis from Daphne, *IG* ii³ 4. 207 (see n. 29).²

Be that as it may, *IG* i³ 244 is our earliest deme decree, and it provides valuable evidence for Athenian ideas about deme identity and activities in the first half-century after Kleisthenes' reforms.³ It starts with sacrifice of an adult victim to Leos, the meat (?) from which is to be distributed both to demesmen and to metic residents *en agorâi têi Skambonidôn*—either a location or a date. This is followed by a sacrifice [-5-]ois, possibly at the [Kroni]a; then we have a sacrifice on the Akropolis at the Synoikia, the meat from which is to be distributed raw. The same specification is made for the sacrifice of a lamb in the Pythion at the Epizephyria, and for another sacrifice, the details of which are lost. Column A starts with specifications for a sacrifice, the meat from which is to be distributed until sun[set] or sun[rise]. After some regulations that seem to concern perquisites, we have possible references to the [Dipoli]eia and the [Panath]enaia; the meat from the latter festival is to be distributed in (or at) the agora of the deme. Side B contains an oath to be taken by a deme official.

It seems likely that the deme had constructed, or was constructing, a programme of cultic activity by attaching deme sacrifices to festivals celebrated by its tribe or by the city. This was clearly an option most likely to appeal to demes situated in or close to the city centre. The freedom of demes to innovate in cult is significant; the sacrifices of this calendar have no parallels in other demes. It is also very interesting to find metic residents of the deme allowed to share in sacrifices; attitudes may perhaps have hardened after Perikles' law of 451 on citizenship.

Although the name 'Crooktown' suggests a population engaged in the lower urban trades, Skambonidai had some aristocratic residents by 507.⁴ In the fifth century the leading family was obviously that of Kleinias and Alkibiades, which

² The Leokoreion is located 'in the Kerameikos' by Phanodemos *FGH* 325 F 8; this probably relates to the part of the Kerameikos that lay inside the walls and included the NW Agora (see *Agora III* 108–13, nos. 317–38; Papadopoulos 1996; ch. 27 n. 1). On the possible location see Kron 1999, 79–81; *Agora XIV* 123; Camp 2010, 84–5 (the discovery of curse tablets in the well does not seem to be an obstacle to the identification, since the daughters of Leos died young; cf. D. R. Jordan 1980). Note N. D. Robertson's suggestion (1992, cf. Brunnsåker 1968; Batino 2001) that the name Leokoreion was derived from *leós*, army (cf. perhaps the association of the nearby area 'by the Herms' with the cavalry?); if this is right, one might argue that the association with the hero Leos and the myth of his daughters had arisen only in post-Kleisthenic times when Leontis—perhaps prompted by Skambonidai—began to take an interest in the sanctuary. Alipherê 2015 restores a dedication to Leos in Reinmuth 1971 no. 9, found in the Agora (see Appendix 1).

³ Cf. Humphreys 2004, 145–6. M. H. Jameson (*per ep.*, 1999) read [*τ?*]imía in C 1.

⁴ On the contrast between shapely, well-nourished members of the upper class and misshapen commoners see Humphreys 1999, 126–7.

probably belonged to the *genos* Salaminioi (and thus, on my view, to a *phratry* based in Alopeke). They were already conspicuously wealthy in the sixth century; Alkibiades I made a dedication at Delphi, probably commemorating victory in a chariot-race, and his son Kleinias I fought at Artemision in 480 with a privately-owned trireme. The location of their town house in Skambonidai may suggest a move to the city during the Peisistratid years, when the area of the classical Agora was beginning to be developed. Other possessions in Attika, attested in 415, may have been acquired during the fifth century. Alkibiades III had land at Thria and Athmonon, and may have had a house in Skambonidai; his uncle (FB) Axiochos owned a *synoikia*, and had a *chorion* at Tho— that was leased, as well as other property in Attika that cannot be located, and estates overseas. Descendants can be followed into the third century.⁵

The family of Alkibiades' friend and fellow-demesman Adeimantos son of Leukolophides must also have been prominent. He owned land at Xypete and in 'Ophryneion', and had a large estate on Thasos. Leukolophos of Skambonidai, attested on Imbros in the 350s, was presumably a descendant.⁶

Kallias S., commemorated in the early fourth century by a poem claiming that as archon he chose Justice (*dikaio synē*) as his *paredros*, is generally assumed to have been the eponymous archon of 412/1, in which case some defence of his reputation may well have been felt necessary. He was apparently buried somewhere in the area of modern Hekale.⁷

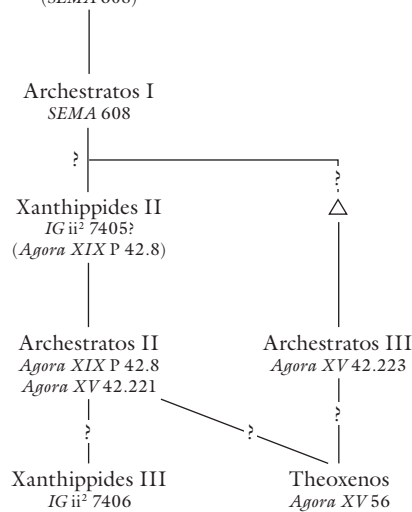
Archestratos I son of Xanthippides I S.—an upper-class pair of names—was buried on the northeast side of the city in the first quarter of the fourth century. Two men called Archestratos, presumably grandsons, served as councillors for Skambonidai in (?) 336/5; Archestratos II son of Xanthippi[des] II S., who was presumably one of them, owned land that was sold by the *poletai* at the end of the fourth century because it had not been declared for tax assessment. Xanthippides III S., who commemorated his wife in the late fourth or early third century with a poem praising her virtue, was presumably the son of Archestratos II; Theoxenos

⁵ *APF* 600; property, *IG* i³ 421. 20–3, 424. 10–11; 422. 200–1, 424. 27–9, 426. 125–6. Tombstones of this family are found in the Kerameikos (*pace APF*, no indication of residence: Humphreys 1983/1993, 118 table 4).

⁶ *IG* i³ 422. 187–8 Xypete; 430. 10–11 Ophryneion, probably a local toponym in Attika (cf. *LSJ* s.v. *ophrys* II); 426. 45–51 Thasos, see Salviat 1986. Imbros, *IG* xii 8. 63a 13; since both names are rare, there is probably a connection with the Leukolophos 'from Salamis' who denounced two houses on Salamis belonging to Theomenes of Xypete, in 402/1 (*Agora XIX P* 2 fr. d 8–21; M. C. Taylor 1997, 291 no. 201, suggests he was the archon for Salamis), and the L. who was well known as a young tart in 393 (*Ar. Ekkh.* 645 with schol., *aischros*); one of these (if they are not identical) will be the Leukolophos to whom the speaker of *Is.* 2 married his elder sister at some date before c.383.

⁷ *IG* ii² 7404 = *CEG* 484. The suggested connection with Hierokleides S. and his son Hierokles, commemorated on a stone of unknown provenance with the son (?) of a Kallias, ii² 7410, is doubtful.

TABLE 26.1. Skambonidai: Xanthippides I of Skambonidai
Xanthippides



son of Archestratos S., who perhaps served as councillor in the late fourth century, may be a brother or cousin of Xanthippides III (see Table 26.1).⁸

Members of Skambonidai seem to have liked to commission poems for their gravestones. Archippos' stone, dated c.360, bore a representation of a gold crown and a poem recording that he had been crowned by the city and died a happy man, leaving grandchildren to succeed him.⁹

Halimous

The deme contained several sanctuaries: one dedicated to Aphrodite Genetyllis on Cape Kolias, with which the genos Kolieis was presumably connected;¹⁰ one of Demeter and Kore, where rites connected with the Thesmophoria were performed on the day preceding the three-day festival in the city;¹¹ the deme's sanctuary of

⁸ Archestratos I, *SEMA* 608, near the NE corner of Syntagma square. Archestratos II and III, *Agora* XV 42. 221, 223 (no patronymics); *Agora* XIX P 42. 8. Xanthippides III, *IG* ii² 7406. Theoxenos, *Agora* XV 56 = *SEG* 34. 127. 24 (deme lost). Olympichos son of Diodoros S. was commemorated by an elegant loutrophoros preserved with its base in the Kerameikos (Knigge 1988 fig. 134, *SEMA* 610); his father was presumably the Diodoros son of Olympiodoros S. who was secretary to the Amphiktyonic board on Delos in 377–373, and his sister the Hippo[*strat?*]e daughter of Diodoros S., married to a K<l>[*eo*]pompos (possibly of Thria, but the stone, *IG* ii² 7401, was found near Koropi). Cf. *AG* II 20, no. 43.

⁹ *IG* ii² 7393 = *CEG* 524 (Kerameikos). Gold crowns for citizens are said by Henry 1983, 23 to be unusual before mid-century; cf. however Isokr. 15. 93–4.

¹⁰ R. Parker 1996, 304–5; ch. 20 n. 45. Plutarch's story (*Solon* 8. 4–6) of Aiginetans who hoped to capture prominent Athenian women celebrating at Kolias, and instead found themselves confronting young men in disguise, presumably refers to this sanctuary, for which see also Ar. *Lys.* 2, Hdt. 8. 96.

¹¹ Schol. Ar. *Thesm.* 80; perhaps an all-night festival followed by a procession to the city next day. Sanctuary, Paus. 1. 31. 1. A. Mommsen assumed that women from the city would go to Halimous to

Dionysos in which the deme decree *SEG* 2. 7 was to be set up, and a theatre;¹² and sanctuaries of Athena and Herakles mentioned in Demosthenes' speech *Against Euboulides* (57. 46, 62, 64).

We are told in Demosthenes' speech that in 346/5 the deme contained c.80–85 members, 63 of whom attended the meeting at which the diapsephisis (general scrutiny of members) was carried out. Its quota of three councillors may have been rather generous for this size.¹³ The speech was written for an appeal against the deme's decision to expel Euxitheos son of Thoukritos, a former demarch. The meeting was held in Athens; Euxitheos claims that his name was the last to be put forward, on the first of two days of voting, and that since most of the demesmen lived in the deme, they had already left for home.¹⁴ Euboulides, who was one of the deme's councillors in 346/5, presided over the meeting; it is not clear whether he did so in his capacity as a councillor, or was also serving as demarch.¹⁵ His father had served as demarch earlier; according to Euxitheos, he had conducted a scrutiny of membership on the grounds that the deme's records had been lost, in which ten men had been expelled, nine of whom had subsequently been reinstated by the courts. This is a good example of the type of unsupported statement that an Athenian could make in court without much risk of being challenged, but a revision in the first or even the second decade after the Peloponnesian War is not unlikely

purify themselves in the sea (1864, 298, with a note on Turkish ladies' bathing expeditions). A site on the Agia Anna hill, where W. Wrede excavated in 1929 (*AA* 1930, 100, cf. Arvanitopoulos 1960, 51–5; *AGC* 21 X6/Y4 no. 30) is identified as the Thesmophorion (destroyed in WW2); however, the Herakles dedication *IG* i³ 1008 (c.470) came from Wrede's site, and Hesychios (cf. Schol. Paus. 1. 1. 5) put the Thesmophorion at Kolias. For archaeological material in this area see also Geroulanos 1973; *AD* 44 B 1, 1989 (1995) 56–7, 59 (Halimousian burial, c.½ km from the Agia Anna site); 46 B 1, 1991 (1996) 35, 65, the latter site, producing 2 marble lions and a fountain, Odos Eptanesou, perhaps in Euonymon); Simpson and Hagel 2006 on Bronze Age.

¹² Hondius, *SEG* 2. 7, suggested locating the Dionysion at Chasani, but it is not clear whether there was an ancient site there as well as a collection of material brought from elsewhere (see ch. 23 n. 5). In any case, there is no evidence to link the stone to Cape Kolias. See now Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006 (her article of 2009 is unfortunately rendered more or less unusable due to the lack of a map). Theatre (Odos Roma) with stone seats, Kaza-Papageorgiou 82–5, Goette 2014; P. Wilson 2010*a*, 41 n. 12.

¹³ See Lambert 1993, Appendix. The quota stayed at 3 after 307/6.

¹⁴ Dem. 57. 10; the speaker probably exaggerates the proportion of demesmen still resident in the deme, but it is likely enough that kin-clusters whose members had already passed scrutiny would leave (cf. ch. 22 n. 118). Euxitheos' claims in §§ 58–9 that Halimous had become notorious for the arbitrariness of its decisions at this scrutiny are suspect, but note Hyp. 4 *Eux.* 3, Din. F XVI 1 on Agasikles (n. 23).

¹⁵ Develin 1991 argues that he was not demarch; certainly the fact that he led the deme's syndikoi in the appeal case proves nothing, and the relation between the deme's register and the lexiarchikon gram-mateion/ekklesiastikos pinax in Athens (ch. 22 n. 54) might well provide an excuse for a councillor to play a leading role in a diapsephisis. However, Euxitheos' claim that Euboulides had wasted much of the day in making speeches and passing decrees (57. 9) seems to suggest that regular deme business was conducted at this meeting in addition to the scrutiny.

(ch. 21).¹⁶ Euboulides is attested as proposer of *IG* ii³ 302, an honorary decree for exiles from Abdera drafted by the Council, in the ninth prytany of his year of service as councillor; the decree—with a rider by Diopeithes of Sphettos—was motivated by indignation at Philip's capture of Abdera shortly after the peace of Philokrates, which puts Euboulides in the same camp as Demosthenes in terms of public policy.¹⁷ He had unsuccessfully prosecuted Plangon, sister of Lakedaimonios of Alopeke (ch. 32 n. 21), for impiety; on this occasion Euxitheos had testified for the defendant in court, and he claims that Euboulides' attack on his citizen rights was an act of revenge (57. 8). Euxitheos had also, however, made himself unpopular during his year of office as demarch by insisting on collecting rents for deme property (§ 63). He and Euboulides were perhaps rivals for influence in the deme; both had been in the panel of well-born candidates from whom the priest of Herakles—presumably an appointment held for life—was selected by lot.¹⁸ Euxitheos, however, does not seem to have been resident in the deme, although he had land and an *oikidion* (shed?), attacked, he claims, immediately after the vote against him (§ 65). He had perhaps been under some pressure to take office as demarch, as a wealthy non-resident member of the deme,¹⁹ and had failed to respect an unwritten agreement by which wealthier members of the deme farmed deme land without paying rent, on the understanding that each would finance deme sacrifices when his turn came to hold office.²⁰ His dedication of arms to Athena in the deme sanctuary was perhaps considered pretentious; he claims that they were removed after the vote against him, and that the honorary decree voted by the deme (presumably after his year of office as demarch) was erased (§ 64).

Euxitheos' family made a comeback in the Lykourgan period when Charisandros I, son of Euxitheos' witness and second cousin (FFBSS) Charisiades, stepped in to take over management of the deme's financial affairs on behalf of the demarch Ischyrias, who seems to have been unable to meet the expenses of his office.²¹

¹⁶ Dem. 57. 26–7, 60–2; witnesses testify that Euxitheos' father Thoukritos had passed an extraordinary scrutiny, but the other information is unsupported (Thoukritos' title to deme membership was not in question: see ch. 7 Case 14). Cf. also ch. 19 nn. 93, 122 on conflicts in the postwar years.

¹⁷ *IG* ii³ 302; Lambert 2007a no. 64. However, it is not certain that Demosthenes wrote the speech for Euxitheos; in any case Euboulides was politically small fry (cf. Daverio Rocchi 1978 on councillors as proposers of decrees).

¹⁸ 57. 46–8; 48 seems to me to imply that both men had been candidates at the same sortition. Emphasis on the noble birth of the candidates would be somewhat absurd in a small deme if a new priest was appointed every year (see ch. 20 at n. 112 for the argument that this was a *genos* priesthood).

¹⁹ About whom, moreover, there were some rumours that he was a bastard born to or conceived by his mother while his father was a prisoner overseas (a variant on the Martin Guerre story); ch. 7 Case 14.

²⁰ Interest on deme capital on loan may be concealed under the reference in § 63 to 'other deme property that people had stolen'.

²¹ *SEG* 2. 7; the proposer, Theophilos, had served as councillor and acted as epistates in 347/6, *IG* ii³ 503 (R/O no. 64, Lambert 2006 no. 3), ii³ 299. Charisandros son of [Dio]nysiades H., *hoplomachos* in 246/5 (arch. Philoneos; *IG* ii³ 1016. 18) is probably the grandson (SS) of the honorand; cf. also Charisandros son of Exekastos, councillor in 371/0, *IG* ii³ 4. 53. Hondius *ap. SEG* 2. 7 suggests that the

Kybernis I, who took office as demarch in the following year, produced a line of distinguished descendants. His son Kydias I died fighting against the Gauls at Delphi in 279; his shield was dedicated on the Akropolis by his kin (*prosēkontes*, Pausanias 10. 21. 5). Kydias' (adopted?) son Kybernis II proposed the Athenian decree concerning the institution of the commemorative Soteria at Delphi, in 250/49; both he and his son Kydias II may have served in the cavalry. A kioniskos commemorating the wife of Kybernis I or II has been found in the deme area.²²

There was further trouble in the deme in the Lykourgan period; Agasikles, admitted as a demesman, was prosecuted as being the son of a public slave, and a public slave himself.²³

Distinguished families in Halimous included, of course, that of Oloros and his son Thucydides, the historian, perhaps allied by marriage with the family of Miltiades and Kimon; they had interests in Thrace. Thucydides had a son, Timotheos, but he does not seem to have played any role in public life. Lysis son of Timo[theos] H., who proposed a decree of the garrison at Sounion in 298/7, may be a descendant.²⁴

The family of Peithias, Aristion, and Presbychares (see Table 26.2) may have been resident in the deme, since a set of three tomb monuments commemorating Aristion son of Peithias with his wife (daughter of a fellow-demesman), and his (?) stepdaughter (WD), the name of his grandson (SS) added to one of them, are said to have been found in the Trachones area. Aristion's son Presbychares I served as councillor perhaps c.370, and the councillor's (?) son Presbychares II is recorded as ephebe in 333/2/1.²⁵

Another family buried in the deme is attested by a stele, with a lekythos on top, found with its base. The base had an epigram (no text supplied), the stele a list

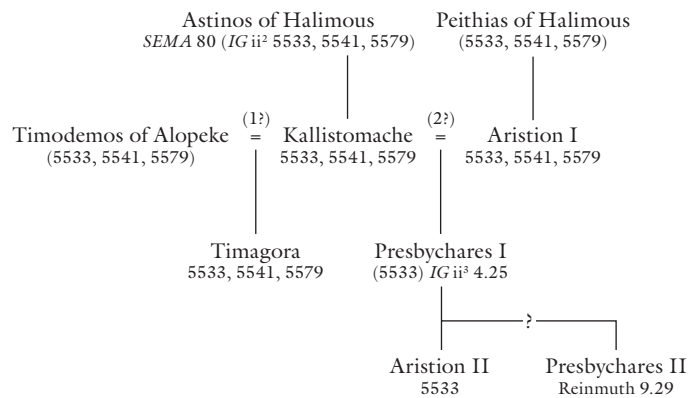
demarch Ischyrius was the target of Lykourgos' speech *Kat' Ischyrian* (F VIII Conomis 1970; the case was perhaps concerned with building operations), but the name is attested in six other demes at approximately this period.

²² Kydias I, Paus. 10. 21. 5, cf. *FGE* 1636–9, Habicht 1985, 84–5; 1995, 138. Kybernis II, *IG* ii³ 1005, arch. Polyuktos. He was granted proxeny at Delphi c.250–245, *FD* III 2. 159 (arch. Kraton); cf. ch. 12 n. 89, raising the question whether Kydias I lived long enough to father an heir. The sources may have exaggerated his youth, but it is also possible that Kybernis II was a kinsman adopted by will or posthumously. Kioniskos, *SEMA* 230, from a site in the deme; the letters reported (Phem—nikos) do not suggest any recognizable name for her father. Cavalry: Bugh 1988, II B 142–3 (no demotics).

²³ Eisangelia (M. H. Hansen 1975, no. 115, A. R. W. Harrison 1971, 50 n. 2); the prosecution speech was attributed to Deinarchos (F XVI Conomis 1975). Hyp. (4 *Eux.* 3) calls him 'Agasikles from Peiraiaios', presumably his residence; he and his father Skythes had allegedly been employed to check grain measures (Dein. F XVI 4–4a).

²⁴ *APF* 7268 IV. Timotheos, Polemon F IV Preller 1838, Suda s.v. *Thoukydides*. Lysis, *IG* ii² 1270. 1–2; cf. *SEG* 45. 134, from the same year but with another proposer.

²⁵ *IG* ii² 5533, 5541, 5579 (two matching lekythoi), plus *SEMA* 80 (*SEG* 22. 172). Presbychares I, *IG* ii³ 4. 25. 11. The name of Presbychares I perhaps suggests a younger son born to an elderly father; this would explain why his son Aristion III could be added to the monument of Aristion II. The father of Presbychares II was [–9–]es, possibly [Presbychar]es I. Astinos, father of Aristion II's (?) wife Kallistomache, was himself commemorated in the deme area by a naiskos (*SEMA* 80). Presbychares II, Reinmuth 1971, no. 9 (Alipherê 2015) II 29, with *Agora* XV p. 444.

TABLE 26.2. Halimous:
Peithias

of names said to have been added successively; the lekythos had labelled representations of a seated male (?) figure, Leon, a child, and a standing woman, Aristomache. The stele names Leokrates I son of Leostratos I H., Leokrates' wife Nikagora, their son Leon, Leostratos II son of Leostratos I, his wife Aristomache, and perhaps a further woman. Nikeratos son of Leokrates H., councillor *c.*370(?), may be a brother of Leostratos I. An epistyle reused in a church near Spata commemorated Demostrate daughter of Leokrates H., with Leok[rates]. Another Leok[rates], perhaps son of Leon or of Leostratos II, was councillor in 304/3.²⁶

For Kettos, Leukonoion, Oion Kerameikon, and Potamos, assigned to the city trittys of Leontis by Traill (1986),²⁷ see the sections below.

INLAND TRITTYS

This trittys certainly included Eupyridai, Pelekes, and Kropidai, a trikomia located in the area of the Aigaleos–Parnes gap,²⁸ with Paionidai, on the slope of Mt Parnes, and Hekale and Kolonai north of Mt Pentelikon. Cholleidai, whose demesman

²⁶ Peribolos, *SEG* 56. 255, Kaza-Papageorgiou 2006, 91–100 (cf. *Mes.-Arg.* 441–3). Nikeratos, *IG* ii³ 4. 25; Demostrate, naiskos frame, *IG* ii² 5536 = *CAT Suppl.* PE 6/RSE 7 (*IG* and *CAT* disagree on the position of the church); Leok[rates], *Agora* XV 61. 284.

²⁷ Traill 1986 (as Loeper 1892) assigns Leukonoion (placed at Peristeri) to the city trittys on the basis of *IG* ii³ 4. 207, a dedication by epimeletai of Leontis found at Daphni, in which the three epimeletai come from Leukonoion, Aithalidai, and Deiradiotai. However, we do not know the site or trittys of Aithalidai, nor do we know whether Leontis appointed its epimeletai by trittys (see ch. 21 nn. 25, 71). If, as argued here, Leontis had a small city trittys, it is certainly possible that for some purposes Leukonoion and Kettos, closer to the city than the tribe's other inland demes, were counted as part of the city trittys; but other arrangements can be imagined. It seems to me still an open question whether the demes of Leontis can be sited so that they produce a contiguous, albeit straggly, inland trittys.

²⁸ St. Byz. s.v. *Eupyridai*. For arguments against associating *IG* ii² 1213 with this group see Lambert 2000b, 78–80.

Dikaiopolis was on bad terms with the Acharnians in Aristophanes' play of that name, may well have lain in this area, perhaps west of Acharnai, since Dikaiopolis trades with Boiotians and Megarians. Leukonoion and Kettos may have extended the line of Leontis demes along the eastern side of Mt Aigaleos as far as Daphne, although the evidence is flimsy: the dedication to Hermes of a phylarch from (?) Kettos found at Daphne, and the dedication of Krates of Leukonoion to Apollo and the tombstone of the sons of Laches of Leukonoion, both found at Peristeri, may have travelled.²⁹

There is also the question of the location of Oion Kerameikon. A site near the Kerameikos would add to the incoherence of the city trittys. There may however be a case for placing this deme near Oion Dekeleikon, in an area near a site tentatively assigned to Hybadai or Aithalidai; this would imply that a two-hamlet settlement going by the name Oion had become two separate demes which had then been allocated to different tribes.³⁰

Leukonoion

This was one of the larger demes in the trittys, having (like Kettos and Paionidai) a quota of three councillors.³¹ It is also the deme about which we have the most prosopographical information.³²

The family of Apollodoros I, known from Isaïos 7, can be traced back into the early fifth century, when Thrasyllus and Gnathios, sons of Mneson L., dedicated a bronze statue of Athena, which remained visible on the Akropolis and was re-used in the Roman period. The family belonged to a *genos*, we do not know which. A son or grandson of [Gn]athios served as secretary to the treasurers of Athena in 407/6, and Philoneos, son of Gnathios (II?) was one of the *epimeletai* of Leontis in 357/6, and is named on the curse tablet *SEG* 58. 265 (A I 7). Thrasyllus II died

²⁹ Phylarch, *IG* ii³ 4. 328; dedication *IG* ii² 4674, early 3rd c. Leukonoe is said by Hyginus (*fab.* 161; another genealogy *ibid.* 200 and in Conon *narr.* 7) to be the mother of Philammon by Apollo, which might suggest a cult of Apollo in the deme (as we shall see, the name Apollodoros was used in one of its leading families). The dedication had been re-used. Tombstone, *SEG* 24. 238. 4th c. tombstones of L. men were also found at Chalandri (*IG* ii² 6736), Menidi (ii² 6748), and Markopoulo (ii² 6718)).

³⁰ Kolonai (see ch. 32 n. 35) may be a parallel for the situation suggested here for Oion. Traill 1986 assigns Oion to the inland trittys but does not suggest a location. Even the location for Oion Kerameikon suggested here would hardly, in terms of modern mapping, make it contiguous with Hekale and Kolonai, on the NE end of the trittys, but there were no maps of Attika in 507. See further below on individual demes for archaeological evidence, and ch. 21 pp. 728–9, on the general problems of this trittys.

³¹ On the reasons for rejecting a suggested location in the mining area see Traill 1986.

³² Rapke 1974 raises the possibility that Kallias son of Didymias (a prominent target of ostracism usually assigned to Alopeke) belonged to L., citing the Didymias L. who served as *diatetes* in 325/4 (*IG* ii³ 4. 35. 55) and as parasite of Athena Pallenis (*SEG* 34. 157. 31, perhaps Kr[atetos], since this name is attested in the deme; perhaps cursed, *SEG* 49. 322); there is also a Didymias in Leontis in the late 5th c., *IG* i³ 1193. 88. However, the name may have been given to survivors of twin births.

while serving as trierarch on the Sicilian expedition; his son Apollodoros II seems to have been born in the 420s, since he successfully sued his uncle (FB) and guardian Eupolis, with the help of his stepfather Archedamos, before the latter was taken prisoner at some date before the end of the Peloponnesian War. He ransomed Archedamos, and gave him further financial aid; by the time of the Korinthian War in the late 390s Archedamos seems to have died. Apollodoros conditionally betrothed his half-sister to the Eumolpid Lakrateides of Paiania when he left to fight in this war, but apparently made other arrangements for her marriage on his return.³³ He himself married also, and had a son, who however died in 356/5, whereupon Apollodoros adopted the son of his half-sister, who perhaps took the name Thrasyllus on his adoption. Thrasyllus was probably already a prominent and wealthy man; he had served as thesmothetes, and was one of the Pythaistai sent to Delphi in 355. Apollodoros had died before the end of 356/5; he had presented Thrasyllus to his genos and phratry in Pyanopsion 356, but admission to the deme had to wait for the election meeting in late 356/5 or early 355/4. At that meeting a protest was made on behalf of Pronapes of Aixone, who had presumably already given notice of his intention to claim Apollodoros' estate on behalf of his wife, Apollodoros' cousin (FBD), daughter of the guardian Eupolis; however, the deme voted in Thrasyllus' favour. His appointment to serve as tribal gymnasiarch for the Prometheia in 355/4 may have been an astute move made with the aim of winning public sympathy before the case came to court.³⁴

Both of Apollodoros' female cousins (FBD) married wealthy men, one husband belonging to Aixone and the other, Aischines, to Lousia. Aischines' son Thrasyboulos was adopted by Hippolochos son of Thrasymedes of Lousia, perhaps his uncle (ch. 2 n. 56).³⁵

The astronomer Meton son of Pausanias also belonged to Leukonoion. Aristomedes son of Meton, councillor in 371/0, may be his son, serving at a

³³ *APF* 1395 (there is an error in the stemma, Archedamos' child was a daughter and not a son). Cf. ch. 19 n. 140. Gnathios I, *IG* i³ 833; the secretary of 407/6, *IG* i³ 316. 64, 340. 21. Philoneos, *IG* ii³ 4. 207. Apollodoros: see chs. 2–3, 19 n. 140, 20 n. 99. He had won two victories as choregos, at the Dionysia in an unknown year (ii³ 4. 442), and at the Thargelia in 362/1 (ii³ 4. 483), both commemorated by dedications. Wyse (1904, 557) thought that Lakrateides had married Apollodoros' half-sister and then divorced her when he became hierophant, but the view that the hierophant could not have a wife is more than doubtful (R. Parker 1983, 87–8).

³⁴ It seems possible that Thrasyllus' father, the husband of Apollodoros' half-sister, belonged to the same genos (conceivably Kephallidai, if they had a base at Daphne; ch. 20 n. 81) and phratry as Apollodoros (cf. Is. 7. 17), although if Thrasyllus was also already a member of Leukonoion before his adoption he was being very disingenuous in §§ 27–8.

³⁵ The name Thrasymedes occurs also in Leukonoion: Thrasymedes son of Kedeides L. freed a slave leather-worker living in Melite in (?) the 320s, *SEG* 18. 36 A 217–20, and his son Kedeides II served as ephebe in 333/2/1 (Reinmuth 1971, no. 9 II 33; Alipherè 2015). The dithyrambic poet Kedeides, active during the Peloponnesian War (*IG* i³ 965; Kratinos *PCG* 4. 204, F 168; Ar. *Clouds* 985 with emendation), seems too early to be Thrasymedes' father, and the name Kedeides also occurs in Phrearrhioi. If Thrasymedes was related to Apollodoros' family, the connection must have been a fairly distant one.

rather advanced age; however, Pausanias II L., whose dikast-ticket was issued in the 360s or 350s, should perhaps be assigned to another branch of the family. Pausimachos I L., trierarch in 356, and his (?) grandson Pausimachos II son of Ion, commemorated as a boy, in the city, by a relief stele, may also be related to the Pausanias lineage.³⁶

In the later fourth century one of the leading families of the deme was presumably that of Demosthenes' uncle (MZH) Demochares and his descendants. Demochares I will have received a generous dowry with his wife Philia, daughter of Gylon of Kerameis; the dowry of her sister, who married the elder Demosthenes, was 5000 dr. Demochares I's ambitiously named daughter Hippokleia married a member of the deme Phlya and genos Lykomidai, who owned land in or near his deme, and brought him a dowry of at least 6000 dr. A funerary lekythos represents her with her mother and perhaps her father and with Thymokles of Leukonoion, possibly her second husband.³⁷

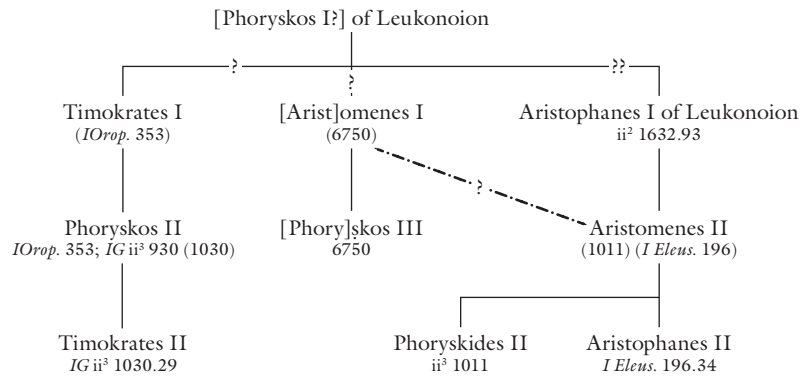
Hippokleia had two brothers: Thymochares, who served as sophronistes for his tribe in ?330/29/8, (*IOrop* 353) and Laches (I). Laches married his cousin (MZD), sister of the orator Demosthenes, and had three sons: Demochares II, followed by his son Laches II, made a career in politics, partly on the strength of his relationship to Demosthenes (ch. 17 at n. 28); Megakleides and Menaichmos were commemorated on a lekythos, perhaps from the deme area, with a Chairestrate (Megakleides' wife?); the name of Megakleides' daughter Phyloi (?) was added later. Megakleides may have served as one of the treasurers of Athena in 354/3; he freed a slave woolworker in (?) the 320s.³⁸

A wealthy family that can be followed into the third century begins with [Arist]omenes I L., whose son [Phory]skos is named on a large base (originally at least three stones) from the Propylaia area, *IG* ii² 6750. Since the surviving stone was used as an architectural member the original form and function of the monument cannot be reconstructed (see Table 26.3). Aristomenes I had a (?) brother, Timokrates I, whose son Phoryskos II

³⁶ Aristomedes, *IG* ii³ 4. 53. 29; Pausanias II, Kroll 1972 no. 102, Class V; Pausimachos I, *APF* 11742; Pausimachos II, *IG* ii² 6743 = *CAT* 0. 866 (*CAT* thinks the stone too early for a grandson, SS, of the trierarch, and suggests that he was a nephew, BS, but see ch. 5 nn. 46–7 on ages of trierarchs; Scholl 1996, no. 131, does not decide). A connection between Aristomedes and the Leukonoian family of *APF* 2092, in which the names Aristomenes and Aristophanes occur, is a slender possibility. On the assignation of Phoryskides son of Aristomenes to Leukonoion and not Alopeke see M. J. Osborne 2009b, Appendix I; ch. 32 n. 16.

³⁷ *APF* 3716; Paschidis 2008, A 49. Dowry, *IG* ii² 2670 = Finley 1952 no. 146 (cf. ch. 20 n. 125); lekythos (mid 4th c., no provenance) *IG* ii² 6737a (p. 891) = *CAT* 4. 324: Thymokles (bearded, seated), Hippokleia and Philia (both standing); the 4th figure, paired with Philia (Demochares?) is lost. If Thymochares (see below) was Demochares' elder son, it is possible that Thymokles was agnatically related to Hippokleia, perhaps as her FBS (for women making second marriages within their kindred see ch. 4 n. 29).

³⁸ *SEMA* 397. [Mega]kleides, *IG* ii² 1442. 5 (date, *AO* p. 286); ii² 1560. 16–19 (reading [Lachetos] as patronymic). An earlier Megakleides of L. served as secretary in 426/5, *IG* i³ 61. 33, 369. 5, 468. 3; possibly Laches II married within his deme.



Note: *IG* ii² 6750 must have supported an imposing monument; this suggests that Phoryskos III died young. It is possible that Aristomenes II acquired his name through adoption to Phoryskos or to his father.

TABLE 26.3. Leukonoion: Phoryskos (*APF* 2092, revised; *IG* ii² 2382, as ii³ 930, downdated)

was ephebe in (?) 330/29/8 (*IOrp* 353), and councillor *c.*280 (*IG* ii³ 930), followed by his son Timokrates II in the 250s (*IG* ii³ 1030. 29). Astophanes I, trierarch in 322, was probably connected with the family, since his son was also an Aristomenes. He in turn was the father of Aristophanes II, general in the 230s (*IEleus* 196), and of Phoryskides, secretary in 248/7 (Diomedon, *IG* ii³ 1010. 1, 1011).

We can also assemble a set of families of L. between whom there were probably ties of kinship, but it is difficult to reconstruct precise links. (1) Kallimachos son of Alkias I, councillor perhaps *c.*370, was commemorated by a stele found on Salamis, with his son Alkias II and with an Aristomache (*SEMA* 395). (2) The names of the two sons of Soteles I L., Alkimedon and Kallistratos (II), suggest a link with the family of Alkias I. Kallistratos served as ephebe in (?) 330/29/8 (*IOrp* 353), and his brother Alkimedon was councillor *c.*280; the latter's son Soteles II served as councillor about thirty years later.³⁹ (3) Chairephon son of Kallistratos (I), who served as ephebe with Kallistratos II, may have been affinally related to Soteles' family. The Theochares son of Chair— who served as councillor with Soteles II in the 250s will be either a cousin (MBS?) of or identical with Theochares son of Chairias L. (in *LGNP* online), who proposed an honorary decree at Rhamnous for Thoukritos of Myrrhinous in 253/2 (*IRb* 10). Chairias and Theochares, in turn, may have been related to Philippos son of Chairias L., commemorated by a lost monument of uncertain date bearing a relief of a vase, and possibly also to Chariades son of Chairokles L., councillor in 370/69, who perhaps appears also in a record of leases of sacred land of 343/2.⁴⁰

³⁹ Whether Kallikrates son of Pamphilos L., councillor in 371/0 (*IG* ii³ 4. 53), had any connection to this family is much more doubtful (see n. 43).

⁴⁰ Chariades, *IG* ii³ 4. 25. 36; lease *Agora* XIX L 6. 18–19, cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 318 no. 90, cf. 91. Philippos, *IG* ii² 6749. Note also the intra-deme marriage of Phanistrate daughter of Leosthenes L. with Lysis L., commemorated by *IG* ii² 6748 (mid 4th c.), recorded at Menidi, so perhaps originally from the deme area. (Byrne 2010 reads Eratoxenos for Kratoxenos in *IG* ii³ 930).

A cluster of interconnections within the tribe Leontis can be reconstructed in a family of L. descended matrilineally from the general Alkibiades III of Skambonidai. His granddaughter (SD) Hipparete II, daughter of Alkibiades IV, seems to have married Phanokles of Kettos, and their daughter Kritolea married Andromachos of Leukonoion. The tomb monuments of their descendants, one of whom bore the name Alkibiades, were all found in the Kerameikos. Leontis daughter of Eucharides L., who may belong to this family, bore an appropriate name, since nearly all her ancestors came from the tribe.⁴¹

City residence is clear in the case of Lysikles son of Lysiades L., who held on deposit the deed of sale of Athenagoras' perfume-shop, which caused such trouble to Hypereides' client Epikrates. Lysikles, and a Lysiades who may be either his father or a brother, both served as trierarchs in the 320s, and Lysikles served as choregos at the Dionysia of 331/0.⁴² Hypereides' client may also have belonged to Leukonoion; an Epikrates son of Pamphilos L. dedicated a statue to Asklepios at Eleusis in the late fourth century. Epikrates' brother Kallikrates son of Pamphilos was councillor in 371/0; a son, Krates, appears as a contractor for stonework at Eleusis in 354/3, guaranteed either by his father Epikrates or by a son of that name, who made a dedication to Apollo at the beginning of the third century, perhaps in the deme.⁴³

Kettos

As noted above, arguments for locating this deme at Daphne are not strong, but a site somewhere near the east side of Mt Aigaleos is probable enough. There is no convincing evidence of deme activity.⁴⁴

As we have seen, Phanokles of Kettos seems to have married a daughter of Alkibiades IV of Skambonidai. Lysippos II son of Lysippos I K., who must have

⁴¹ Knigge 1988, 107–10 no. 17; Bergemann 1997, A 19: *IG* ii² 6719, 6722–3, 6746 + 5434. Leontis, 6738 with 6732, 6747 (her brother Phanomachos).

⁴² *APF* 9437, Hyp. 3 *Ath.* 9. Choregos, *SEG* 25. 177. 23–4.

⁴³ Epikrates, *IEleus* 681 (last quarter of 4th c., *Hesp.* 72, 2003, 460); Krates, *IEleus* 141. 21–22, *IEleus* 145. 9 (Table 6.1). Kallikrates, *IG* ii³ 4. 53. 28; [Epi]krates, ii² 4674. Cf. above, n. 32 on Didymias Kr[atetos?]. The date in *LGPN* Krates 17 should be corrected.

⁴⁴ Vanderpool 1965*b*, on the strength of evidence that Anthemion of Kettos owned land on the line of the 'Acharnian' aqueduct (*SEG* 19. 182), suggested placing Kettos east of Menidi, on the site assigned by Traill (1986) to Hybadai or Aithalidai. *IG* ii³ 4. 328, dedication of phylarch [Dio?]δοτος [Ke]ττ[ιος] found at Daphne (ch. 21 n. 76). *APF* p. 36 discussed (and rejected) the suggestion that *IG* ii² 1173, a deme (?) decree proposed by a Leonteus, should be assigned to Kettos; the name Leonteus is now attested in Kydantidai (*SEG* 39. 148), and since the name Antikleides is also known from that deme there is a strong case for restoring K[ydant.] as the deme of Leonteus son of Antikleides, guarantor of a lease in *Agora* XIX L 6. 16 (see Lambert 1997*a*, 150 no. 3). The argument for taking ii² 1173 as a deme decree is that as currently restored the text has no room for a demotic after the honorand's name, but an association with ii² 1267, a decree of the Daitaleis also proposed by a Leonte[us], does not seem impossible (the date *ante med s.* IV of ii² 1173, presumably based on some examples of *o* for *ou*, is too early both for the award of a gold crown and for this type of text in which honorary decrees and crowns are combined; the *IG* restorations also do not explain why the text was headed by two crowns, which should imply that there were only two honorands).

been another prominent member of the deme, served as trierarch in the 360s and 350s; Lysippos IV son of Lysippos III, who served as phylarch in 282/1 and as councillor *c.*280, may be the trierarch's grandson (SS), providing an unusual example of the repetition of the same name over four generations.⁴⁵

It is worth noting that the brothers Amphiteles and Philokrates, sons of Amphitelides I K., may have served in successive or close years in the Council *c.*370 (?), perhaps at the earliest possible age, since Philokrates' son Amphitelides II served as ephebe in (?) 330/29/8.⁴⁶

Eupyridai

As noted above, this deme belonged to a trikomia with Pelekes and Kropidai; the latter (see section below) was in the area of the Aigaleos/Parnes gap. Eupyridai has been tentatively assigned to a deme site near Kamatero on Mt Aigaleos.⁴⁷ *IG* ii² 1362, found at Kamatero, is a proclamation by the priest of Apollo Erithasios, on his own authority and that of the local deme (unnamed) and of the Athenian demos, prohibiting the cutting and/or removal of wood, *kouros* (branches?), twigs, or leaves from the sanctuary, which was evidently in a wooded area. It was issued with the support of a decree of the Council and Assembly (and presumably of the deme), and the names of offenders or, in the case of slaves, their owners, were to be reported to the archon basileus.⁴⁸

There is little prosopographical information for this deme, but Euktimenos III, who served in the cavalry in the third century, came from a family that evidently took pride in its landed estate: Euktimenos II son of Euktimenos I served

⁴⁵ Lysippos II, *APF* 9560; *IG* ii² 2382 is as ii³ 930 redated to *c.*280, so Lysippos IV (line 7) will be the phylarch of *SEG* 21. 525. 30 and 46. 167. Other names using the root Lysi- in Kettos possibly belong to kin: Euboulos Lysiou councillor 371/0, *IG* ii³ 4. 53, perhaps grandfather (FF) of Stratokles Lysiou, councillor *c.*280, ii³ 930. 6; Lysistratos Euxenou, ephebe in 330/29/8, *IOrop* 353 I 36, left side 11 (apparently a leading figure in his deme's cohort; probably father of Euxenos Lysistratou K., *IG* ii² 6388); Myronides Lysitimou, ii² 6392 = *SEG* 29. 226, early 4th c., from Sepolia; Lysagoras son of Melas, ii² 6390 (from the Akropolis, *AEE* 632), and his brother Melanopos, ii² 6391, from Piraeus. The last two may be related to Melankomas son of Hierokles K., councillor in 371/0, *IG* ii³ 4. 53. 32, and Melanopidas K., councillor in (?) 336/5, *Agora* XV 42. 225 (cf. also *IG* ii³ 1030. 25).

⁴⁶ On brothers serving together in the Council see ch. 17 n. 18. The date *c.*370 for *IG* ii³ 4. 25 (l. 4 Amphiteles) is uncertain, see *SEG* 29. 148. Philokrates, ii³ 4. 53. 31 (371/0); Amphitelides II, *IOrop* 353 I 37. The Hagnotheos (II) K. who appears on *IEleus* 77. 7, may be the son of Hagnodemos son of Hagnotheos I, commemorated on *SEMA* 301 = *CAT* 2. 382e (mid-century).

⁴⁷ *AGC* 21 X6/Y5 nos. 10–11; R. G. Osborne 1985a, 194; Traill 1986. *IG* ii² 6146, cited by Traill, is of Roman date and came from Acharnai (Agiol Saranta, Menidi; see ch. 28 n. 29); the only clearly 4th c. grave monument of E., ii² 6151, was found in the city. On the trikomia see Lambert 2000b.

⁴⁸ The text is dated to the end of the 4th c.; on its evidence for the relations between sanctuaries, demes, and the state see ch. 22 n. 97.

as ephebe in (?) 330/29/8, and Polyktemon son of Euktimenos, secretary in the 240s, may be the ephebe's son and the cavalryman's father.⁴⁹

Theodoros son of Theodotos is now recorded as ephebe at Panakton (1992-400); his father was councillor in (?) 336/5, *Agora* XV 42. 253.

Kropidai

This deme should have been located in the Aigaleos–Parnes gap, since the Spartans came through 'Kropia' when they invaded Attika in 431 (Thucydides 2. 19). It has one recorded liturgist, with the aristocratic name Hippocharmos.⁵⁰ The stele of Polyphilos Phanou Kropidou, found 'on the road to Daphni', probably commemorated a boy who died before he had become a member of the deme.⁵¹ Endemos son of Arrheneides, who served as councillor c.370 (?), may have been related affinally to the family of Rhinon of Paiania, the only other deme in which the name Arrheneides occurs; Endemos' own name, also rare, may imply that he or an ancestor was born in the deme or belonged to a family proud of residing there.⁵²

Pelekes

The deme should have been near Eupyridai and Kropidai, and there is a good case for assigning to it the family of brothers whose land lay next to that of Apollodoros son of Pasion of Acharnai; one of these brothers bore the rare name Arethousios, and an Arethousios son of Aristolaos P. was one of four men who leased the deme theatre of Peiraios in 324/3. Arethousios, therefore, may have lived in Piraeus, while his brother Nikostratos looked after land in or near their deme. A third brother, Deinon, is known only by name.⁵³

⁴⁹ Euktimenos II, *IOrop* 353. 81. Polyktemon son of Euktimenos, secretary in (?) 245/4 (arch. Kydenor), *IG* ii³ 1016; *IG* ii³ 1017; ii³ 1020 (Tracy 2003, 102–3, arch. Lysiades). Polyktemon son of Euktemon, whose demotic is lost in *SEG* 21. 636. 3 (a 4th c. list of uncertain character) may possibly be an ancestor, but this is the kind of combination that may occur in any family; Euktimenos III, Bugh 1988 II B 88. For another possible ephebe, in Reinmuth 1971 no. 9 (Alipherê 2015), see Appendix 1.

⁵⁰ *IG* ii² 1930. 13, 383/2 (he was avoiding payment); *APF* 7671.

⁵¹ *IG* ii² 6557 (*AEE*² 192, 'para tōi Koliniatēi'), second half of the 4th c. Other stones commemorating boys give them the demotic in the nominative (e.g. ii² 5783). The Phanēs of *IG* i³ 1151. 2 may be an ancestor if this part of the list belongs to Leontis; cf. 4 Ktesippos (Aithalidai?), 11 Aischylion (Oion? but Oion Dekeleikon also possible), 12 Euthydikos (Cholleidai?), 14 Endemos.

⁵² Endemos, *IG* ii³ 4. 25. 91–2; a possible grandfather, *IG* i³ 1151. 14, c.450. Arrheneides of Paiania, ch. 25 n. 29.

⁵³ [Dem.] 53, c.366. Apollodoros owned land in three demes ([Dem.] 50. 8), all of it acquired after his father became a citizen, so it is not certain that the land next to that of Nikostratos and his brothers, which seems to have been Apollodoros' principal rural residence (53. 4), was in Acharnai. Arethousios P., *Agora* XIX L 13/ XVI 93; *SEG* 57. 130; if the lessee is Apollodoros' opponent he will have been around 70 by

Philotheros P., whose son Phileas served as councillor (?) c.370 (*IG* ii³ 4. 25. 75–6) has a name worth noting in view of the possible location of the deme on the lower slopes of Mt Parnes; Philotheros son of Philis—, councillor for a deme in Leontis c.280 (ii³ 930. 3), may be a descendant.

Cholleidai

As noted above, this deme should possibly be somewhere near Acharnai and the Aigaleos–Parnes gap, since in Aristophanes’ *Acharnians* the choleric Dikaiopolis trades with Megarians and Boiotians, and his deme, like Acharnai, produces charcoal (also vinegar and oil: *Acharnians* 35–6).

None of the prosopographical evidence about demesmen connects them with the deme. Philippos of Ch. owned land to the west of Plato’s property in Iphistiadai (Diogenes Laertios 3. 41). Kallidamas son of Kallimedon lived in Peiraios, and was honoured by that deme c.280 (*IG* ii² 1214); his father perhaps served as tamias in (?) 325/4 (*AO* pp. 415–16). Ariston and Aristoteles Ch. are attested as carpenters working at Eleusis in (?) 333/2.⁵⁴

The sister of Alkisthenes son of Alkibiades Ch. married Pandaites II of Prospalta, and was commemorated with his family in an imposing monument on the Akropolis. Their father Alkibiades should have been born before 430, so if there is any intra-tribal connection with the family of Alkibiades of Skambonidai it would have derived from Alkibiades II.⁵⁵ A sister of Aristaichmos Ch. married Nausikrates son of Nausimachos of Paiania, who seems to have lived in the city; this marriage involved Aristaichmos and his four sons in a dispute over the guardianship of Nausikrates’ twin sons.⁵⁶ Mikon Ch., who became involved in a series of disputes with his fellow-tribesman Theokrines of Hybadai, was a merchant and probably lived in Piraeus. His son Meixigenes served as priest of

324/3. The Aristoleos who appears in a list of prominent residents of Peiraios who (?) dedicated a statue and repaired the shrine in which it stood (*IG* ii² 2329. 11, c.350?) may be the lessee’s father. For Arethousios note also [Dem.] 53. 20, where he acquires a slave from Archepolis of Peiraios in payment of a debt; however, his slaves worked as agricultural labourers (§ 21). He was richer than his brothers (§ 28; ch. 14 p. 461).

⁵⁴ *IEleus* 159. 34–6; Aristokritos Ch. hauls stone, *ibid.* 89. Dikaiopolis’ demotic may come only from *cholê* (surely not, as suggested by Olson 2002, 180, from *chôlos*).

⁵⁵ *IG* ii² 3829; see *APF* 643 and n. 118 below; ch. 12 n. 103. Alkisthenes served as councillor c.(?) 370, *IG* ii³ 4. 25. 40–1, so was perhaps born by 400. He had a brother called Alkidamas (*SEG* 19. 174. 9), so the name Alkibiades may have derived from an independent family tradition of using names based on the root Alki-. Cf. perhaps *SEMA* 395, Kallimachos son of Alkias L. (and daughter), Salamis.

⁵⁶ *APF* 11263, [Dem.] 38; cf. ch. 3 n. 8. *AG* II no. 44 suggests an association with a naiskos fragment from the Agora (*SEMA* 3411) where Peek reads [Aris]taichme [Niko]kleous [Cholleidou]. This might link Aristaichmos (affinally?) with the family of Nikokles I Ch., his son Nikoxenos I (secretary in some year before 353/2, *IG* ii² 159), the latter’s sons (?) Nikokles II and Nikarchos (councillor c.370?, ii³ 4. 25. 43), and Nikokles II’s son Nikoxenos II, ephēbe and lochagos in 333/2/1, Reinmuth 1971 no. 9 (Alipherê 2015) I 26, II 20 (*IG* ii² 7804, commemorating a Nikokles son of Demetrios Ch., may be considerably later). On Empedion Ch. and his athlete sons see ch. 12 n. 90.

Dionysos c.330 and probably as tamias of the *Paralos*. Epichares I son of Mikon Ch. and Epichares II son of Epichares I. who served as (?) councillors, perhaps between 322 and 307, may be Mikon's son and grandson.⁵⁷

Paionidai

This deme was certainly located on the lower slopes of Mt Parnes (Hdt. 5. 62, A.P. 19. 3). It was the deme of the Konon who as a result of a fight in the Agora became involved in a court case for which Demosthenes wrote a speech (54). Konon and his son Ktesias were commemorated by a stone found at Kephisia, although it seems likely that they had a town house.⁵⁸ Hippiskos son of Aischylos I P., who served as trierarch and dedicated to Athena a crown awarded to him by (?) the demos, probably appears as a landowner at Thorikos in the mining records. His son Aischylos II, attested as a naval synteles and as a choregos, rented temple property from the Eleusinian goddesses; Aischylos II's sister made a dedication to Artemis Brauronia in 334/3. It is unlikely that they lived in the deme.⁵⁹

Two curse tablets found in the Kerameikos probably refer to members of the deme: *Kerameikos III* no. 3 has the demotic in full five times: Timotheos Paionides, Mnesippos, Mnesias Paionides, Mnesias' sister Plangon, her brother Kallippos (no demotic), an illegible name, and Peithandros Paion(ides). No. 6 has only *Pai*, which could refer either to Paionidai or to Paiania, but some names occur on both tablets. The excavator (Kübler) insisted that the tablets were contemporary with the graves, dated to the mid-fifth century; but it is hard to see how a curser could drop tablets during a funeral (indeed, two funerals, since the tablets, though apparently relating to the same affair, were found in different graves); links with a Lycourgan list of epheboi found at Panakton (1992-400) support both the attribution of all the names to Paionidai and a date in the middle of the fourth century.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ [Dem.] 58, *APF* 1904. Meixigenes, *IG* ii³ 416. 16–17 (Lambert 2003*b*); ii³ 1254. 2, 6–7; Epichares I and II, *Agora XV* 56 = *SEG* 34. 127. 36, 38–9. If this is a list of councillors (from a period of restricted citizenship) there is no pressing reason to regard Epichares I and II as cousins. *APF* gives good reasons for thinking that the speaker of [Dem.] 58, also called Epichares according to the speech's *hypothesis*, was not a kinsman of Mikon, despite the coincidence of names (the name is rather common).

⁵⁸ *IG* ii² 7103; Konon I and Ktesias, or perhaps Ktesias and a son Konon II.

⁵⁹ *APF* 450. Hippiskos' dedication, *IG* ii² 4330. Land, *Agora XIX* P 18. 34, P 26. 241–2, P 27. 44 (Papazarkadas 2011, 301 n. 2); sister, *IG* ii² 1524. 214–15. None of these records gives a demotic, but no other Hippiskos is attested and the indications of date and status are consistent.

⁶⁰ I am grateful to Mark Munn for information on the ephebic texts. [Heg]eſtratou may be a possible reading on *Kerameikos III* 3; the restoration [Pha]n[ō]ſtratou was based on *Agora XV* 61. 294, Phanostrato[s . . .]inou. Euteles, father of the third ephebe Euthykritos (II 9), is named on a dedication of 339/8 by small contingents from (probably) all 10 tribes, *IG* ii³ 4. 77 (epilektoi? cf. Humphreys 2010*a*, 80). Matches for *Ker. III* 6, where the demotic is only *Pai*, are rather better for Paiania than for Paionidai, but this may reflect only the difference in deme size: it seems unlikely that the curser had grudges against members of the two demes that begin with those letters. Cf. ch. 14 n. 83. On Antigene see Lambert

Specifically: Hegemachos [Pha]n[o]stratou (no. 3. 3; Hegemachos Pai, no. 6. 3) should be the father of the ephebe Hegestratos Hegemachou (Panakton 1992-400 II 7); Polymnestos Pai (no. 6. 1) may be the father of the ephebe Blepyr[os] Polymnestou, Panakton 1992-400 II 8. Blepyros son of Peithandros P., who served as secretary to the council and demos in (?) 343/2 (*IG* ii³ 4. 75. 16-17, cf. 37) and proposed *IG* ii² 189 before 353/2, could be the father of Polymnestos and grandfather (FF) of the ephebe. Antigenes, no. 6. 2, may be the father or son of Phileas son of Antigenes P., councillor in (?) 336/5 (*Agora* XV 42. 244), possibly proposer of ii³ 436, and hieropoios perhaps in the early 330s (*IG* ii³ 416).

Hybadai

There is no solid evidence on location.⁶¹ The best-known demesman is Theokrines, who became engaged in a series of lawsuits involving Mikon of Cholleidai. Either Theokrines or a homonymous grandfather had been condemned before c.341 for embezzling or mismanaging tribal property while serving as epimeletes or tamias. Theokrines was councillor in 328/7. He probably lived in Piraeus or in the city.⁶²

Diognetos and Hypsimos II, sons of Hypsimos I H., dedicated on the Acropolis crowns awarded by their tribe and other bodies. There were 3 crowns, *IG* ii³ 4. 231, ch. 12 n. 85; a dedication to Herakles seen by Ross at Kato Vraona, reading [Hy]psi[m]os Hy[—]|Diog[n]etos —|Hêrakl[ei] may have been made by the same pair if we restore Hy[bades] rather than Hy[psimou] in ll. 1-2. In that case the Hypsimos son of Diognetos H. who was councillor c.333 (*SEG* 28. 52. 51) and tamias of the *Paralos* shortly before 334/3 (ii² 1623. 225) will be H. II and not a hypothetical H. III (*LGP*N's entries anyway are confused, and *APF* 13915 is out-of-date).

Daisiades H. went to Samos as a kleruch, but was buried in Athens.⁶³

2008*b* no. 9 (*IG* ii³ 436), 2001, 2004*b* no. 10 (ii³ 416, *SEG* 53. 92/54. 153). Cf. possibly Antigenes Ant [-c. 6-] Pai, *IG* ii² 1570 + *SEG* 18. 44. Panakton has produced 2 Leontis lists of the Lykourgan period (see below at n. 112); possible dates are 334/3/2, 332/1/0, or 328/7/6 onward. There was also a post-Lykourgan dedication by Hippothontis (Humphreys 2009, 89).

⁶¹ *AGC* 21 X7/Y6 no. 9 is a deme-site on the left (E) bank of the Kephisos between the streams Adamis and Chelidonou, extending on both sides of the latter; no. 10, S of the Tatoi aerodrome, a fairly large deme site, Vanderpool 1965*b*, 174-5, just NE of the three red asterisks marking *Wasserleitung* on *KvA* sheet V; no. 11, a small village site north of the aerodrome, where inscriptions relating to the aqueduct (Vanderpool, *ibid.*) were found. It is not clear how many small demes these sites represent.

⁶² [Dem.] 58. 14-16; Theokrines alleged that the debtor was his grandfather, and his opponent seems to concede this point. *Pace* *AO* 356, it seems to me more likely that he was a tribal epimeletes than that he was tamias of the tribe's councillors.

⁶³ *IG* ii³ 4. 23; the dedication of the tribal crowns was not made in a tribal sanctuary, unless it found its way to the Akropolis from elsewhere; *APF* 13915, with *SEG* 28. 52. 51. On *APF* 13946, note that the

Aithalidai

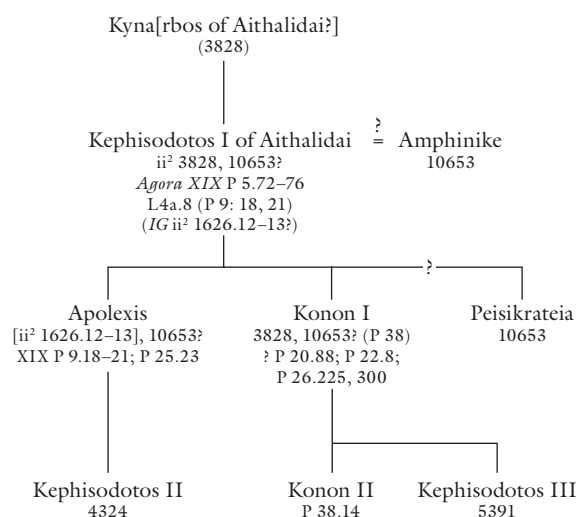
Like Hybadai, this deme cannot be securely located, although it may have occupied one of the small deme-sites south of Dekeleia.⁶⁴ One of its families rose to a leading position in Athens in the early third century. Its first attested member, Eteokles son of Chremonides I, served as agonothetes of the Dionysia at the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century, and was responsible in the late fourth century for entertaining Plouton. One of his daughters, Pheidistrate, served as priestess of Aglauros, and his sons Chremonides II and Glaukon played a leading role in Athens' preparations for the 'Chremonidean' War, Glaukon travelling round Greece to negotiate alliances while his elder brother (who may have stayed longer in Egypt) remained in the city.⁶⁵

A family in A. with mining interests is known from several records (see Table 26.4). Kephisodotos I appears in 367/6 as lessee for 20 dr. of a mine at Besa bordered by his own ergasterion and by land owned by Kallias of Lamptraï (*APF* 4810, ch. 23 n. 82), and in 363/2 as one of the arbitrators in the dispute of the Salaminioi. His son [Apolexi]s registered and leased (for 20 dr.) a mine in (?) the 350s and appears again, probably also as registrant, c.345–340. The Konon A—who appears in the early 340s, possibly as a landowner, and probably again, as landowner, in the 340s, and as the owner c.340 of an ergasterion near the 'lophos Bambideos', if he did not belong to Anaphlystos (ch. 32 at n. 75) may be Apolexis' brother; Konon's homonymous son registered a mine at

suggested connection of Phaidrippides H. with Phaidrippos, priest of Asklepios in the second quarter of the 4th c., is doubted by Aleshire (1989, 213). *APF* 14997, add the choregia for boys at the Thargelia of 352/1 of Phrynaïos son of Phrynichos I H. (*IG* ii³ 4. 489, Koumanoudes 1970*b* no. 7). His son Phrynichos II served as ephebe in (?) 330/29/8, *IOrp* 353 col. I 22. Daisiades: *IG* xii 6. 262 IV 22, *IG* ii² 7585; ii² 11014 = 11033 may be his daughter.

⁶⁴ The grave-stele *IG* ii² 5396 and dikast-ticket Kroll 1972 no. 68d of Paramonos Phanodemou A. (mid 4th c.) were found at Kypseli, but this carries little weight.

⁶⁵ The family fell just outside *APF*'s chronological net; it remains surprising that we hear nothing of them earlier in the 4th c. Eteokles: *IG* ii² 3845, 3458 (on the latter text see Humphreys 2007); ii² 1933. 11. The latter text records men who 'strewed the couch and ornamented the table' for Plouton in successive (?) years; Epikrates son of Peisianax of Sounion, who served six (or more) years before Eteokles (l. 5), was ephebic lochagos in 333/2/1 (Reinmuth 1971 no. 9/Alipherè 2015 col. I 24, II 17–18; *AO* 384; in *LGN* Epikrates 126, reference to the year 365 seems to be an error). Pheidistrate, *IG* ii² 3459. Chremonides was young enough for Zeno to fall in love with him in or after 306, when the philosopher arrived in Athens, if we can believe D. L. 7. 17. Ferguson's argument (1911, 197 with n. 2) that Chremonides' service as commander of a Ptolemaic fleet must be dated to 242/1 and not before or during the Chremonidean War, because Teles (*peri phugês* p. 23 Hense 1909), writing in the 230s, refers to his command as 'in our time', may be invalid; 'old' (*palaia*) events for Teles are those of the period before Alexander. On the other hand, Teles seems to refer to a period when both Chremonides and Glaukon were in Egypt. Lykinos' phrourarchy in Megara, mentioned with Chremonides' command, is dated to the 260s in Hammond and Walbank 1988, 270. On Glaukon see Humphreys 2007, 70–2; Goette 2007, 125; G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, 243 n. 72; Paschidis 2008, A 55–6 and 510–13; M. J. Osborne 2015, 2016. Lambert 1999*a* 115, XX suggests that they belonged to the Salaminioi.

TABLE 26.4. Aithalidai:
Kephisodotos

Amphitrope *c.* 320.⁶⁶ The family is also known from two dedications, one expensive, and two funerary monuments; given their obvious wealth it is likely that the trierarch of *c.* 330, *APF* 8316, was [Apolexis Ke]phisodoto[u Aithalides]. Apolexis' son Kephisodotos II made a dedication to Athena on the Akropolis base *IG* ii² 4324; it may once have stood near the large, curved monument bearing bronze (?) statues by the sculptor Demetrios of his grandfather Kephisodotos I son of Kyna[rbos] and his uncle (FB) Konon I son of Kephisodotos. Demetrios' work seems to belong to the first half of the fourth century, so this monument may have been set up in the 350s, perhaps by Apolexis. Kephisodotos I (seated) and Konon I (standing, bearded) probably also appear on *IG* ii² 10653 (*CAT* 4. 258, giving the provenance as Odos Acharnon) with two women, perhaps Kephisodotos' wife and daughter. The Kephisodotos son of Konon represented as a beardless cavalryman on the lekythos *IG* ii² 5391 will be K. III son of Konon I.⁶⁷

Pythodelos A. is attested as making a dedication to Asklepios before the middle of the fourth century, *IG* ii² 4361, but cannot be identified with the dedicant of ii² 4360 which belongs to Keos (*IG* xii 5. 575, see *SEG* 42. 181; *CEG* I 346 = *SEG* 24. 387 comes from Delphi, and we do not know the city of the Pythodoros son of Pythodelos named there).

⁶⁶ Kephisodotos I (N[ame], D[emotic], *Agora* XIX P 5. 72-6, L 4a. 8; Apolexis (N, P[atronymic], D) P 9. 18-21, P 25. 23 ([N], P, D); Konon A— P 20. 88, P 22. 8, P 26. 225, 300 (all N only); Konon III (N, P) P 38. 14. The name Konon is not uncommon, but the other bearers are not connected with mining.

⁶⁷ *IG* ii² 5391 = *CAT* 3. 430a (with an erroneous provenance) is dated early 4th c. by Kirchner (followed by *LGN*), but 3rd quarter by Proukakis-Christodouloupoulos 1970 and Stupperich 1977 (I, 178; II, 162 no. 145; the similar relief *SEMA* 438 is dated mid 4th c., *ibid.* II, 166 no. 239, see ch. 29 n. 16). Since the name Kynarbos is rare (otherwise only perhaps *IG* ii² 2345. 83 with *SEG* 47. 187, in Agryle), there is a good chance that our family (and that of Agryle?) descended from a daughter of the Kynarbos who dedicated *IG* i³ 745 on the Akropolis *c.* 500-480 (cf. ch. 12 n. 93). Zinserling 1968 argues that the career of the 5th c. sculptor Demetrios should not be extended to include *IG* ii² 3828, but see now Keesling 2010a, 196; 2012. Hurwit 1999, 251, erroneously calls Kephisodotos a general.

Oion Kerameikon

*IG ii*³ 4. 53 places this deme in the inland trittys of Leontis (Diakris), and it seems possible that a community called Oion which contained more than one settlement centre was split in 507 (or on some subsequent occasion) between the inland trittyes of two tribes, Oion Dekeleikon being assigned to Hippothontis and Oion K. to Leontis. There is still a site in the area called Keramidi, near Baffi, where Byzantine remains may cover an earlier deme settlement.⁶⁸

As in other homonymous demes, we are frequently unable to determine the tribal affiliation of men from one or the other Oion.⁶⁹ However, the well-known family whose disputes over the estate of Hagnias gave rise to Isaios 11 and [Demosthenes] 43 belonged to Oion Kerameikon, as did Hagnias' matrilinear half-brothers Glaukon and Glaukos, sons of Glauketes I. O. There is no evidence that anyone in this group was resident in the deme. Hagnias II's estate contained a large olive-grove at Araphen; Stratokles owned a house in Melite and another in Eleusis, and land at Thria; Stratokles' brother Theopompos had land at Oinoe (we do not know which) worth 5000 dr., and a town house. They had a (minor) record of public service: Hagnias II had apparently died while serving as ambassador, perhaps to Macedon; his cousin (FBS) Euktemon had served as archon basileus; Phanostratos II son of Stratios II was councillor in 371/0, and his cousin (FZS) Glaukos son of Glauketes I (Hagnias' half-brother) served not long afterwards. Glaukos' son Glauketes II was one of the hieropoioi appointed for the Pythais of (?) 326/5, and was given the title of proxenos by the Delphians. Hagnias III, son of Makartatos, served as ephebe and lochagos in (?) 330/29/8; he (or a descendant, Hagnias IV) was phylarch at some date between c.288 and 262.⁷⁰

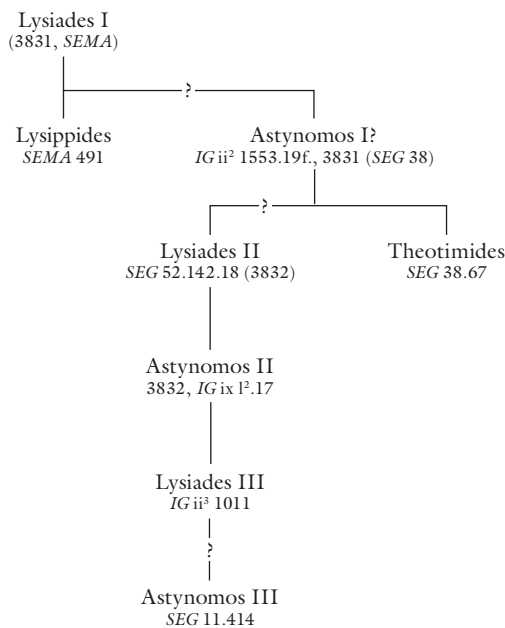
⁶⁸ If the situation is ascribed to post-Kleisthenic adjustment the mechanism might have been that a hamlet whose inhabitants had initially registered in Dekeleia later claimed separate deme status. Baffi-Keramídi, *AGC* 21 X7/Y6 nn. 1–2, is closer to Dekeleia than Bugiati (nn. 4–5), which is usually ascribed to Oion Dekeleikon; the name Keramídi might perhaps be explained as modern and derived from the remains of ancient tiles on the site (cf. possibly Kokla, 'bones?', between Liopesi and Spata, ch. 24 n. 67). Even if Oion K. is located in this area it does not seem possible to construct a trittys that stretches continuously from Oion to Hekale.

⁶⁹ *IG ii*² 6990 and 7009, apparently the same stone, from Bugiati, may belong to either Oion; the same is true for Alexias O., *APF* 529, who married a woman of Oion, ii² 7000, and his son Alexandros, *SEMA* 485 (from Bugiati), but since the case mentioned in Hyp. 4 *Eux.* 12 may have concerned the rights of Hippothontis, they perhaps belonged to Oion Dekeleikon (ch. 30 n. 52). On the name Opsiadēs in Oion and in Potamos see n. 114 below. *IG ii*² 7005 (? = *SEG* 22. 173 + *AD* 25 A, 1970, 82 no. 6), from NW Hymettos, wife (?) and daughter of Xenophilos O.; the name Philoxenos occurs in O. Kerameikon later, *LGP*N no. 40.

⁷⁰ See ch. 7 Case 9; *APF* 2921; Humphreys 1983*a*, 1986*a*, 2009 (*IOrop* 353). Hagnias (?) IV, *IG ii*³ 949. 27; Bugh 1988, I B 16. The council service of Phanostratos (*IG ii*³ 4. 53. 60, 371/0) and Glaukos (*IG ii*³ 4. 25. 85) may have been connected with the efforts of Hagnias' and Glaukos' mother (Phanostratos' aunt, FZ) to secure Hagnias' estate for Glaukos' brother Glaukon (ch. 7; 17 n. 15).

TABLE 26.5. Oion Kerameikon:

Lysiades



The Oion family that used the names Astynomos and Lysiades, which perhaps started with Lysippides son of Lysiades of *SEMA* 491, *c.*375, and may have produced the archon Lysiades of 244/3, is now attached to Oion K. by the record of Theotimides son of Astynomos (I) as ephebe at Panakton (1988-1 = *SEG* 38. 67; see Table 26.5). His father was probably the Astynomos I son of Lysiades I who dedicated *IG* ii² 3831, found in the theatre of Dionysos, and freed a woman slave living in Piraeus in (?) the 320s.⁷¹ The Lysiades O. who acted as guarantor for Xenokles of Sphettos perhaps about the same date⁷² may have been the ephebe's elder brother Lysiades II. The latter's son Astynomos II dedicated *IG* ii² 3832, probably set up near his grandfather's stone (ch. 12 n. 91), and was made proxenos of Thermoi in Aitolia *c.*262 (*IG* ix 1² 17. 64, *SEG*

Glaukippos O., whose son Glauketes (III) was buried in Piraeus shortly before 317 (*IG* ii² 6987/8) and probably served as diaitetes in 330/29 (ii³ 4. 33. 52-3), may have been an older brother of Glaukos. *CAT* 2. 861 = *SEMA* 2134 (lekythos, no provenance) may commemorate Makartatos son of Theopompos (Prospalta) with his wife. Marchiandi 2011*a* misreports me as saying that there was a mantis in this family (only a basileus).

⁷¹ Astynomos I may have been a brother of Lysippides son of Lysiades of Oion, recorded on *SEMA* 491, *c.*375, but in this case we do not know the tribe. On the family see Habicht 1982*b*.

⁷² *IG* ii² 1593. 18 with *SEG* 52. 142 (Lambert 2002*a* with 2001 n. 29), attributed by Tracy 1995, 104, 107, to the cutter of *IG* ii² 354 = ii³ 359, whose dated work ranges from 337 to 324. One might think that the manumission (*IG* ii² 1553. 19-20) took place shortly before the death of Astynomos and the guarantee was given soon after it, but this is not a necessary assumption.

32. 559). His son Lysiades III, the archon of (?) 244/3, contributed to the epidosis of 248/7 (*IG* ii³ 1011), and Astynomos III was made thearodokos and proxenos at Epidauros c.225 (*SEG* 11. 414. 35–6). Several members of the family are recorded in the third-century cavalry.

Another ephebe of Oion K. in this list, Pasion son of Pasion, was presumably an ancestor of Theokrisios son of Pasion, councillor in 228/7 (*IG* ii³ 1139).

Antiphanes son of Phaidrias A., listed on the other ephebic dedication from Panakton (1992-400), had a brother Exopios who served in (?) 330/29/8 (*IOrop* 353).

Hekale

We can deduce from the story of Theseus' visit to Hekale, known from fragments of Kallimachos' poem, that Hekale lay on a possible route from Athens to Marathon via Mt Pentelikon (Brilessos), at a point from which the traveller descended into the Marathon plain. Trinemeia, Kolonai, Aphidnai, Melainai, and Dekeleia figured in the story.⁷³ The most likely location seems to be the upland plain at Koukounar(t)i, where a considerable amount of classical material has been recorded, although some of it may have been moved there for use in the medieval monastery buildings.⁷⁴

On the question whether Koukounar(t)i was a deme site or only a sanctuary it is worth quoting the report of Waldstein (1895, 29), since it has been little consulted: 'The whole plain is so full of tile fragments as to make it certain that this valley, the only one of any extent between the upper nooks of the plain of Athens and the plain of Marathon, a high valley of rich loam seldom seen in Attica, must have been the seat of a deme of some magnitude and importance.' In addition to the Tetrapolis calendar *SEG* 50. 168 and votive material he found tombstones and eight 'cisterns' perhaps used for wine. *KvA Text* III–VI, 57–8, and Milchhöfer 1887, 313, nos. 376–7, also note the fertility of the plain; Milchhöfer saw a dedication to Aphrodite. Smith and Lowry (n. 74) found material perhaps suggesting another small deme (or

⁷³ *FGH* 328 F 109; Pfeiffer 1949; Barigazzi 1963; Hollis 1990 on Kallimachos' *Hekale*. F 88 (Hollis) Trinemeia; F 169, 238, Theseus' route; F 253 Aphidnai, 266a Melainai, 272 Dekeleia, 300 Kolonai. Note Skempis 2008, 13, on the links between Hekale and Marathon, implying that the deme lay towards the E side of Pentelikon.

⁷⁴ See also *AGC* 21 X8/Y6 no. 35; Buck 1889, 162–3; R. B. Richardson 1895; Lock 1986, 493; ch. 31 n. 44. Report by Smith and Lowry (1954) in the ASCS in Athens, which Ron Stroud kindly copied for me; sherds preserved there, A 28 box 76. Modern Ekale seems to have been named on the basis of Milchhöfer's location of the deme; there was no corresponding village at the date of *KvA*. D. M. Lewis's argument for a site 'at or near' modern E. (1963, 32; followed by Ismard 2010, 215: 'sans doute') is imprecise and has to be seen in the context of his rejection of Koukounari.

hamlet?) site apparently on a hill marked Makri Buri on *KpA* XIX, with a possible smaller site nearby.⁷⁵

Lambert (2000*a*) argues that Koukounar(t)i was a sanctuary of the Tetrapolis and not a separate deme; he noted that Richardson and Jameson saw stele bases there, but there is no proof that the calendar stele stood on one of them. Its present height is over 65 cm, so the whole stone must have been over 2m high even if Marathon had the lion's share of column II; such a slab was well worth transporting for re-use, perhaps carried up on the (ancient?) road between Koukounar(t)i and the Marathon plain described by Ober 1982. If the source was one of the Tetrapolis demes it was presumably Probalinthos (Vrana: ch. 25 n. 14).

Hekale was the site of a festival of Zeus, the Hekalesia, attended by members of neighbouring communities (we are not told which).⁷⁶

Onomakles H., attested as syntrierarch before 356, became the heir of the politician Leptines of Koile (*APF* 9046), which suggests city residence. Philokles son of Prokles I H. was honoured at Rhamnous in 255/4 (or 301/0; see *SEG* 56. 202) for services to the general and garrison while acting (with Diodoros son of Oinostratos of Anagyrous) as chiliarch. [Philokom?]ides, who served as councillor c.250, was presumably Philokles' brother, and father of Prokles II son of Philokomides.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ I report here a letter sent to Stephen Lambert and to me in 1999 by Jameson (cf. Jameson 1999):

'I should record that in 1965 a stele base was visible at the site of the excavations (Richardson [1895]), which rather argues against the inscription having been brought to Koukounari for a secondary use. My notes read: Ample ancient marble ashlar blocks built into near ruined church, just W of 5-year old Ayia Paraskevi; chisel marks. I noted the base size as 0.13 x 0.50. Unfluted column. Round altar in front of church. In fields c.200 m. S of church some large marble blocks including (1) large euthynteria? block [0.60 x 0.49, I suppose refer to this block, as does a drawing of what looks like a projecting moulding]. Evidently too large and unwieldy for moving to the old church. (2) stele base, width ca. 0.13 m. [max. preserved?] (c.0.10 max, pres. thickness of the FS stele [0.114 SL]). Black glaze sherds here (not found around church). Milchhoffer AM 12. 1887. 313 mentions at Kukunarti, Klosterruine n.ö. Stamata, 2 votive reliefs goddess throned 'mit Schemel'. Cf. text for Karte von Attika, Heft III–VI, pp. 57–8, Aphrodite seated with dove, another in two pieces showing 2-horse chariot etc. He thought of the Aphrodisia of Plotheia. Kukunarti not only a sanctuary but a settled deme. [All old notes—not checked. Not impossible that I have confused things.] Authority for this area being the site of the old ASCS dig was Vanderpool. For some reason I recorded the place as called Koukounarthi. Of course, I may be wrong and perhaps both stele and base and other useful blocks were brought here for some Christian construction [the monastery?]. Stele bases don't travel as easily as stelai, it seems to me.'

However, if the place was a deme site it could have had its own stelai. The 0.60 x 0.49 figure reported by Jameson may have been a note taken from *IG* ii² 1358 of the dimensions of that stone. Note also Goette and Weber 2004, 39, horos of a Herakleion, said to have come from Koukounarti. For re-use of ancient stones in later buildings on Pentelikon see Goette 2001, 264–5 on Penteli Monastery. Tsophopoulou-Gkine 1982 puts Hekale at Mygdaleza, but this seems to me too far W (see ch. 30 n. 57).

⁷⁶ Plut. *Thes.* 14. 2; the association of the festival with Theseus probably post-Kimonian, R. Parker 1996, 169 (but based on earlier relations with Marathon?).

⁷⁷ *SEG* 56. 202 = *IRb* I, archon Kle[omachos] or Kle[archos]. [Philokom?]ides, *IG* ii³ 1030; Prokles II, *IOrop* 102 (no demotic), 240–215, proxenos.

Kolonai

In Kallimachos' *Hekale* the heroine had married a man from Kolonai, which suggests that the demes were neighbours, Kolonai presumably lying north of Hekale (ch. 32 n. 35). The best known liturgist from this deme or Kolonai (X), Philostratos, clearly lived in Athens. Metaneira and Neaira stayed in his house c.380; he was known as a rhetor, and acted as witness for Apollodoros of Acharnai shortly before 340. He adopted his grandson (DS) Phainippos.⁷⁸ Konon son of Menekrates K. was buried on Salamis; he will have been related to Menestratos son of Menekrates, councillor c.370, and Menestratos' son Menes, councillor in 304/3.⁷⁹

APF 12231, [—]os (?) son of Prokles I K., challenged in a diadikasia in 383/2 (*IG* ii² 1930 with *SEG* 54. 223), whose son Prokles II served as a dockyard superintendent in 369/8 (ii² 1617. 75), now has a grandson, Therikles son of Prokles, recorded as ephebe at Panakton (1992-400).

COASTAL TRITTYS

This trittys contained Phrearrhioi, Sounion, Deiradiotai, Potamos Deiradiotes, and (in my view) the other two Potamos demes (Upper and Lower). The location of Sounion is not in doubt, although it evidently included more than one settlement. The trittys did not form a continuous stretch of territory; Sounion was separated from Phrearrhioi (at Olymbos or Mokrisa) by Anavyssos, Atene, Besa, and Amphitrope, and from Deiradiotai and the Potamos demes by Thorikos. It does not seem unlikely that some adjustment to the tribe-trittys-deme structure took place in this area, perhaps as a result of population growth in the early fifth century, when new silver-bearing levels were discovered in the mining area and production expanded.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ APF 14734; [Dem.] 59. 22-3; 42. 21. Cf. ch. 25 n. 66.

⁷⁹ *IG* ii² 6526 (*AEE* 687, following *CIA* 664, calls this stone a k(ioniskos)—Pittakes said it was a stele—so it may belong to the late 4th or the 3rd c.). Menestratos, *IG* ii³ 4. 25, *SEG* 29. 148. 111; Menes, *Agora* XV 61. 305 (long generations; cf. ch. 17 n. 15).

⁸⁰ On settlement sites see below, under individual demes. If we want to maintain the assumption that in the original Kleisthenic scheme each trittys was conceived as a territorial block (I admit, a problematic enterprise), we would probably have to assume that Sounion-Phrearrhioi and Thorikos-Kephale were trittys-centres in the original scheme and that Sounion-Phrearrhioi in subsequent adjustments lost Besa, Amphitrope, Atene (Lohmann's identifications, 1993*a*, see ch. 32), and the coastal plain of Anavyssos, but was compensated by acquiring Deiradiotai-Potamoi from Thorikos. It would also be necessary (and to me quite plausible) to assume that in the first decades of the reform internal migrants tended to change their deme affiliation, and that some attempt was made to adjust the system to internal migration at least in SE Attika, where the process might well have been much more visible than elsewhere. Of course, by

Phrearrhioi

A *lex sacra* of the deme (mid third century) was found in the Olymbos area, and this provides some basis for location; however, there is no ancient material at the site where the stone was found, and it might have been set up in a sanctuary of Demeter that the deme did not control. In any case, the deme may have contained more than one settlement; it seems to have stretched from the inland plain behind Mt Olymbos across the inland part of the Anavyssos plain into mining country, and Ary may have belonged to it.⁸¹ It was a large deme, appointing nine councillors in the fourth century.

The *lex sacra* concerns the cult of the Eleusinian goddesses and refers to an altar and *aulê* in the Eleusinion, an altar of Plouton, and a torch and torch-holder (*lampadeion*). It seems quite likely that the text regulates the deme's relations with Eleusis or with the City Eleusinion; in any case the Eleusinion with which it is concerned does not seem to have been used exclusively by members of the deme.⁸²

Phrearrhioi was the deme of Themistokles, a member of the *genos* Lykomidai, whose main centre was in Phlya. In his period of political prominence he owned a house in Melite, but he seems to have been well informed on mining issues; possibly his family had moved from Phlya to Phrearrhioi in the second half of the sixth century to become involved in the developing mining industry. Mnesiphilos, linked with Themistokles on ostraka, belonged to the same deme. Themistokles' descendants returned to Attika at some date after his exile; one

the 4th and even the later 5th c. rich Athenians who bought land in the area did not change their deme affiliation, but this does not tell us about the silver-rush of the 480s–470s. Alternative explanations of the discontinuity of this tritittys (still maintaining the assumption that continuity was the aim) would be that it derived from the earlier *naukratic* structure or that the authorities in Athens had only vague ideas of the relative positions of settlements in this area and hence accepted patterns produced by local alliances and rivalries (ch. 21 at nn. 21–2) or by political manipulation in the interest of dominating elections (Stanton 1984*b*, 1990, a view I reject except possibly for X Antiochis, ch. 21 n. 31).

⁸¹ See Lohmann 1984, 1993*a*, and ch. 32 nn. 55, 69. On the view suggested here, the archaic settlement at Agios Panteleimon would have belonged to Phrearrhioi rather than Anaphlystos. Cf. also the topographic discussion in Vanderpool 1970*b* (V. puts Phrearrhioi SE of Olymbos, Lohmann puts it in the N part of the Anavyssos plain at Mokrisa); AGC 21 X8/Y2 nos. 12–15; Traill 1982, 170 (Phr. at Ag. Panteleimon, Aigilia at Olymbos); Lauter 1993 (Korres 2009, 209 refers vaguely to Pheriza and Ary). A peak sanctuary on Mt Olymbos and a terrace-sanctuary at Trapouria (Lauter 1980) may have belonged to Phrearrhioi (or perhaps to the Eleusinion of SEG 36. 206, since there is a church of St Demetrios in the area); it was apparently constructed in the 3rd c. Mining at Ary, AD 60 B 1, 183–8.

⁸² Vanderpool 1970*b*; Lupu 2003 = SEG 53. 170; 2005, 159–70. The reference in line 7 to [*dēm*]otai and others, and the use of the name *Phrearrhiôn* in line 12, imply that the text does not deal with purely internal affairs (cf. N. D. Robertson 1999 n. 87). Cf. the relations with the City Eleusinion of Erchia and possibly Paiania (Humphreys 2004, 154 n. 61). The name of Eumolpides Phr., now attested as a *kleruch* on Samos c.350 (IG xii 6. 262 IV 3), is suggestive. The argument for a local Eleusinion in Wijma 2013 does not seem to me conclusive. See also Bultrighini 2015.

of his sons, Kleophantos, is mentioned by Plato in the *Meno* (93d) as an undistinguished member of the cavalry. However, any land he owned had probably been purchased with funds brought from Persia.⁸³

One of the relatively prominent families in the deme in the fourth century—doubtless city-based—was that of the doctors Dieuches and his sons Epeuches and Diakritos, who followed their father's profession and were crowned by the city with three other men in the Lykourgan period. Epeuches' daughter —ippe made a dedication at Brauron; Diakritos served as councillor c.(?) 350,⁸⁴ and Dieuches II son of Demarchos Phr., perhaps his nephew (ZS?) served as secretary in 349/8 and as diaitetes in 330/29.⁸⁵

On Jacoby's suggestion (*FGH* III B b I, 57) that the atthidographer Philochoros was related to Kleidemos of Melite see ch. 29 n. 10.

⁸³ *APF* 6669; ch. 20 n. 66 on Lykomidai (I do not wish to imply that gennetai were not mobile before the 6th c.). For Phrearrhian mining activity cf. Epizelos Phr., who owns an ergasterion in Besa, *Agora* XIX P 13. 76, (?) P 30. 14, and [A]genor Phr., who registers a mine shortly before 350, P 10. 13 (*APF* 13374). Phaidrias, one of the Thirty, should on Loeper's hypothesis have belonged to the coastal trittys of Leontis, but this is not a secure indication (cf. P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 435); he could conceivably (with a textual emendation) be Phaidimos of Phrearrhioi, whose son Kallaischros appears in *IG* i³ 1040. 20, and whose (?) descendant appears as host of a dinner-party c.347 as 'Xenophron the (offspring) of Phaidimos of the Thirty' in Dem. 19. 198 (hardly son, perhaps a grandson, or a collateral relative; cf. possibly the Xenophon Phr., son of Teisis, who served as councillor in 371/0, *IG* ii³ 4. 53. 9). If any of this very conjectural reconstruction is valid, Phaidimos may have married a sister of Kritias (son of Kallaischros).

⁸⁴ Diakritos, *Agora* XV 23; the date c.350 may be too early. Spelling -*as* for -*ous* appears only at the end of l. 6, where the cutter may have wanted to save space (*LGP*N Kalliades 50 has the date c.350–325, elsewhere mid 4th c.). Lysanias in l. 6 may be the L. who manumitted slaves living in Thymaitadai and Skambonidai c.(?) 330, and perhaps had a sister who made a dedication to Artemis Brauronia in or after 343/2 (*IG* ii² 1524. 176–7). Kalliades (l. 10) may be an error for -*ous*, since the text has patronymics in ll. 6, 8, and 12; in any case he should be the father of Eupolis, ephebe in (?) 330/29/8, *IOrop* 353, and of Diognetos (*SEG* 57. 227). There are unexplained lacunae in the text (the position of the secretary would be very odd if col. II belonged to Akamantis), and Phrearrhioi may not have its full complement of 9 councillors; this might point to a date between 322 and 307, earlier rather than later. Also one would rather expect that Demarchos (II) son of Dieuches (I) (named after his grandfather, councillor in (?) 336/5, *Agora* XV 42) would have served before his presumably younger brother Diakritos, listed in XV 23.

⁸⁵ *IG* ii² 4359, see ch. 6 n. 2. Epeuches' daughter, *IG* ii² 1517. 214; Dieuches II (born too early to be BS, of an intra-deme marriage?), ii³ 294. 2; ii³ 296. 3f.; ii³ 297. 2; ii³ 4. 33. 50. The place in this family of *Dieuchos Theophilos Phrearrhios* (an error for Theophilou?) and *Lysimachē Theophilou Phrearrhiou* [*thug*][*a*][*t*][*ē*][*r*] (?), commemorated on *SEMA* 700, a stele of unknown provenance dated after 350, is unclear (cf. also Theophilos Phr., liturgist in 331/0, *SEG* 25. 177. 36–7; erroneously 23. 177 in *LGP*N). *IG* ii² 11144 = *CAT* 3. 872, a lekythos representing a seated woman, Lysimache, with a standing bearded man, Dieuches, and a younger woman, Chrysanthis, dated before 350 by *IG*, later by *CAT* (no provenance), should be connected. There is probably also a relationship with Dieuches of Myrrhinous, represented with his (?) son (Dieuches sitting, Diokles standing) on the lekythos *IG* ii² 6889 (no provenance); Diokles served as priest of Asklepios in 340/39 (Aleshire 1991, 3992/4041), and his son (?) Die[uches?] II M. appears as member of an eranos on a horos of the late 4th or early 3rd c., Finley 1952 no. 114. Possibly the father of Dieuches I M. married a sister of Dieuches Phr. and called his son after the boy's MB rather than his MF? Ch. 25 n. 57.

A group of families in the deme may possibly be linked by use of the name Sostratos (see Table 26.6). The most prominent was probably that of Archestratos I, who died at Mytilene while serving as general in 406/5; as an adolescent in the 430s he had associated

with Perikles' son Paralos. Archestratos II Phr., who in 348 owned land bordering that of Plato at Iphistiadai, was probably a grandson (SS).⁸⁷ Autokleides son of Sostratos I Phr. was secretary to the treasurers of Athena in 412/1; a sister may have married Philokrates I son of Philokomos Phr., whose (?) grandson (SS), Philokrates II son of Sostratos II, served as one of the ephebic officials *c.*330⁸⁸ and as diaitetes in 329/8. His (?) nephew (BS) Sostratos IV son of Philokedes was ephebe in (?) 330/29/8. A daughter of Sostratos II may have married Olympiodoros I son of Phantias I Phr.; Olympiodoros' brother (?) Aganor/Agenor is attested between 356 and 346 as eponym of a trierarchic symmory, and as registrant of a mine *c.*350. Sostratos III son of Olympiodoros served as councillor *c.*350, and Phantias II son of Agan[or] *c.*325.

The appearance of Charias son of Peithias Phr. as a guarantor at Eleusis in 354/3 (*IEleus* 141. 63–4) suggests that the family of Peithias son of Leon 'Salaminios' commemorated on *IG* ii² 10208, from the Dipylon area, which names a Plangon wife of Charias (names added successively) may belong to this deme (the guarantor would probably be the brother of Leon II). Peithias I may have been the son of the Leon Salaminios recorded by Plato (*Apology* 32c; cf. Xenophon *Hellenica* 2. 3. 39, Andokides 1. 94) as a victim of the Thirty; this history would give them a good reason for perpetuating the *cognomen* Salaminios, which seems to have derived from the island rather than the genos (cf. Lambert 1997*b* n. 34). Peithiades son of Diodoros I Phr., councillor in (?) 370/69 (*IG* ii³ 4. 25), since his name is rare, may have come from the same family. The Diodoros (II?) Phr. who was the second owner of the Class V dikast-tablet Kroll 1972, 92b (360s), may have been Peithiades' son rather than his father; if so, he would be the father of Eubolos son of Diodoros Phr., councillor *c.*(?) 325 (*Agora* XV 52. 21). The mother of Diodoros (III) son of Kallimachos Phr., ephebe with his brother Alkimachos in (?) 330/29/8 (*IOrop* 353) may have been a daughter of Diodoros II, married within the deme.

A number of Phrearrhians made their way out into the Aegean. Philokles was on Samos as a kleruch in 346/5, but served as councillor in Athens in (?) 336/5. Eteochares son of Leochares appears as secretary of the naopoioi on Delos in 346–344. Lykon son

⁸⁷ Note also Pasiphon I Phr., attested as secretary of the Council and Assembly in 413/2 (*IG* i³ 136, *AO* 156), as (?) general in 410/9 (*AO* 165–6), and as archon of the fleet in 409/8 (*IG* i³ 1191. 117); see ch. 16 s. 'Leontis' on competition for high military office in Leontis *c.*420–405. Since the names are rare, and since we have another family of doctors in Phrearrhioi (n. 85), there is some argument for attaching to Pasiphon I (as grandson, SS?) Pasiphon II, who witnessed for Demosthenes (30. 34) as a doctor in 362/1, and his sons Iatrokles and Ergochares, who probably followed his profession. Iatrokles was taken prisoner at Olynthos in 348/7, promptly released without ransom by Philip, and appointed as ambassador in 347/6; Aisch. 2. 15 (cf. §§ 20, 126) describes him as 'brother of Ergochares', which implies that E. was well known, though we have no further information on him. Given this professional background, it is also likely enough that the Iatrokles of *IG* ii³ 455 (Lambert 2007*a* no. 91; Tracy 1995, 126) is the same man, having left Athens for Macedon after Chaironeia—or even sooner—but retained some goodwill towards his (de facto ex) fellow-citizens. In that case Pantenor Phr., whose sons Pasiphon (III?) and Archeptolis served as ephebes in (?) 330/29/8, *IOrop* 353, and whose daughter Patrokleia had a dowry of 1500 dr. (*Agora* XIX H 82, 'late 4th c.'—or earlier, *c.*330?) will have been the brother of Iatrokles and Ergochares; perhaps the oldest of the three, given the birth-date of his sons.

⁸⁸ *IG* ii³ 4. 342, 8 (332/1/0?). Peek's suggested reading [*loch*]agôn (1942, 21 no. 24) is excluded both by the structure of the text and by Philokrates' age and tribal affiliation; [*ex epimele*]étôn might epigraphically be possible, but the history of the office of epimeletes at Rhamnous is very unclear.

of Thersias held local office as polemarch on Imbros towards the end of the fourth century; he may be the Lykon Phr. who served as councillor in Athens in (?) 336/5, and may be descended from the Lykon Phr. recorded on a list of ships' crews of (?) c.400.⁸⁹

Sounion

The deme area has been intensively explored, and we now have a thorough study, Goette 2000 (for the Hellenistic period see also G. J. Oliver 2011, 44–6). It seems clear that S. had at least three habitation centres, although emphasis may well have shifted from one to another over time. The Sounion promontory had a sanctuary of Athena from the eighth century and settlement from c.700; there are finds from the seventh and sixth centuries in the areas of the sanctuaries of Athena and Poseidon, and Herodotus mentions a penteteric festival at Sounion in the early fifth century. There was possibly also a heroon of the hero Phrontis. The cape was fortified in 413/2; houses, surveyed in 1994 after fire had cleared the cape, were built in a technique similar to that of the walls, but their orientation corresponds to that of the temple of Poseidon, built in the 440s. In 220/19 Theomnestos of Xypete, strategos of the shore, added a temple and temenos of Asklepios to the existing sanctuaries. A building described as agora-like was constructed on the beach west of the cape in the Hellenistic period. The road from the fort to the sanctuary of Athena was lined with graves.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Philokles, *IG* xii 6. 261. 3, *Agora* XV 42. 216 (cf. Euangelos, n. 86 above). Eteochares, *ID* 104-23. 5, 104-24. 15 (cf. Leochares and Epichares of ? Phr. on *IG* i³ 1040, a list of ? councillors; Ianbos ? Phr., i³ 1193. 140); his daughter Aischylis married Polymnestos son of Kallimachos of Gargettos, and is represented with him and a small girl on *IG* ii² 5949 = *CAT* 2. 874a (no provenance; dated before 350 by Kirchner, later by *CAT*). Polymnestos' father may be named on ii² 5932 = *CAT* 2. 351 (Scholl 1996 no. 292, 370s), now in the Piraeus Museum. Polystratos of Gargettos, who appears on a list possibly of diaitetai of 343/2 or 336/5, *IG* ii³ 4. 31. 9 (Humphreys 2010a), may be their son, and father of Polymnestos Polystratou G., councillor in 304/3, *Agora* XV 61. 50. Lykon son of Thersias (omitted by *LGN* Thersias 2), *IG* xii 8. 47, between 318 and 307?; cf. *Agora* XV 42. 215, *IG* i³ 1032. 198 (ch. 21 n. 41).

⁹⁰ Useful maps and plans in Goette 1999, 2000 (no bibliography, no index) and Goette 2001, 202–7. See also Stanton 1996; Goette 2003; Salliora-Oikonomakou 2004; Blackman a. o. 2013, 231–53; Theodoropoulou-Polychroniadis 2015. The first Athena temple is dated to the late 6th c.; it was apparently destroyed in the Persian wars and replaced in (?) the 440s; the Poseidon temple was begun in (?) the 490s, destroyed by the Persians, and replaced in 444–440, with temenos walls and a propylon (Travlos 1988, 404–29). There was presumably an earlier cult of Poseidon on the site (cf. ch. 18 n. 6), perhaps mentioned in Homer *Od.* 3. 278; there was also a peak sanctuary with finds of the 7th–6th c. on Gur-i-Kuki, NNW of the cape. Penteteris, Hdt. 6. 87; cf. perhaps the bronze Wappenmünzen die from S. published by Kaligas 1997. Phrontis, Kearns 1992, s.v.; Antonaccio 1995, 166–8 (but see Goette 2003). Altar of Apollo, *SEG* 50. 208/53. 213. Fort and houses, Lauter a. o. 1989; Goette 1995a, 2000 (cf. earlier plan *AE* 1917 pl. 4, reproduced in Pouilloux 1954b, pl. 32. 2). Asklepios, *IG* ii² 1302, cf. 2857; beach site, *AGC* 21 X9/Y1 no. 28 with *Hesp.* 7, 1938, 75–6. Tombs: Lauter a. o. 1989, cf. Lauter 1992. Langdon 2010 suggests that the saltmarsh (*halê*) of the Salaminioi was at Pasalimani or Panormos (ch. 20 n. 108).

As mining activity intensified, settlement spread up the Agrileza valley, where the deme inscription *IG ii*² 1180, thanking Leukios S. for his gift of land for an agora, was found (not *in situ*). The question whether this was the deme's main agora and, if so, where the stone originally stood, is controversial; it remains possible that the text refers to a secondary marketplace needed by the inhabitants of the valley, who would have included slaves working in the mines both singly and in gangs. Several substantial farm buildings and mining establishments have been explored in this area, including the 'Princess's Tower', so named from the luxury of its architecture; inscriptions have allowed us to identify its probable owners, Timesios S. and his descendants, who are also attested as landowners in the mining records of the poletai and were perhaps affinally linked to other local families. There were burials along the road leading up the valley, which was probably known as Nape in antiquity.⁹¹ We do not know whether the property (*ousia*) of Euphronios S., squandered by the guardians of his son Theaitetos (Plato *Theait.* 144c–d), lay in the deme.

The genos Salaminioi had a centre at Sounion with a shrine of Herakles, at a place called Porthmos, generally taken to be one of the harbours facing Makronisos, Panormos or Pasa Limani. A stoa was built on the north side of the latter bay in the late fourth century, and perhaps extended in the third century; an agora complex may date to the second or first century, and there are also Hellenistic houses and graves in the area. Since Strabo places 'Sounion' east of the cape, this area may have become the main settlement centre in the Hellenistic period.⁹²

⁹¹ Plan of Agrileza valley, *AGC* 21 figs. 29–30; Goette 2000; 2001, 208. *IG ii*² 1180 was not found *in situ* and Lauter 1988 (*SEG* 40. 127), Lohmann 1993*a* (106–7), and Goette 1995 think the stone may have been moved from the cape in modern times; Goette 2000, 112–13, argues strongly against the idea of an agora in the Agrileza valley. However, his claim that interest in mining was decreasing by mid-century seems unsubstantiated, and he does not explain why the stone should have been moved from the cape to the valley. *AD* 49 B 1 (1994 [1999]) 67 reports a settlement centre with a public building in the valley. See also Sekunda 2010. Kakavogiannes 1982; Lauter a. o. 1989; Lauter 1992; Lohmann 1993*a*; and Goette agree that the deme centre in the classical period was at the cape. Tombs: Bergemann 1997, 208 X 1–7; X 7, opposite the Princess's Tower (see *AD* 44 B 1 1989 (1995) 83–4) may belong to the family of Sounion in which the rare names Timesios and Semonides were used (Langdon and Watrous 1977, *SEMA* 1672). A Timesios (I) son of Antipatros appears, without demotic, as a landowner at Nape in 367/6, *Agora XIX* P 5. 57, and again (with demotic) *c.*345/4, P 24. 9–10 (cf. perhaps P 14. 5–6). Semonides I, recorded as owning land at Thrasymos *c.*341 (P 26. 328) may be his son, and may be the father of Timesios II, who served as ephebe and lochagos in (?) 330/29/8 (*IOrop* 353. 5 II 27, see Humphreys 2009). Grave of (?) Timesios' wife (from Thorai), *SEMA* 249, *SEG* 54. 337. For further material on this family see Table 26.8. See also Goette 1991, Vanhove 1994 (quarries); Kalcyk 1982, Lohmann 1984, 1993*a* (roads; identification of Agrileza valley as Nape); Salliora-Oikonomakou 1985, 2004 (burial areas); Goette 1994*c* (farm).

⁹² Agoras at Sounion, Kakavogianne and Anetakis 2012, 195–8; Salaminioi, J. H. Young 1941; *AGC* 21 X9/Y1 no. 18, relief of *c.*360, victorious athlete and three tripods, with labours of Herakles, found at Punta Zeza. Lauter a. o. 1989, 29 puts the Salaminian sanctuary on Gur-i-Kuki and the rest of their property on the beach W of the cape; Kakavogiannes 1982 and Goette 2000, 72–4, following Young,

A kouros was dedicated at Sounion c.550 to Zeus Archegetes by the Sounieis (*AR* 2014–2015, 111), perhaps at that date a naukraria. We do not really know how temple-building on the cape was financed; c.460–450 the city Assembly passed a decree concerning dues to be paid to Poseidon by ships anchoring at Sounion. The only known deme decree is the text from the Agrileza valley, mentioned above, which honours Leukios son of Theokles for his gift of land to be used by demesmen and non-demesmen as an agora. The provision that no one, whether demarch or private citizen, is to build within the area of the new agora suggests that the buildings which had encroached on the former agora may have been erected in at least one instance by ambitious demarchs. Leukios is also attested as a landowner and mine lessee from 367/6 to 340/39 and as paying for his tribe's eutaxia team c.330. His father Theokles was perhaps one of the 'heroes of Phyle', i.e. one of the democrats who had accompanied Thrasyboulos of Steiria in his invasion of Attika in 403; the Theokl— who bought land at (?) Thorikos in the hekatostai sales could conceivably be a son of Leukios, Theokles II, but there are many other possible identifications.⁹³ The deme had a dubious reputation for laxity in its scrutiny of candidates for citizenship.⁹⁴

The genos Salaminioi contained a substantial number of Sounians, enough to produce a partial division of the group in 363/2, which by the third century had hardened into a more complete separation (ch. 20 at n. 111). The archon of the Sounian Salaminioi in 363/2 was Diphilos I son of Diopeithes I; his brother Diophanes I is recorded as owning land in or near the deme, at Maroneia, in 367/6. Diopeithes III, son of Phasurkides S., one of the oath-takers from the Sounian Salaminioi in 363/2, may be either a cousin (FBS) of Diphilos I or a nephew (ZS), son of a marriage between a sister of Diphilos and another Sounian

identify Punta Zeza as Porthmos (cf. *AD* 53 B 3, 1998, 1029–30), and report evidence of habitation at Pasalimani from the 5th c. For possible temple foundations (c.500?) on Punta Zeza see Goette 2000, 63. Agora, Salliora-Oikononakou 1985, 2004; cf. Traill 1986, 144 (Str. 9. 1. 22/C. 398). Lambert 1997*b*, n. 24 suggested that this was the agora of *IG* ii² 1180, but see ch. 20 n. 108. The 5th c. dedication *IG* i³ 1026, by a Euphoros, came from Pasalimani. 4th c. *horos hodou* on road to Panormos, *SEG* 54. 241 (Salliora-Oikononakou 2004, 71–2). If the importance of herding increased in the Hellenistic period (see however Forbes 1995) Makronisos may have attracted interest as a pasture area (cf. Jameson 1989, n. 8); the use of the island as a prison in recent times has inhibited archaeological exploration.

⁹³ *IG* i³ 1024; Papathanasopoulos 1983 catalogues remains of over 13 kouroi found at Sounion. See chs. 18 at nn. 96–101, 21 nn. 5–6 on naukrariai; ch. 22 n. 96 on 'state intervention' in cult (*IG* i³ 8). Deme decree, *IG* ii² 1180; it is dated c.350 on the basis of spelling, but since this is not necessarily a reliable indicator in rural areas it might perhaps be later. (*IG* ii² 1181 is now identified as an ephebic decree from Rhamnous, *IG* ii³ 4. 339.) Leukios, *APF* 9057, *IG* ii³ 550 (50 dr. is the cost of his phiale, not his liturgy); owns land at Sounion, *Agora* XIX P 5. 46, 80; P 13. 5; [Leuk?]ios Theok[leou]s S. leases a mine, P 29. 5–6 (340/39). Theokles I, Raubitschek 1941; Theokl[es?] II?, Lambert 1997*a*, F 8a 31 (no identification suggested).

⁹⁴ Anaxandrides *PCG* 2 p. 240, *Anchises* F 4, 370s–360s (one may be a slave today, Sounian tomorrow, in the agora the next day; I take 'the agora' to be a reference to activity as a rhetor, not—as *PCG*—to resale). Sounion's Council quota was raised from 4 to 6 in 307, whereas that of Phrearrhioi remained unchanged. See also Lambert 2010*a*. Goette 2000 has a list of Sounians (apparently taken uncritically from *PAA*).

family. Diphilos I's son Diopeithes II was active as a general in the Hellespont area c.343/2–341/0; the general's son Diphilos II is attested as syntrierarch in 325/4. Diophanes II Diopeithous, who served as councillor in the 320s, may be the son either of Diopeithes II or of Diopeithes III.⁹⁵

Aischines (1. 63) insinuates that Diopeithes II had been the lover of his fellow-demesman Hegesandros, for whom he later acted as arbitrator in a case involving the public slave Pittalakos, c.360.⁹⁶ Hegesandros was one of three brothers, sons of Hegesias of Sounion; he married an epikleros, which might imply that he was the oldest. However, his brother Hegias acted as one of the oath-takers for the Sounian branch of the Salaminioi in 363/2, and there are prosopographical arguments for regarding him as the oldest of the three brothers.⁹⁷ Hegias is not attested as playing any role in politics, and may perhaps have taken care of family interests in Sounion while his brothers made a career in the city. Hegesandros had, on Aischines' account (1. 111), been the 'wife' of the 'actor' Leodamas (II) of Acharnai; he and his brother Hegesippos, nicknamed 'Krobylos' were well known in the city, perhaps even notorious in their youth,⁹⁸ but had serious political ambitions. Hegesandros proposed a decree concerning the provision of pay for the Athenian garrison on Andros in 357/6. Hegesippos may be the author of [Demosthenes] 7 and 17; he was one of the ambassadors (with Demosthenes, Lykourgos, and Polyeuktos of Sphettos)

⁹⁵ APF 4487. Diophanes I, *Agora* XIX P 5. 59; cf. P 20. 67; Diophanes II, *Agora* XV 52. 25, c.325 (it is possible that his father was another Diopeithes (IV), son of Diophanes I); —es Diophanous S., councillor c.250, *IG* ii³ 1030. 5, is presumably a son of Diophanes II. The ephebe [. . .]phanes S. of the early 3rd c., *IG* ii³ 957. 26, may be either another [Dio]phanes or a [Theu]phanes, descended from the Theuphanes son of Sophanes S. who appears as a Salaminian oath-taker in 363/2 (*Agora* XIX L 4a 72, *LGPn* Theophanes 28). Diopeithes II (*AO* 343/2ff.), see *FGH* 328 F 158 comm. Diphilos II: it has been suggested that he is the Diphilos for whom Demosthenes proposed the honour of sitesis in the prytaneion (Dein. 1. 43); M. J. Osborne 1981a, 165 n. 39 suggested that Demosthenes proposed a posthumous award for Diopeithes II after his death in (?) 340/39, from which Diphilos benefited.

⁹⁶ *AO* (269–70) dates this episode in 361/0, but recognizes that Hegesandros can hardly have served as tamias to the general Timomachos in a year when he was also acting as councillor and tamias of Athena. Either Timomachos had been general earlier (*APF* 6351, following A. Schaefer 1885–7 II, 331 n. 6) or the text of Aisch. 1. 109–10, dating Hegesandros' service as tamias and councillor in Athens and his involvement with Timarchos of Sphettos, must be emended (cf. W. Thompson 1970e, 2 n. 4; this has the advantage of solving the problem of the date of Aischines' birth, cf. ch. 24 n. 6). Cf. M. H. Munn 1993, 188–9 n. 5; Fisher 2001, 357–62.

⁹⁷ Aisch. 1. 95; however, Hegias' son Hegesias II served as tamias of Athena in 349/8, which should imply that his father was born by c.410, and if Hegesandros was older he can hardly have been an age-mate of Diopeithes II; so perhaps we should assume that Hegias was already married when the epikleros became nubile, and did not wish to divorce his wife. Hegesias II made a dedication to Asklepios in 339/8 (Aleshire 1991, no. 6331, *IG* ii² 1533. 22).

⁹⁸ Aischines' account (1. 56–65, 109–11) is evidently over-coloured; Leodamas II (*APF* 13921, cf. Table 28.4) was a pupil of Isokrates who had a political career. The krobylos was linked by Thucydides (1. 6. 3–5) with the 'oriental' style of dressing that had been fashionable in the late 6th and early 5th c., but by the 4th c. was considered effeminate (Kurke 1992; however, Kurtz and Boardman 1986 suggest the term *mitra* for the headdress associated with this fashion; J. K. Davies 2011 thinks it signified nostalgia for the 5th c.).

who travelled in the Peloponnese in 343/2 seeking to arouse resistance to Philip; he proposed a decree apparently concerning an abortive coup in Eretria c.342, and was one of the guarantors of the triremes sent to Chalkis in 341; in 338/7 he proposed a decree granting privileges to two Akarnanians who had fought with Athens at Chaironeia and were in exile from their own country. He was still alive in 325/4, when he paid the debt arising from his guarantee in 341.⁹⁹ The two brothers were Athenian patriots in the Demosthenic style.

Among the other Sounian Salaminioi known to us from further records, Ameinias son of Philinos may be the Ameinias who leased a mine c.350; the Philinos S. who leased a mine in Maroneia in 367/6 for 20 dr. will be Ameinias' father or brother, and they may have been related to Philoneos son of Ameinonikos S., another of the oath-takers of the Sounian Salaminioi, who served as councillor in 371/0. Philoneos' parents were commemorated by a lekythos now in the Piraeus museum; his mother came from a Lamptrian family.¹⁰⁰ Chalkideus son of Andromenes I S., another oath-taker, probably served as trierarch in the 370s; his son Andromenes II is attested as councillor c.325. Theuphanes son of Sophanes, also an oath-taker, may possibly have been related to Theodelos S., who proposed the decree for Leukios. Chariades son of Charikles, the last oath-taker, may possibly have been the brother of a well-known actor called Polos.¹⁰¹

Further Sounians can be identified (as one would expect) in the mining records. Kimon is attested as a landowner c.350; his son Nausiphilos served as ephebe in (?) 331/0/29. The father may well be the Kimon son of Spoudip[pos?] of Leontis whose victory (victories?) with a men's chorus c.365–345 was

⁹⁹ *IG* ii² 123 (boule and demos); 125 (demos: date, *SEG* 34. 67, Knoepfler 1984, *BE* 2013, 193); ii³ 316; *APF* 6351; J. K. Davies 2011. Hegesandros may have been dead by 341. The [Heges]andros Hegesandrou S. who served as councillor c.250, *IG* ii³ 4. 1030, can hardly be his son and is probably a grandson (SS). Cf. also Aisch. 1. 64 (Hegesandros attacks Aristophon). Hegesippos was already active in the courts in 365 according to D. L. 3. 24, but the story is not very reliable. He proposed alliance with Phokis in (?) 356/5 (Aisch. 3. 118, cf. *AO*); on his activities in 344–342 see Knoepfler 1984, 159; *AO*. Hegesippos is called Salaminios by Tzetzes *ad* Lykophr. 883 (Scheer 1908, II p. 286), presumably an allusion to genos membership; the Hegesandros Salaminios of *Et. Mag.* s.v. *Argo* may be the (Delphian?) 2nd c. BCE antiquarian *FHG* 4. 412–22.

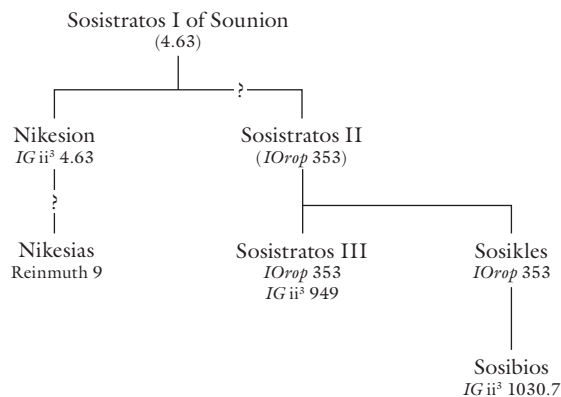
¹⁰⁰ *Agora* XIX P 13. 41 (no demotic) Ameinias; P 5. 60 Philinos (if he was Ameinias' father perhaps he died between 367/6 and 363/2, the date of the oath of the Salaminioi?); *IG* ii³ 4. 53. 12 Philoneos; *IG* ii² 7415 = *CAT* 2. 352, Ameinonikos, with Hegesippe daughter of Hegesarchos of Lamptrai. Hegesippe was presumably related to Hegesippos son of Kephisodoros L., commemorated c.350 by a stone found either in Piraeus or on Aigina (*IG* ii² 6669), whose son Kephisodoros II proposed the deme decree *IG* ii² 1204; to Hegemon L., trierarch in some year before 325/4 (*APF* 6300); and perhaps to Pantaleon son of Hegesias L., a candidate for ostracism, and his (?) descendant Hegesias L[amptreus?], member of a college of treasurers and synegoroi honoured by the city perhaps in the Lykourgan period (*IG* ii² 1251. 14, ch. 23 n. 69).

¹⁰¹ Chalkideus, *APF* 15281 (ch. 20 n. 104); Andromenes II, *Agora* XV 52. 24; Theuphanes, cf. n. 95 above; a Polos son of Charikles S. is mentioned as a 4th c. actor in Lucian *Nekr.* 16, cf. Stephanes 1988, no. 2188. Note that the name of Archedeipnos son of Nikodemos S. (*IOrop* 353 II 31) may suggest membership of the Salaminioi.

commemorated by a monument supporting three tripods.¹⁰² Diokles also owned property in the mining area, perhaps at Thrasyomos; –i[d]es Diokleous S., who bought property at Anaphlystos for 800 dr. in the hekatostai sales, is probably his son (see Table 26.7).¹⁰³

Horsy interests (suggested by the name Spoudippos) are otherwise rare in this deme, but Sosistratos S. served as phylarch at some date between 286 and 261 (*IG* ii³ 949. 24); he may be Sosistratos III son of Sosistratos II S., who served as ephebe and lochagos with his brother Sosikles in (?) 330/29/8 (*IOrop* 353. 3–5; II 25–6; *LGPN* Sosikles 15 has the patronymic wrong). Nikesion son of Sosistratos I, member of a board of magistrates *c.*350, *IG* ii³ 4. 63. 4, may be the ephebes' uncle (FB), and may possibly be the father of Nikesias Nik[esionos??], ephebe in Leontis in 333/2/1, Reinmuth 1971 no. 9 (Alpherê 2015) III 9 (Appendix 1). Sosikles' son Sosibios served as councillor *c.*250, *IG* ii³ 1030. 7.

TABLE 26.7. Sounion:
Sosistratos



The impression given by the Salaminioi inscriptions and the mining records, of a deme in which many of the elite retained local interests, is perhaps reinforced by evidence for a relatively high proportion of intra-deme marriages. Menekydes I S. married Kallippis, daughter of Aischron S., and either his son Menestratos I or his grandson Menekydes II married Demagora daughter of Ephodion S.; both couples were buried in the deme, and Menekydes II's son Lysistratos may have married into the family of Timesios S.¹⁰⁴ *IG* ii² 7448, found at Megale Vigla between the

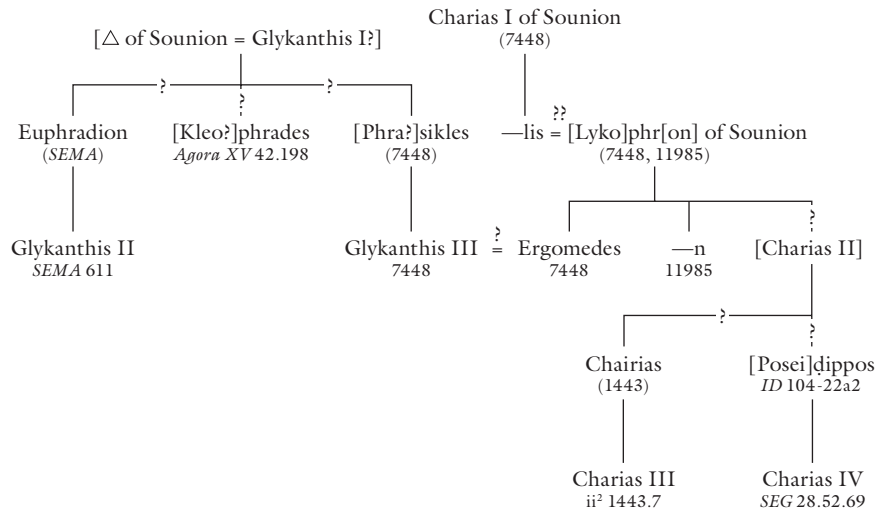
¹⁰² *Agora* XIX P 13. 18; *IOrop* 353 II 28; *IG* ii³ 4. 446. The left-hand tripod was set up on a different occasion from the two to the right of it, although the chronological order cannot be determined (see Matthaiou 1994).

¹⁰³ *Agora* XIX P 13. 17, 30; P 18. 62; Lambert 1997*a*, F 13 B 12. [Athen]ophantos son of Diokles S., councillor *c.*250, *IG* ii³ 1030. 6, perhaps represented with his father or son on *IG* ii² 7413, may be a descendant. Mnesilochos S. registers a mine, *Agora* XIX P 10. 11; Meixiades S. owns property, P 26. 294 (possibly connected via Polyxenos son of Meixias S., *IG* i³ 1515, to Polyxenos son of Polykrates, councillor *c.*370, *IG* ii³ 4. 25. 65, and his sister Kleitaichme, *IG* ii² 7440).

¹⁰⁴ *IG* ii² 7442 (Menekydes I) was found 'north of Sounion', ii² 7425 (Demagora a. o.) in the Agrileza valley. Demagora's sister however married a man of Aphidnai and was buried with him in the Kerameikos, ii² 5725. R. G. Osborne 1985*a*, 140 suggested that Sounians were more inclined to record the origin of

Agrileza and Legraina valleys, may record two intra-deme marriages, between [Lyko]phr[on] (?) S. and —lis daughter of Charias I S., and between Lykophron's son Ergomedes and Glykanthis (III) daughter of [Phra?]sikles S. Glykanthis III may have had a cousin (FBD) Glykanthis II daughter of Euphradion S., who was buried in the nearby deme Atene. Charias II had a son attested in a Delian financial record of the late 340s; he may be Pos[eidippos], whose son Charias IV served as councillor *c.*333. Charias III son of Chairias S., who was one of the treasurers of Athena in 343/2, was perhaps also a grandson (SS) of Charias I.¹⁰⁵

TABLE 26.8.
Sounion: Charias

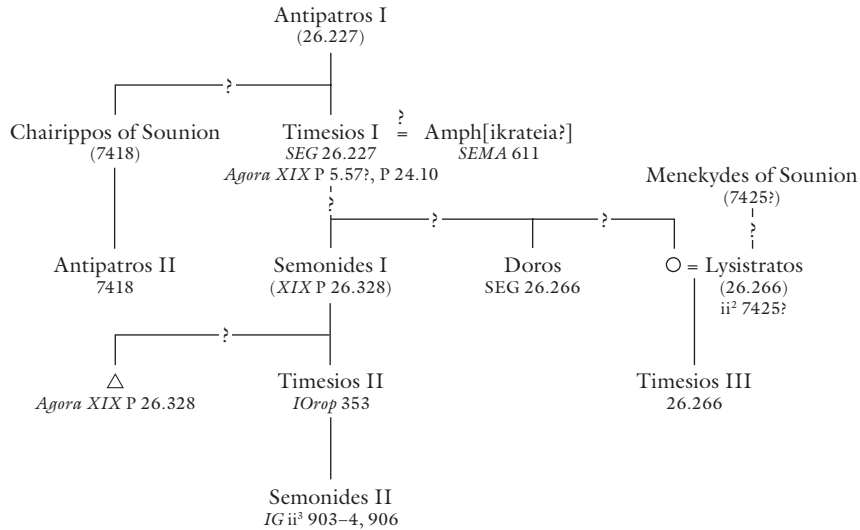


Timesios' family can probably be traced for five generations (see Table 26.8). The first bearer of the name (which is otherwise attested only in Sphettos) Timesios son of Antipatros, appears as creditor on a horos found in the Agrileza valley (*SEG* 26. 227). Antipatros (II) son of Chairippos S., commemorated with his wife (from Euonymon) on a stele found in Piraeus, *IG* ii² 7418, may be Timesios' nephew (BS). Timesios I seems to have had two sons: Semonides I, whose son is named as a landowner in the mining area *c.*340 (*Agora XIX* P 26. 328), and Doros, who made a dedication to Artemis in the valley with Timesios (III), son of Lysistratos

their wives on tombstones than members of other demes because of the number of non-demesmen who owned land in the area, but I am not sure that the numbers are statistically significant. *IG* ii² 7412, from Piraeus, another in-deme marriage between the son of Kleo[krit]os (Kroll 1972 no. 95a, 360s) or of Kleo[phrad]es (*Agora XV* 42. 198) S. and the daughter of Hierokleides (cf. *IG* ii² 7437).

¹⁰⁵ Bergemann 1997, 208 X 5; *IG* ii² 11985, commemorating the son of a Lykophron, came from the same site as 7448. Glykanthis II, *SEMA* 611, ch. 32 n. 67. *ID* 104-22a 2, [Posei]dippos Chariou S. (d doubtful, no evidence for s); *SEG* 28. 52. 69, Charias Pos[eidippou?]; he may be given a patronymic to distinguish him from his homonymous (?) cousin Charias II son of Chairias (*IG* ii² 1443. 7). Ergomedes' name may suggest mining interests. For another Sounian family, resident in Piraeus, with Delian connections see Phanomachos 19 (and 18?) *LGP*N.

S., perhaps his nephew (ZS; *SEG* 26. 226). Timesios II, ephebe in (?) 330/29/8 (*IOrop* 353) would if the poletai record is correctly dated be a younger son of Semonides I; the ephebe's son Semonides II served as secretary in 272/1 (*LGP*N Semonides 4, *IG* ii³ 903–4, 906). Lysistratos, the father of Timesios III, was probably a son of Menekydes II.



Note: If the Semonides of *Agora* XIX P 26. 328 is the father of Timesios II he should be appearing as a landowner, cf. *ibid.* 232 *peribolos Diotimou*. *SEMA* 611: *SEG* 54. 337 reads Pamph[ile].

TABLE 26.9. Sounion: Timesios

One of the more distinguished families in the deme, for which there is no evidence of local interests in the classical period, is that of Peisianax S., which was probably connected in the fifth century with the Alkmeonidai. The Peisianax who in the 520s set up the grave monument *IG* i³ 1243 at Anavyssos is probably the first known member of the family, which apparently by 507 had moved into Sounion (Table 26.9). Peisianax II S., the first for whom a demotic is attested, was sent in 356/5 to the area north of the Aegean as leader of an embassy whose mandate was to make alliances with the rulers of Thrace, Paionia, and Illyria; references to him by name alone in the decree passed on his return suggest that he was a well-known personality. His son Epikrates served as ephebe and lochagos in (?) 333/2/1, and later as ‘host’ of Plouton.¹⁰⁶

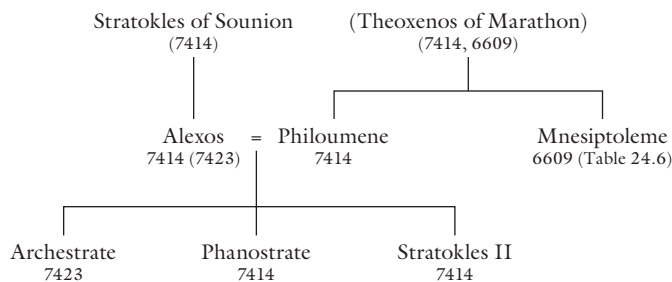
¹⁰⁶ *IG* i³ 1243 = *CEG* 40. *APF* 9688 VIII–IX makes the (reasonable) assumption that a daughter of Peisianax I married Eurypolemos I son of Megakles III of the Alkmeonidai; it does not follow, however, that Eurypolemos became a demesman of Sounion. Peisianax I’s marital alliance with the Alkmeonidai may rest on a previous political association, since his family was presumably prominent among the *paralioi* of 6th c. Attika, but one need not try to place Alkmeonidai in every deme in the area. It seems quite

Another family for which evidence may go back to the fifth century used the relatively rare name Pataikos. Its first bearer may have been [Pat]aĩkos I, perhaps proposer of *IG* i³ 35 (Mattingly 2007). His son Polycharmichos was councillor in 371/0 (*IG* ii³ 4. 53), and Epichares son of Pataikos (II), councillor *c.*333, may well have been Polycharmichos' grandson (SS, *SEG* 28. 52. 70; Mattingly's more complicated reconstruction seems unnecessary).

The ephebic taxiarch in Epikrates' year was another Sounian, Philokles II, whose father Philotheos was elected sophronistes for the year by his tribe. The Philylla daughter of Philokles whose statue, one of a pair by the younger Kephisodotos, was dedicated to Demeter and Kore in the city by her [*mēt*]ér or [*thugat*]ér Philia, was probably the daughter of Philokles I (see Löhr 2000, no. 151). Philokles II, the taxiarch, seems to have had a brother called Diodotos, whose son Philotheos II served as taxiarch of his tribe in 271/0.¹⁰⁷

Another prominent but non-resident demesman of the Lykourgan period was Alexos son of Stratokles I S., represented as an elderly man, probably with his wife, his son (Stratokles II), and a daughter on an unusually large naiskos of *c.*320, found at St John Rentes in the area of Xypete (see Table 26.10). Another daughter was commemorated by a naiskos of about the same date which is said to have come from Glyphada (Aixone).¹⁰⁸ Alexos' wife Philoumene was a daugh-

TABLE 26.10. Sounion:
Stratokles



conceivable that Peisianax II was an agnatic descendant (SSSS?) of Peisianax I. Embassy, *IG* ii² 127. Epikrates, Reinmuth 1971 no. 9 I 24, II 17 (Alipheré 2015), cf. n. 65 above; Appendix 1; *IG* ii² 1933. 5 (the date in *LGNP* Epikrates 126 should be *c.*325–320).

¹⁰⁷ Reinmuth 1971, no. 9 (Alipheré 2015) I 4, 15–16, 20–2; II 13–16; III 11–12, 14–15 (Philotheos, Philokles II; Petrakos 2004 = *SEG* 54. 227 reports, without text, another Leontis dedication of this age-set); *IG* ii² 4025, Philylla (the date should be towards the end of the 4th c., since she will have been born *c.*320); *IG* ii³ 907. 44, Philotheos II (arch. Pytharatos). Amphikleides III son of Amphikleides II S., who in 259/8 (Phil[i]nos) proposed a decree of the Eleusis garrison, *IEleus* 183, may be a grandson (SS) of Sophokles son of Amphikleides I S, proposer in 307/6 of a decree putting philosophers under state control, D. L. 5. 38 (Habicht 1995, 81–2). Cf. perhaps Amphikles S., diaitetes in 325/4, *IG* ii³ 4. 35. 69.

¹⁰⁸ *IG* ii² 7414 = *CAT* 4. 471, *SEG* 31. 211 (Karouzou 1981), Bergemann 1997, 174 no. 625. Archestrata, ii² 7423 = *CAT* 3. 471, Bergemann 176 no. 694 ('Voula' is inaccurate; cf. Beschi 1975). *CAT* 4. 471 suggested that Phanostrate's name was a later addition to ii² 7414, but it may be better to assume that as a daughter of the family (the resemblance of her name to that of Archestrata supports this identification) she did not need to be given a patronymic. Antikles son of Proxenides S. and Antikles son

ter of Theoxenos of Marathon; her sister Mnesiptoleme married into the family of Phormos of Kydantidai (ch. 24 n. 94), and was commemorated on a stele found in the Kerameikos (Table 24.6).

Deiradiotai

This deme has been located on the coast at Daskaleio/Kake Thalassa, but Strabo (9. 1. 22/C.399) has an entry for Potamos as a coastal deme and not for Deiradiotai; *deiras* means a hollow or ravine, which does not strongly support a coastal location (did the deme include the ravine marked on *KvA XI* running NNE from Ag. Nikolaos towards Korone?). Six tombstones of members of the deme, and a horos, made their way to Keratea, and four of these (three from a single peribolos) may have come from the burial area of Senkini–Roudseri along the road leading from Keratea to the coast; this does not necessarily mean that Deiradiotai lay north of the river Potamos. The classical and hellenistic deme-site at Plaka, on the route from Thorikos to Kephale, may be a possible location.¹⁰⁹

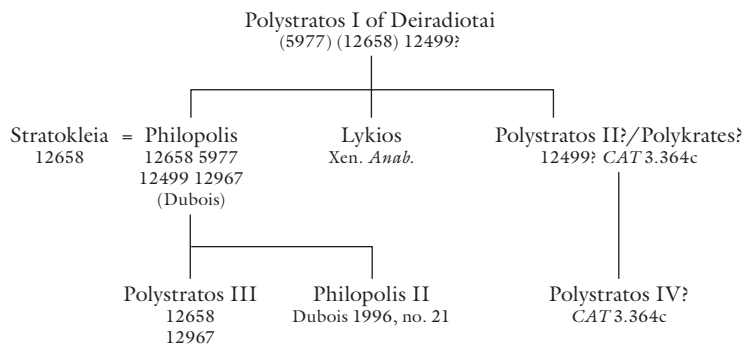
Note *IG* i³ 1400, a rock-cut inscription in the Agrileza valley dated c.500–475 naming Lysan[ias] Chairephon[os]; both names are attested in D. in the fourth century.

One of the leading families in the deme in the late fifth century was clearly that of Polystratos, who was a member of the Four Hundred, probably recruited—despite later disclaimers—by his fellow-demesman Phrynichos son of Stratonides, who as general in 412/1 played an important role in preparations for the coup (see Table 26.11). Polystratos was prosecuted twice after the restoration of democracy, hiring Lysias on the second occasion to write a speech delivered by one of his sons in his defence; he was by this time over seventy, and the family apparently felt that his age and his sons' impressive military record gave him a good chance of getting off—if not with an acquittal, at least with a fine that they could afford to pay. They probably had both a town house and a country estate, the latter abandoned, according to Lysias' speech, after the Spartan occupation of

of An—(S?) freed slaves living in Peiraioi (*IG* ii² 1567. 18, 20) and may have lived there themselves. They should be related to Autoboulos son of Antikles S., named on a dedication by (?) officials (at least three different tribes), ii² 3840.

¹⁰⁹ There may have been a sanctuary of Dionysos in the bay. Deiras (cf. Besa): Van Effenterre 1942; Bingen 1953, 621–2. Horos, *IG* ii² 2650 (security for rental of estate of orphan son of Kallias D.; the lessee may not have been a demesman). Tombstones, *IG* ii² 5977 = *CAT* 145, Philainetos D. with Kallistomache daughter of Amyntas of Oe (or Oa? ch. 25 n. 39), Philopolis added (?), from Senkini (?); 5978, a son of Charias D. ('Keratea'); 5965, Apatourios son of Astyphilos I and his son Astyphilos II ('Keratea'); 12967 (Senkini), 12499, 12658, and *CAT* 3. 364c all perhaps from the peribolos of Polystratos D. and his family. Cf. also ii² 5971 (a woman), from Markopoulo. It is not clear how far we can trust statements by the Antoniou brothers (Leonardos 1892) that all the stones in their collection were found on or near their own land at Rudseri.

TABLE 26.11.
Deiradiotai:
Polystratos *APF*
12076



Dekeleia (due to loss of its slave workforce?). Polystratos may well have had some experience of military command before 411, when he was put in charge of a garrison in Eretria; his three sons were all active in the last decade of the Peloponnesian War, mainly in the cavalry, and they probably supported the Thirty. Lykios son of Polystratos, who commanded the cavalry in the retreat of the Ten Thousand in Asia, is generally agreed to be one of them; and contacts with Olbia, which resulted in the grant of privileges (later renewed?) to Lykios' nephew (BS) Philopolis II son of Philopolis I, may go back to travels that began in the years immediately following the restoration of democracy, when life in Athens was difficult for ex-oligarchs.¹¹⁰

Hermodoros son of Straton D., councillor in 371/0 (*IG* ii³ 4. 53. 18), may have been a collateral relative of the oligarch Phrynichos son of Stratonides.

¹¹⁰ *APF* 12076; *Lysias* 20. Polystratos had been condemned and fined on the previous occasion. The speech (11–12, 23) claims that he had grown up in the city but had retired to lead a quiet life in the country, whereas Phrynichos had been a shepherd in his youth (indicating that the deme contained mountainous areas?) but had moved to the city to engage in politics; all this is clearly tendentious, and should not be taken to imply either that Polystratos lacked political ambition (the name of his son Philopolis may be significant) or that Phrynichos' family did not own land. The doubts expressed in *AO* p. 161 about Polystratos' office-holding are probably unjustified. For desertion of slaves to the Spartans after 413 see *Thuc.* 7. 27. 5. Lykios, *Xen. Anab.* 3. 3. 20 etc.; Philopolis II, *Inscr. Olbia* 5 = Dubois 1996, no. 21 (on the date see ch. 24 n. 79). Tomb peribolos, Bergemann 1997, 207 V 4; ch. 11 n. 16. *IG* ii² 12967 = *CAT* 3. 235 is definitely attributed to Senkini/Rudseri, where there seems to have been both a burial area, used also by demesmen of Kephale, and a farm with a tower (*AGC* 21 X9/Y2 no. 4; Buchholz 1963; *AD* 46 B 1, 1994, 66 for the farm). *IG* ii² 12499 = *CAT* 2. 258 and ii² 12658 = *CAT* 4. 237 were confiscated from dealers, and *CAT* 3. 364c emerged in a Sothebys sale in 1990; it cannot be proved that all these vases came from a single peribolos, but it is relatively likely in the case of the 3 vases published in *IG* (see Bergemann 1997, pl. 13. 2); *CAT* 3. 364c is very similar, but the older man portrayed with the armed Polystratos is called Polykrates. If this vase belonged to the same family, we would have to assume that the third son of Polystratos I was called Polykrates and that he, like his brother Philopolis I, had a son called Polystratos (IV) who died in battle; in this case the Polystratos portrayed with Philopolis I on *IG* ii² 12499 would be Polystratos I. On the other hand, it is possible that the workshop responsible for the vases produced two similar lekythoi for different clients.

Potamos

The demotic Potamios was used by members of three settlements, distinguished in some lists as Upper Potamos, Lower Potamos, and Potamos-Deiradiotai. It is not certain whether they all lay in the same area or whether Upper and Lower Potamos were situated near the city on the Ilissos.¹¹¹

A family from Potamos Deiradiotai, which by the second half of the fourth century was probably based in Piraeus, can be traced over three generations (see Table 26.12). Pyrrhos I son of Pankles I was commemorated on a lekythos of the early fourth century; his son Pankles II was perhaps buried with his wife's family in Piraeus. Pyrrhos III son of Pankles II served as ephebe in (?) 330/29/8; a cousin (FBS or FZS), Pyrrhos II son of Euthymachos, served as councillor in the Lykourgan period and had two sons who served together as epheboi in that period.¹¹²

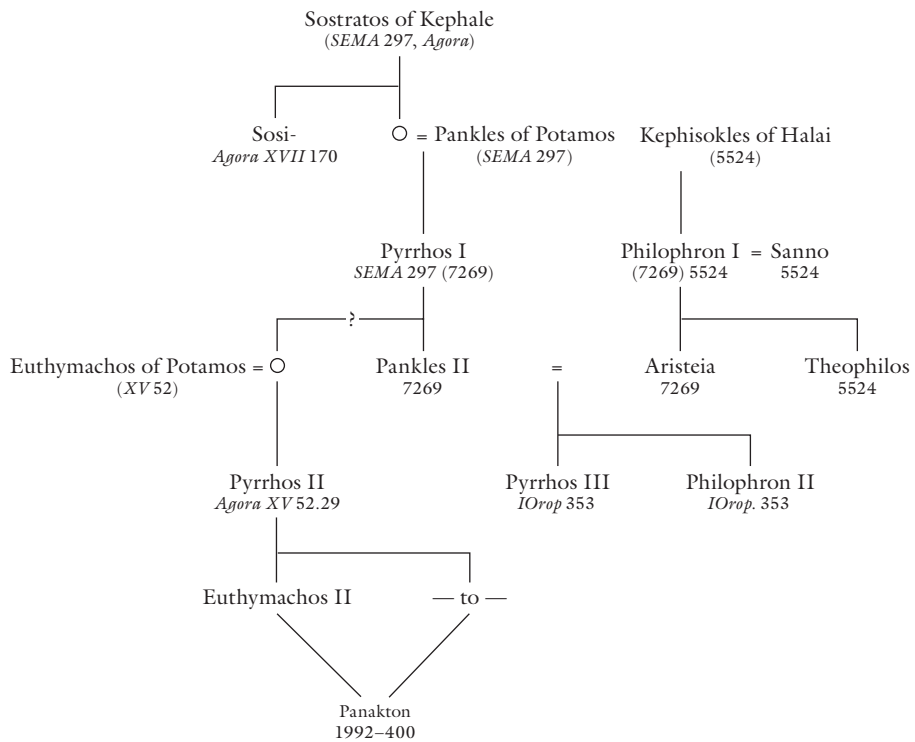
Antikles son of Philoxenos I P., named in a diadikasia list as taking on a liturgy c.380, was probably the father of Demokles son of Antikles and the uncle (FB) of Philoxenos II son of Lysistratos, who both served as councillors for Upper Potamos in 371/0.¹¹³ Aristoteles I son of Opsiades I, who registered and leased

¹¹¹ Traill (1986) places Upper and Lower Potamos in the city trittys. This view is supported by the occurrence in both *IG ii*³ 4. 53 (371/0) and *IG ii*³ 4. 25 (c.370?) of the sequence Phrearrhioi–Sounion–Deiradiotai–Potamos D. (Traill's coastal trittys) and (in variable order) of the group Skambonidai–Leukonoion–Kettos–Upper Potamos–Lower Potamos–Halimous–Cholleidai (his city trittys). Note that *AO* p. 250 has misidentified Upper and Lower Potamos. However, in *Agora XV* 42 (336/5?) all three Potamos demes are grouped under a single heading between Deiradiotai and Phrearrhioi, and in *SEG* 28. 52 (c.333) Upper Potamos appears between Phrearrhioi and Sounion, while Lower Potamos is between Skambonidai (?) and Kropidai, and Potamos Deiradiotai between Eupyridae and Aithalidae; in *Agora XV* 43 (335/4) Upper Potamos appears between Cholleidai and Oion. In any case, Traill is prepared to admit that trittyes of councillors did not always correspond with topographical trittyes (cf. ch. 21 at nn. 25–7). The discovery of two Potamos tombstones (*IG ii*² 7259, 7272 = *CAT* 3. 932, see Schmaltz and Salta 2003, 52), both commemorating women (one married to a Paianian, 7259), in the Upper Ilissos area is not a strong argument for location (another Potamos stone now found at Panepistemioupolis north of Athens, between Kypseli and Patissia, *AD* 25 B 1, 1970, 123 = *SEMA* 577, kioniskos of Amyntas Amyntou, but it is dated to the late 2nd c. BCE). The tribal reorganization of 307/6 (Traill 1978a, 107–9) in which Potamos Deiradiotai was transferred to Demetrias and Lower Potamos to Antigonis, while Deiradiotai and Upper Potamos remained in Leontis, shows that the pairs Deiradiotai/Potamos D. and Lower/Upper Potamos could for some purposes be thought of as 'split demes', but this is not a strong argument for a geographical separation of Upper and Lower Potamos from Potamos Deiradiotai. The mining activity of Aristoteles of Upper Potamos (below, n. 114) also lends some support to a location in SE Attika.

¹¹² Pyrrhos I, *CAT* 3. 777 = *SEMA* 297 (*Pyrrholés* on stone; name added later to lekythos of c.380 representing a daughter of Sostratos of Kephale; a sibling, Sosi-, *SEMA* 296; *CAT* misread Pyrrhos' patronymic); Pankles II, *IG ii*² 7269, found with ii² 5524, Bergemann 1997, 195 L 12 (family of Philophron son of Kephisokles of Halai Aixonides, whose descendants achieved some prominence in the Hellenistic period); Pyrrhos III, *IOrop* 353; Pyrrhos II (perhaps a DS of Pyrrhos I, from an intra-deme marriage, given his age) *Agora XV* 52. 29 (on the date see Tracy 1995, 131; his sons, Panakton 1992–400).

¹¹³ *APF* 1073; *IG ii*² 1932. 16–17, *IG ii*³ 4. 53. 35–6 (ch. 17 n. 15).

TABLE 26.12.
Potamos
Deiradiotes:
Pankles



a mine at Amphotrope *c.*340, also perhaps belonged to Upper Potamos, since his grandson (SS) appears as one of its councillors in 303/2.¹¹⁴

The family of Simulos P. had early contacts with the city, but nevertheless is also attested in the mining records in the fourth century. Its first known member may be the Simulos (I) who with a Dorotheos dedicated a bronze statue (*IG* i³ 834) on the Akropolis soon after the Persian wars. His son Demochares I served as one of the treasurers of Athena in 445/4 or 444/3, and made a dedication with his brother; Demochares II, who served as trierarch in the 370s and was

¹¹⁴ *Agora* XIX P 26. 252, 259; the appearance of Aristoteles II in *Agora* XV 62. 25 (ch. 17 n. 15) shows that the demotic of the mine lessee should be restored as [Potami] and not [ex Oiou] (so *LGP*N Aristoteles 53, but with an erroneous reference to Polystra[te], wife of Opsiades of Oion and presumably mother of his daughter Hierokleia; *LGP*N Polystrate (2) repeats the erroneous relationship with Aristoteles, who does not appear on *SEMA* 492; at Opsiades (5) the mine lease is attributed to the fictive Aristoteles of Oion, who should not be restored in *Agora* XIX P 28. 37). It is possible that the mother of Opsiades I of Potamos was a daughter of Opsiades I of Oion, but the name is attested in other demes. Since we do not know the tribe of the Oion family, I note the monuments here: (1) *SEG* 26. 296 = *CAT* 3. 405 = *SEMA* 492, naiskos (after 360, Bergemann 1997, 171 no. 504) in the Getty Museum, [O]ψιαδης Opsiadou ex Oiou with Polystra[te?]; heads of man and two women, perhaps daughter and wife; (2) *IG* ii² 7711, anthemion stele from Piraeus *c.*390–365 = *CEG* 512, monument for Telemachos of Phlya (ch. 29 n. 87) to which the name of his wife Hierokleia daughter of Opsiades of Oion was later added.

buried in the city, was probably the grandson (SS) of Demochares I, and father of Simulos II, perhaps attested as owning two ore-processing installations in (?) Amphitrope in the middle of the fourth century.¹¹⁵

Theaios son of Hippokles, councillor for Lower Potamos in 371/0 (*IG* ii³ 4. 53) had a son, Epikrates, buried on Samos (*IG* xii 6. 275). Epikrates son of Aristokrates, *IOrop* 353 II 9, also belonged to Lower P., but may be unconnected.

It has been suggested that Phokion belonged to Potamos, but this is far from certain.¹¹⁶

A very prominent monument consisting of five statues by Sthennis and Leochares was set up on the Akropolis c.348–318 to commemorate the family of Pasikles son of Myron of Potamos; Pasikles' son Pandaites served as one of the ephebic lochagoi of his tribe in 333/2/1.¹¹⁷ Another very conspicuous memorial was erected after Chaironeia in the Kerameikos to commemorate Bion son of Eubios P., who had died as a young man without leaving offspring. The name of his nephew (BS) Archikles son of Archias was added to the column carrying Bion's loutrophoros, and stelai commemorating other members of the family may have stood in the same peribolos.¹¹⁸ One would like to know whether these two competitive families belonged to the same section of the deme.

¹¹⁵ *APF* 3721. Demochares I, *IG* i³ 455; dedication with his brother [-5-]rates, i³ 954 (it may be worth suggesting that the brother's name might have been [Timok]rates and he might have been an ancestor of Timokrates son of Timokles P., who served as ephebic lochagos in 333/2/1, Reinmuth 1971 no. 9 = Alipherè 2015 I 27, II 21 and conceivably thesmothetes later in the century, *Agora* XVI 87, proposed by a Potamios—but the name is attested in several other Leontis demes in the period). The form of the dedication, a marble slab with a relief of 2 youths, one standing and one seated, is unparalleled; if (as seems likely) it represents the dedicants, the date should be c.450 or earlier rather than c.440. Possibly the family's wealth derived from an early involvement in mining. Demochares II, *IG* ii² 1607. 61, *SEMA* 578; Simulos II, *Agora* XIX P 14. 25–7 (conjectural restorations). Simulos father of Ktesippos of Kytheros, *IG* ii² 1929. 20 (*APF* 8889), could have been a DS of Simulos I.

¹¹⁶ Ch. 16 n. 32; Phylidis 2008, A 3. Phyle and Potamos are the only demes in which the name Phokion is attested in the 4th c., but Phokos, the name of the general's father and son, occurs in Iphistiadai, Oe (*APF* 6098), and Phaleron. A Phokion served as councillor for Potamos in (?) 336/5, *Agora* XV 42. 206 (M. H. Hansen 1992); if this is the general, he was 66 in that year (*APF* 15076). A Phokion appears in the Erechtheis casualty list of 459, *IG* i³ 1147. 184. Fossey 2003 is unconvincing.

¹¹⁷ Cf. ch. 12 n. 103, Table 12.1; *APF* 643; *IG* ii² 3829; Reinmuth 1971 no. 9 (Alipherè 2015) I 23, II 16–17, III 10.

¹¹⁸ Bergemann 1997, 187 A 21 (omitting *IG* ii² 11360); reconstruction of peribolos pl. 2. 4. Another loutrophoros, *SEMA* 580 = *CAT* 3. 890 (c.350 *SEMA*, but *CAT*'s date must be later) probably commemorated Moiragenes son of Kephisodoros P.; the father acted as guarantor for Androkles of Sphetos in the Lykourgan period, *IG* ii² 1593 = *SEG* 52. 142.

V Akamantis

CITY TRITTYS

The principal city deme was of course Kerameis, which is solidly located in the area west and north-west of the Agora, both inside the Dipylon gate and outside.¹ The other city demes were Hermos, Cholargos, Eiresidai, Iphistiadai, and perhaps Eitea. These may have stretched in a continuous line from Chaidari to Irakli, but can hardly have been contiguous at any point with Kerameis.

Kerameis

The deme was presumably already populous by the end of the sixth century;² in the fourth century it appointed six councillors. At the time of Kleisthenes' reforms the leading family in the deme was that of Glaukos I and his son Leagros I, the latter named frequently on vases as *kalos*; their residence in the potters' deme presumably helped them in exploiting this form of advertisement. Leagros dedicated an altar to the Twelve Gods in the Agora, perhaps in the 470s, and was a candidate for ostracism at this time; he was one of the generals appointed to lead a major colonizing expedition to the Strymon valley in 465/4, which ended in a disastrous defeat at Drabeskos. His son Glaukon II, also frequently named as *kalos*, had to establish himself as a serious candidate for election as general against his fellow-tribesman Perikles of Cholargos; it is a tribute to the strength of the family's reputation that he succeeded, serving as Perikles' colleague in 441/0, 439/8, (?) 435/4, and 433/2, perhaps also in other years. His wife, a daughter of Teisandros (Table 4.2), was a sister of the wife of Perikles' son Xanthippos; their daughter became *c.*420 the first wife of Kallias III son of Hipponikos of Alopeke. Her brother Leagros II did not live up to the family's reputation, and the family subsequently disappears.³

¹ See references in *Agora III*, plus Papadopoulos 1996, 2003; Siewert 1999; Stroszeck 2003; Ruggeri 2005; Steffélbauer 2007; and Ruggeri, Siewert, and Steffélbauer 2007.

² There may have been some depopulation in the 5th–4th c. as the area occupied by tombs extended.

³ *APF* 3027; 8429 IV. The history of this family is involved in several chronological cruces, concerning (1) the dating of Athenian vases and sculpture in the late 6th and early 5th c. (Francis and Vickers 1981; Boardman 1992; V. Parker 1994); (2) whether the large Kerameikos deposit of ostraka (Brenne 2001),

It has been suggested that Demainetos I K. was the Bouzyges Demainetos who served as general in the Korinthish War, but since Demainetos I's father Timasitheos I seems to have served as diaitetes in 371/0, Demainetos I was probably born too late for this identification; he should be the Demainetos K. for whom trierarchic activity is attested in the 350s and 340s. His son Timesitheos II, perhaps mentioned as a handsome young athlete by Aischines (1. 156) in 346, served as trierarch before 323/2, and had a son Timotheos who was ephēbe in 305/4.⁴

It is gratifying to be able to identify a family of successful potters in the deme: Bakchios son of Amphis— was commemorated in the late fourth century by a stele with a verse inscription celebrating his craft, and his sons Bakchios II and Kittos II moved to Ephesos to practise their trade; Kittos I, who signed a Panathenaic amphora *c.*367/6, was perhaps a brother of Bakchios I.⁵

More surprisingly, but still in a tradition of artisanship, Kerameis may have been the deme of a trireme-builder. The name Nausinikos, attested as that of the builder of the horse-transport *Gnómē* and *Hégemonē*, occurs only in Kerameis and

which contains joinable sherds naming Leagros and Megakles IV, belongs to a single ostrakophoria of the 470s or contains sherds from several years (D. M. Lewis 1974); (3) the date of the Athenian defeat at Drabeskos (see discussion in Humphreys 1999). Leagros' altar is *IG* i³ 951 (470s–early 460s, Stewart 2008); i³ 958, a dedication commemorating a victory in dithyramb of Akamantis with a choregos called [. . .]gros, in the (?) 440s, is perhaps best left out of account, since the names Epagros and Euagros appear in the 4th c. in Kephale (*Agora* XV 42. 275, ?336/5) and Prospalta (*IG* ii² 7314 = *CAT* 3. 361), both in Akamantis. In any case, the information that Leagros died at Drabeskos comes only from Pausanias (1. 29. 5), and it is not clear whether he (or his source) derived it from a casualty list or deduced it (questionably) from *Hdt.* 9. 75. Since I accept the date 465/4 for Leagros' command in Thrace with Sophanes of Dekeleia (Humphreys 1999), I would put Leagros' birth-date *c.*500 at the latest and more probably *c.*510. It is not unlikely that the family deliberately encouraged vase-painters to celebrate its younger members as *kaloí*, having realized that the fashion had political functions, and thus managed to prolong Leagros' and Glaukon's *kalos* inscriptions beyond the normal period (cf. Mannack 2014; R. F. Sutton 1992, 15–16 on the psykter by Smikros, Malibu 82 AE 53, BArch 30685, representing the vase-painter and potter Euphronios seducing Leagros, which may be a negative comment on both parties in the relationship; on political uses of symbolism *c.*480–460 see Humphreys *op. cit.*). On the other hand, Leagros II was still unmarried *c.*400 (Andokides 1. 117–19, ch. 4 n. 8), which should mean that he was born *c.*440 or later; this makes it very difficult to accept the statement of [Themistokles] *Ep.* VIII p. 747 Hercher 1873 that Leagros I was a *synephēbos* of Themistokles. This synchronism resembles the connection between Themistokles and Ephialtes reported in *A.P.* 25. 3–4; both seem to use the name of Themistokles as a way of stigmatizing the proponents of the new policies of the 460s, and some misunderstanding of metaphorical expressions (in *Stesimbrotos*?) may be involved. The Nolan amphora BArch 212623 representing a choregic dedication for a victory by Akamantis, with the additional 'inscription' *Glaukon kalos*, need not imply that Glaukon was the choregos (he might have been a member of the chorus); however, if Leagros indeed died in 465/4, a choregic victory a few years later by his son, aged *c.*18–20, is a possibility.

⁴ *APF* 3273; on the date of the list of diaitetai *IG* ii³ 4. 24 see *SEG* 34. 63; Lambert 2004b n. 5. See also ch. 25 n. 21, 20 n. 88. There is no very strong reason to associate Demainetos with Demostatos K., archon eponymos in 393/2, or with the family or families in which the names Demostate and Demainete occur, *IG* ii² 11865b (p. 888) = *CAT* 5. 380; 12973 = *CAT* 4. 379.

⁵ Ch. 6 p. 175; *SEG* 61. 210. Cf. Bodel 2000.

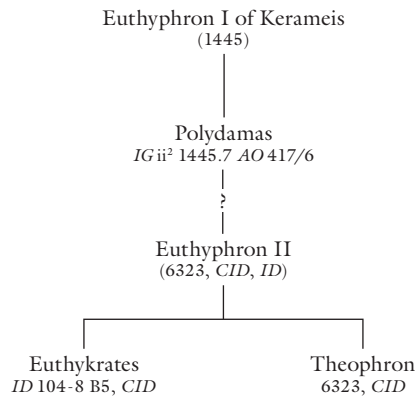
Kephale,⁶ and a daughter of Nausinikos of Kerameis who died in childhood was commemorated by a naiskos found in Piraeus. The son of a Nausinikos who served as one of three hieropoioi of the orgeones of Bendis in Piraeus in 337/6 may have been her brother, or may have belonged to Kephale ([Demosthenes] 59. 65). Polydamas son of Euthyphron I K., treasurer of the Other Gods in 375/4, may have been the grandfather (FF) of Euthykrates and Theophron sons of Euthyphron (II), commemorated together on a stele found in the Kerameikos; both brothers are attested as naopoioi at Delphi, Euthykrates in 334/3 and again *c.*326–324, Theophron in the latter period. Euthykrates also appears as guarantor for the lease of a house on Delos (see Table 27.1).⁷

Several other demesmen of Kerameis seem to have lived in Piraeus, including Nikandros, whose wife, daughter of Phantias (K.?), may have been related to the wealthy diaitetes Phanos of [Demosthenes] 29. 23–4, perhaps the Phanos or Phanes K. whose son dedicated statues of the hero-doctors Machaon and Podaleirios in the city Asklepieion in 350/49.⁸ Also Ar[istippos] (unjustifiable restoration, length of name unknown; Aristodemos and Archestratos attested in K. in the fourth century) and Hegemon, sons of Hegesippos K. (Papazarkadas 2011, 302 no. 7); the former leased a marsh in Piraeus in the Lykourgan period (*Agora XIX* L 9. 82–3) and the latter freed a slave living there at the same date (*IG* ii² 1567. 15–16). Possibly related to Hegesistratos son of Hegesilaos K., involved in a diadikasia in 381/0 (*SEG* 32. 171, *APF* p. 210).

⁶ *IG* ii² 1627. 247 etc. (see *LGNP* Nausinikos 2). In the Peloponnesian War horse-transports were made from old triremes (Thuc. 2. 56), and Nausinikos' ships are categorized as no longer in service in the dock records of 329/8 and subsequent years. Nausinikos of Kephale, archon eponymos in 378/7, is probably rather old for the trireme-builder, but the hieropoios of *IG* ii² 1255. 11–12 may belong to Kerameis. The archon's son Boethos took part in the Lykourgan Pythais of (?) 326/5 (Jacquemin a. o. 2012, 54), with other elderly men; another son, Nausiphilos, acted as witness for Apollodoros of Acharnai in the late 340s concerning an earlier incident (in the 370s? cf. *AO* p. 290) in which he had acted as guarantor for Epainetos of Andros, [Dem.] 59. 65, 71.

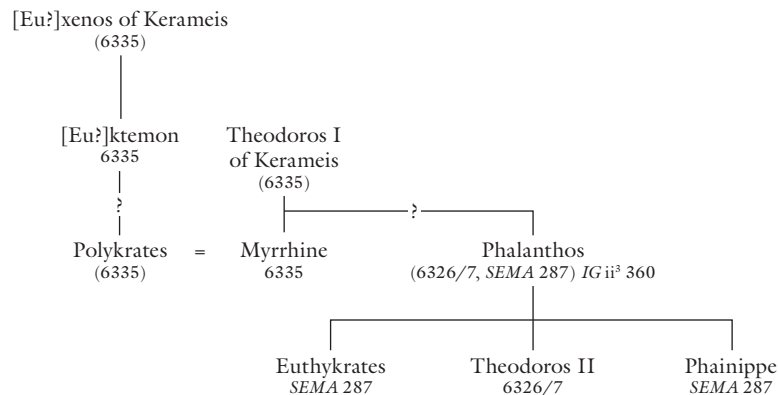
⁷ Nausinikos' daughter Hierokleia, *IG* ii² 6328 = *CAT* 1. 366 (Bergemann 1997, 170 no. 495), *c.*360? Orgeones, *IG* ii² 1255, cf. *SEG* 19. 125. The Nausinikos and Euphron named on *IG* ii² 11404 = *CAT* 2. 384b (no reason to correct to Eu<thy>phron as *IG*) may not belong to K. (*IG* xii 6. 262. 113, Phrearrhioi, has been added online to the list s.v. *Euphron* in *LGNP* II). Euthykrates and Theophron, ii² 6323 (names cut separately?), *CID* II 32. 33, 79 A 1, 102 II B 26–7 (read [Theophron Eu<thy>phronos, [Euthykrates E]u<thy>phronos?), 119. 25 (read Euthy[phronos], 27; Euthykrates, *ID* 104-8 B 5, *c.*360–30).

⁸ *IG* ii² 6341 = *CAT* 2. 350a (Bergemann 1997, 168 naiskos no. 393; now dated in the 350s rather than 390s as *IG*), Philogeiton K. with Peisagora; ii² 6337, Protonikos son of Lykiskos, *c.*395–365 (a son or daughter Nikostrat[os] or [-e], buried in the city in mid-century, ii² 6333). Nikandros, ii² 6332, 395–365; the absence of a demotic for his father-in-law Phantias is easier to understand if he also belonged to Kerameis. Phanos, *APF* 14079 (acting as private not public arbitrator; for doubts on the authenticity of [Dem.] 29 see Humphreys 1985*b*, 1986*a*; ch. 7 n. 145); dedication, *IG* ii² 4353, *c.*350 (Peck's suggestion that the son was called [Lama]chos, *SEG* 42. 180, is not plausible). For the possibility that the cavalryman Phanes of *IG* ii² 5222. 2 belonged to Akamantis see ch. 21 n. 48. A more modest dedication to a healing hero, Amynos, was made by Diophantos son of Kallias K., *IG* ii² 4385 (Aleshire 1991, A 3); his father may have served as councillor in (?) 336/5, *Agora XV* 42. 286, and his son Kephisios was epebe in 305/4, ii² 478. 79 (Reinmuth 1971 no. 17). Androkles son of Kleinias K. served as priest of Asklepios in 328/7 (Aleshire 1991 no. 864); *IG* ii² 6334 may commemorate his son [Pol]ykarpos.



Notes: LGPN Euthyphron 2, Nausinikos 5–6, cites IG ii² 11404 in connection with this family, but the stone reads *Euphron* and there seems to be no reason to emend it, or to link this family with ii² 6328.

TABLE 27.1. Kerameis: Euthyphron



Notes: Lambert 2004c suggests reading [Eu]xenos as well as [Eu]ktemon; the councillor Euktemon K. of *Agora* XV 42. 288 may be a descendant. LGPN identifies Theodoros I and II, which since ii² 6326/7 is a loutrophoros-stele is unlikely.

TABLE 27.2. Kerameis: [Eu?]xenos

Another intra-deme marriage linked Polykrates son of [Eu?]ktemon with the family of his wife Myrrhine daughter of Theodoros I (see Table 27.2). Myrrhine was commemorated with her father-in-law [Eu?]ktemon son of [Eu?]xenos K. on a relief stele found in the city. Her brother Phalanthos had two children: his daughter Phainippe's stele was found in the Agora, and a stele with a relief loutrophoros commemorating her brother Theodoros II was found in Piraeus. Phalanthos, councillor in 328/7, will have been either Phainippe's father or a later member of the family.⁹

⁹ [Eu]ktemon and Myrrhine (represented with a further woman), IG ii² 6335 = CAT 3. 395; the relief and Myrrhine's name were added. Phainippe, SEMA 287 (mid 4th c.); Theodoros II, IG ii² 6326/7 (before 350); Phalanthos II, IG ii³ 360 (?) (it is not necessary to assume that he was the son of Theodoros II; there is also the possibility that Phainippe married within the deme and had a son who was called after his MF, especially since the death of Theodoros II may have made Phainippe an epikleros).

Epiteles K. leased a mine at Laureion for 20 dr. in 367/6, and is named on a horos from the mining area. A fairly well-to-do family of no special distinction that can possibly be traced for four generations begins with Epikrates I son of Demo[krates I K.], named in a diadikasia list of c.380, *IG ii*² 1928. Epikrates son of Olympion I K., councillor in the late fourth century, could be the liturgist's grandson (SS), and uncle (FB) of two fellow-councillors. Olympion II and Kleonostos, sons of Mnesiades K. Epikrates' son Demokrates (II?) was one of the epimeletai of the Mysteries in 267/6 (Menekles).¹⁰ Androstenes (II) son of Andropeithes (II) K., also named in this Council list, should be the grandson (SS) of the Androstenes son of Andropeithes commemorated by *IG ii*² 6315 (mid fourth century), and the cousin (FBS) of Androstenes III son of Pytheas I, father of Pytheas II and Satyra, commemorated together on *SEMA* 282 (*SEG* 25. 248).

Eitea

The deme has not been located, and there are difficulties in distinguishing members of Akamantis' Eitea from members of Eitea in Antiochis. Demokrates E. of Akamantis, one of the treasurers of trierarchic funds in 323/2, may possibly be named on the curse tablet Wünsch 1897, 103, but the name is very common.¹¹

Hermos

Plutarch *Phokion* 22 mentions a temenos of Hermes on the road from Athens to Eleusis, in which Phokion's son-in-law Charikles erected a statue of the hetaira Pythionike paid for by money from Harpalos, but this really should not be regarded as evidence of anything. However, a site for the deme near the Athens–Eleusis road is supported by the provenance of the relief stele of Euangelos son of Theophilos and his wife, and the record of two members of the deme as owners of draught animals in the building records from Eleusis.

Euangelos' father Theophilos served as taxiarch or phylarch with Thrasymedes of Acharnai in 373/2, and perhaps as a result of this experience married his son Euangelos to Thrasymedes' daughter; Euangelos served as councillor in (?) 336/5 and is represented as an elderly man on his tombstone c.320.¹²

¹⁰ Epiteles: *Agora* XIX P 5. 44, *SEG* 32. 236. Council: *Agora* XV 56 with *SEG* 34. 175; on the date see ch. 17 n. 18; Appendix 1. Demokrates II: *IG ii*³ 915.

¹¹ The arguments for locating Akamantis' Eitea (rather than that of Antiochis) at Grammatiko (see ch. 32 n. 37), discussed and rejected by Traill 1986, 140–2, are not strong. On Wünsch 1897, 103 see Wilhelm 1904; ch. 14 n. 83. Either Eitea or Hermos may perhaps have lain between Kerameis and Chologos. The name is probably related to *itea*, willow tree (or at least would have been so interpreted), so the site should be near a river, either the Kephisos, city tritrys, or the 'potamos' of SE Attica (ch. 26 n. 111), coastal tritrys.

¹² *IG ii*³ 4. 244; ch. 21 n. 121; *IG ii*² 6077 = *CAT* 2. 376, Scholl 1996 no. 113 (cf. ch. 14 n. 31; Thrasymedes' daughter seems to have been born relatively late in her father's life); *Agora* XV 42. 295. On gravestones from the Sacred Way and Chaidari (ii² 6072, 6077, 6088) see Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1988, 91.

Three families of Hermos, of the same social background, all used names beginning with Anti-, although it is not possible to reconstruct any precise links between them. Antisthenes served as hellenotamias in 411 during the regime of the Four Hundred; Antimachos served as paredros of the hellenotamiai in 416/5, and his grandson (SS) Antimachos II son of Philon was trierarch of the ship that took theoroi and choruses to Delos for the festival in 375/4; Pyrrhias son of Antikrates carted stone for the building operations at Eleusis c.333, and Antikrates son of Sokrates served as hipparch in the same period; the cavalryman Antikrates H. attested c.250 will be a descendant. All of them may well have belonged to landowning families; the same is probably true of Charias H., councillor in 335/4, who was paid 75 dr. for carting 'Lousian earth' to the Eleusinion in Athens in 329/8.¹³

Kallias son of Lysimachos H. emerged into political activity as a patriot in the period after the liberation of Athens in 307, serving as councillor in 304/3 and proposing honours in the following year for Nikon of Abydos, whose benefactions had included help to Athenian survivors after a sea-battle in the Hellespont, perhaps in the Lamian War; he served as councillor again in 283/2, proposing a decree concerning the sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemos.¹⁴

Cholargos

Knemon, the grumpy old man of Menander's *Dyskolos*, farmed at Phyle and hated people 'all the way to Cholargos' (32–4); it is not clear whether this passage implies that part of Cholargos lay on the top of Mt Aigaleos and thus was visible from Phyle, or whether the point is that Knemon hated even 'neighbours' whom he could not see because they were hidden by high land. In any case there is general consensus, resting on very slender evidence, that Cholargos lay on the south-east side of Aigaleos. The Herakleion of the Mesogeioi may have been in this deme.¹⁵

The dominant family in the deme in the fifth century was clearly that of Xanthippos and Perikles; the latter's land, situated in an area open to devastation by invading Spartan armies in the early years of the Peloponnesian War, may well have been in the deme. Perikles' two older sons served in the cavalry, and died in

¹³ Antisthenes, *IG* i³ 373. 12f.; Antimachos I and II *APF* 1124; Pyrrhias *IEleus* 159. 91; Antikrates Sokratous *IG* ii³ 4. 249. 3, cf. Bugh 1988 I A 3 and II B 7; Charias, *Agora* XV 43. 130, *IEleus* 177. 258 (the Charias of l. 207 may be a different man; for landowners hauling stone and other loads for sanctuaries see ch. 19 n. 192).

¹⁴ *Agora* XV 58. 96, 61. 3, 71. 8; *IG* ii² 493 with Habicht 1995, 50; ii³ 879 (arch. Euthios). Kallias also served as naopoios at Delphi at some date after 310, *CID* II 119. 29, 122 I 11.

¹⁵ The *Dyskolos* passage (perhaps due only to associations with *cholê*, cf. ch. 26 n. 54) would also be compatible with a deme site on the outskirts of the city, which is perhaps what the Mesogeioi texts suggest (see however, Thuc. 2. 13. 1). *IG* ii² 7789, commemorating the daughter of a demesman, came from Chaidari, which seems to have been something of a collecting-point for stones (three of Hermos, two—*IG* ii² 6090, *SEG* 13. 115 = *SEMA* 225—of Eroiadai); cf. perhaps ii² 7768. For a deme-site on Aigaleos that may have belonged either to Cholargos or to Eupyridai see ch. 26 n. 47. Mesogeioi *IG* ii² 1248, see however ch. 20 n. 130. The name Cholargos was later given to a village in the Mesogeia (Barber 1999, 80) and thence to a Metro station on the route to the Mesogeia.

the plague without leaving issue; Perikles II, his son by Aspasia, died in 406, and we do not hear of descendants. The Perikles of Cholargos now attested as a trierarch *c.*354 may be a descendant (son ?) of Perikles III son of Hippokrates, the statesman's great-nephew (BSS).¹⁶ Rivalry in deme and tribe with Perikles II may have encouraged Polyaratos of Cholargos to ally himself indirectly with the descendants of Harmodios, *c.*420, by marrying a daughter of Menexenos I of Kydathenaion. Allegations of complicity with oligarchs seem to have been made against Menexenos' sons-in-law in the lawsuits over family property that erupted shortly after the end of the Peloponnesian War, but it is not clear whether these were based on charges more substantive than general social status; the marriage of a daughter of Polyaratos to Kleomedon of Kydathenaion, son of the 'demagogue' Kleon, between *c.*405 and 399, may have been an attempt to secure some protective democratic colouring. Polyaratos' son Periandros had a political career.¹⁷ Another wealthy member of the deme may have been the miller Nausikydes, a self-made man who seems to have had a slave-staffed establishment in or near the city, but bought pigs and cattle, so he evidently had land. His (?) son Nausimenes I married the daughter of Kiron I of (?) Pithos.¹⁸

On Kephisophon son of Lysiphon Ch., one of the elder statesmen of the Lykourgan era, see Humphreys 2004, 95–6. If he was the Kephisophon involved in the Harpalos affair (Worthington 1992, 210) he would have been 64 at the

¹⁶ *APF* 11811; Ariphron and Perikles on a skyphos, Daskalake 2013. Hippokrates son of Ariphron had three sons, Telesippos, Demophon, and Perikles III (a fourth son called Xanthippos, suggested by Matthaiou 2011*a*, 87–8, is not all that probable). The latter was 'still very young in 412' (*APF*), so might just be the trierarch of *SEG* 45. 147. Telesarchos Ch., who made a dedication to Asklepios in 340/39 (*IG* ii² 1533. 14, Aleshire 1991 no. 13509), and Telesarchides, councillor in (?) 336/5, *Agora* XV 42. 300, may be descendants of Telesippos. Telesarchos Ch. also appears in the mining records (*Agora* XIX P 5. 50, leases for 1550 dr., 367/6, cf. P 7. 12?); he may be the Telesarchos represented with his (?) brother Archinos and their (?) father Euphanes on *IG* ii² 11498 = *CAT* 3. 207, a relief stele of *c.*400 in the Piraeus Museum. The name of Archilla daughter of Lysippos, probably Euphanes' wife, was perhaps added later to the stele. Nikostratos son of Euphanes II Ch., commemorated on the 3rd c. kioniskos *IG* ii² 7787, and Euphanes IV son of Eukles Ch., councillor in 281/0, *Agora* XV 72. 13 (cf. Euphanes ? V, *SEG* 28. 147. 7, late 3rd c.), would then be descendants.

¹⁷ *APF* 11907, 3773; Table 7.2B. Polyaratos served as *paredros* to the hellenotamiai in 410/9, *IG* i³ 375. 8ff. (cf. ch. 15 n. 4). On the suggestion of an earlier tie between Kleon and the family of Menexenos see ch. 4 n. 46. Polyaratos' other son-in-law, Eryximachos, may himself have been suspected of oligarchic sympathies. Proxenos Ch., councillor in (?) 336/5 (*Agora* XV 42. 299) may be a descendant. Note also that [Menexeno]s, [Periandro]s, or [Bathyllo]s is attested in a liturgic record of *c.*330–322, *SEG* 46. 181. 5. Periandros' son Polyaratos II and Bathyllos' son Theophrastos both served as liturgists in the 330s–320s.

¹⁸ *APF* 8443, with table. The view (accepted by *APF* and by *LGPN* no. 5) that the sophist Nausikydes of Cholargos of Plat. *Gorg.* 487c was the wealthy miller of Xen. *Mem.* 2. 7. 6 and Ar. *Ekk.* 424 is somewhat rash, since the name Nausikydes may have been less rare in the 5th c. than later (cf. *LGPN* nos. 1, 8). The sophist was presumably the brother or father of Nausimenes I Ch., who married the daughter of Kiron (of Pithos? ch. 29 n. 45, ch. 7 case 3) between *c.*404 and 390, and died without issue after four years of marriage. (With reference to Nausimenes' alleged poverty at the time of his death, Is. 8. 8, it is worth noting that in touching on the failure of Nausimenes' kin to return his widow's dowry the speaker of Is. 8 was on delicate ground, since in § 14 he calls on members of the family to act as witnesses for him.)

time. The Lysiphon Ch. who was councillor in 336/5 (*Agora* XV 42. 301) must have been a brother (Kephisophon was diaitetes in 330/29, *IG* ii³ 4. 33).

The family of Xenokles I Ch., who worked on the Parthenon (Plutarch *Perikles* 13), can be traced into the second century. Xenokles II, diaitetes in 330/29 (*IG* ii³ 4. 33) was probably a grandson of Xenokles I and father of Xenodemos I, whose son Xenokles III was councillor in 304/3 and again c.280 (*Agora* XV 61. 118, 72. 8); his son was ephebe in 305/4 (*IG* ii² 478. 74). A later Xenodemos (IV) contributed to the epidosis of 183/2 (Hermogenes: *IG* ii² 2332 = *SEG* 32. 218, Migotte 1992 no. 19).

Eiresidai

The deme bordered on Iphistiadai, since Plato's land in Iphistiadai lay next to that of the family of his brother-in-law (ZH) Eurymedon of Myrrhinous, which was in Eiresidai. Possibly Eiresidai should be placed between Iphistiadai and Cholargos.¹⁹

Eiresidai was the deme of a famous pankratiast, Aristophon son of Lysinos, for whom the Athenians erected a statue at Olympia, the base of which survives; he made a dedication at Athens to Asklepios and appears as leader of an eranos that lent a talent on security of a house and land in the Spata area.²⁰

Iphistiadai

A horos of a sanctuary of Herakles, which may well be the sanctuary of Herakles in Iphistiadai mentioned in Plato's will, was found in modern Irakli. Plato's land in this deme was bordered on the north by 'the road from the sanctuary at Kephisia' and on the south by the Herakleion.²¹

Plato's other neighbours belonged to Cholleidai and Phrearrhioi; evidently land in the deme had changed hands quite freely, at least from the time of the Peloponnesian War. Nevertheless we have evidence of long-lasting attachment to the area from one local gravestone. It was set up c.430 to commemorate Aristetas I., represented with his father and wife; the two lions on top of the stele perhaps represented the military prowess of the two men. Later, probably in the fourth century, the relief was repaired and the names of Aristetas' sons, first Aristomachos

¹⁹ D. L. 3. 41; the position of Eiresidai in Traill's map (1986; cf. Stanton 1994) does not fit this datum.

²⁰ Paus. 6. 13. 11, 14. 1, *I. Olympia* 169 (Moretti 1957 no. 484); *IG* ii² 4397 (Aleshire 1991, no. 2111); Finley 1952 no. 30 = ii² 2699. Dow (Nachlass, 'Horoi') noted that the creditor . . . lippos E—des of *IG* ii² 2753 + *SEG* 17. 61 (cf. 17. 24–5; Finley 1952 no. 97) is Philippos son of Antiphemos E., councillor in 338/7 (*IG* ii³ 4. 27. 18), who may also appear in *IG* ii³ 316, and 317. *PAAH* 1963, 7f. (M. J. Osborne 1988 no. 24, *SEMA* 194) is an early 4th c. relief stele from the Akademy area which represents a woman sitting in front of a stele, commemorating Hippylos and Lysippides sons of Iason of Eiresidai (*CAT* 3. 218 suggests a connection with *IG* ii² 11728, but this does not seem particularly likely).

²¹ D. L. 3. 41; *IG* ii² 2611; 2610, another horos from a Herakles sanctuary, copied in a private house in Kephisia, may well also have belonged to the sanctuary in Iphistiadai. See Klaffenbach 1926.

and then Aristonymos, were added (another name was deleted to make room for that of Aristonymos). Finally, the name of Timariste daughter of Theophon of Lamptraí, presumably wife of one of the sons, was added.²²

INLAND TRITTYS

Sphettos, Hagnous, and Prospalta are all approximately located; Kikynna is not. The inland and coastal trittyes of Akamantis were contiguous.

Sphettos

The deme lay in the area of modern Koropi and of the medieval village Philiati (sometimes called Koursala) to the west of it. Medieval builders were active in this area and most of the reported material comes from secondary use. The deme decree *SEG* 36. 187, of the second half of the fourth century, which contains references to a sanctuary of Demeter (?), a theatre, and a priest of Dionysos, came from Philiati. The base of a statue of Demetrios of Phaleron commissioned by the deme from the sculptor Antignotos was found at Kastro tou Christou, where there may have been a sanctuary.²³ A dedication to Hermes by Demokedes son of Demonstratos (no demotic) was found at Philiati, as was a relief dedicated to Dionysos, showing him with sixteen worshippers, two crowned, and a pig, perhaps the cast of a performance at the local Rural Dionysia (or just a *kómos*?); a dedication to Kybele came from the church of Ag. Demetrios, half an hour west of Koropi.²⁴

²² *IG* i³ 1283 *bis* (*LGP*N thinks that Timariste was the wife of Aristetas/Aristaios). *CAT* 3. 075 seems to have an erroneous provenance, and says that lines 2 and 3 were cut *in rasura*. On additions and alterations to grave monuments see also ch. 11 at n. 45 ff. *IG* ii² 6297, also found in the deme area, is a trapeza commemorating —les son of Kallimachos I, probably Epikles son of Kallimachos who served as councillor in the 250s, *IG* ii³ 922. 115, or a brother.

²³ See Kalogeropoulou 1969, also Ross 1855, 219–20; *AGC* 21 X7/Y4, 32–36, X8/Y3 2–3; *AD* 54 B 1, 116; Kakavogianne 2009. Geometric and later cemetery at Philiati, *AD* 42, 1987 (1992) B 1, 97. There were Mycenaean chamber tombs at Kastro tou Christou. The honorand of the deme decree *SEG* 36. 187 (restorations in this text require revision), Apollodoros son of A—, may be an ancestor of Apollodoros Apollodorou, councillor in 223/2, *IG* ii³ 1153. 32–3, 48, 52–3, 68. Statue of Demetrios of Phaleron, *SEG* 25. 206. Although *IG* ii³ 4. 281 has now been attributed by Tracy (1994a) to Demetrios II, the story that 360 statues were erected by the demes in honour of a Demetrios Ph. (Wehrli 1968, F 24. 52 = D. L. 5. 75–6, Fortenbaugh and Schütrumpf 2000 F 1) is still likely to refer to Demetrios I (especially in view of the philosophically significant number; see ch. 18 n. 37); Aixone honoured Demetrios I (*IG* ii² 1201, cf. *SEG* 29. 130, ch. 29 n. 113, 31 n. 11), and so probably did Sphettos. This text shows that the sculptor Antignotos of Pliny *NH* 34. 86 worked in the late 4th c.; on the Antignotos who signed *IG* ii² 3442–3 see Keesling 2007; 2010c.

²⁴ Hermes, *IG* ii² 4628; Solders 1931, 41 no. 20; dedication to Dionysos, perhaps commemorating a choregic victory, from chapel NW of Koropi, Milchhöfer 1887, 98 no. 103; Voutiras 1991. Kybele, Vermaseren 1982, 114–15 no. 386.

The dominant family in the deme may always have been that in which the names Thymochares, Kallias, and Phaidros are repeated. A Thymochares who died at Drabeskos (?) in 464, and another who served as *tamias* in 440/39, may have belonged to it, although neither has a recorded demotic; the same is true of the Thymochares who served as general under the Four Hundred in 411. Kallias I S., who owned land and leased a mine in Nape in 367/6, may have been the general's son. Mining activity is also attested for Thymochares II and Phaidros I, who were perhaps sons of Kallias I. Thymochares III, son of Phaidros I, was one of the commissioners appointed to run the *Amphiarai* in 329/8; he may have purchased land at Sphettos in the *hekatostai* sales. He perhaps served as general in 322/1 or 321/0, and certainly did so in 315/4 and 313/2. His sons Kallias II and Phaidros II were both prominent in the period between the liberation of Athens in 307 and the Chremonidean War, Kallias acting on Athens' behalf in Egypt while Phaidros—who lived on into the 250s—stayed in Attika. Both had sons called Thymochares: Thymochares IV, son of Phaidros, served as *agonothetes* of the Dionysia in 274/3 (Euboulos), and perhaps as *archon eponymos* in the 250s; Thymochares V, son of Kallias, dedicated a silver drinking vessel in 277 on Delos, where his father had been granted the status of *proxenos*. Either of these two cousins may be the Thymochares attested as cavalryman, and as contributing to an *epidosis* in 248/7. Phaidros III son of Thymochares IV served as *ephebe* in 220/19 (Menekrates of Oe).²⁵

The Anaitios who was a member of the Thirty should according to Loeper's hypothesis have belonged to the inland *trittys* of Akamantis and may therefore have been Anaitios of Sphettos, who served as one of the *hellenotamiai* in 410/9.²⁶

²⁵ *APF* 13964. *IG* i³ 1144. 51, 458. 11–12; Thuc. 8. 95. 2, Xen. *Hell.* 1. 1. 1. Kallias I, *Agora XIX* P 5. 42, 48, 65 (owns land, leases 2 mines for 20 dr. each). Thymochares II, *SEG* 28. 204; the *lekythos* Peek 1942, 125 no. 271 = *CAT* 0. 232, *SEMA* 1964, found in the Laureion area, may commemorate him. Phaidros (II ? no demotic), *Agora XIX* P 20. 93. Phaidros II is associated with Misgolas of Kollytos and Misgolas' boyfriend Timarchos of Sphettos by Aisch. 1. 43 in a passage implying that they were of approximately the same age, i.e. born c.390–385 (ch. 26 n. 96; Fisher 2001, 176–7); he served as general in 347/6, c.334, and in 323/2. Thymochares III, *IG* ii³ 355, Lambert 1997a F 6 B 41; Paschidis 2008 no. A 17. A. J. Bayliss 2011 dates the generalships 322/1, 315/4, 313/2. On Kallias II see T. L. Shear 1978 (*IG* ii³ 911); M. J. Osborne 1979; Habicht 1979 ch. 2, 2006b 158–9; Dreyer 1996; Humphreys 2007; Paschidis 2008 A 47; J. L. Shear 2010; M. J. Osborne 2015; his Delian *proxeny* *IG* xi 4. 527. On the career of Phaidros II and the date of *IG* ii³ 985 (259/8 or 255/4) see Gauthier 1985; Henry 1992; M. J. Osborne 1989; Habicht 1995; Humphreys 2007; G. J. Oliver 2007a, 243 nn. 71–2; Paschidis A 46. Thymochares V, *IG* xi 2. 164 B 1–2, 203 B 31 (Habicht 1979, 149f.; missed by *LGP*N); Thymochares IV or V, Bugh 1988 II B 275, *IG* ii³ 1011 II 70 (probably also the *archon eponymos* of the early 250s). Aleshire 1991, p. 137 argues that the *epimeletes* of the Asklepion in 247/6 (*IG* ii³ 1010 = Stele V 73) was not Thymo[cha]res of Sphettos]. Phaidros III, *IG* ii³ 1196. 15. The [Th]ymochares commemorated on a *loutrophoros*-stele (not *lekythos*) from Markopoulo with a Timotheos and a Eunike (not Synike? *Mes.-Arg.* 413, *SEG* 57. 248) may be affinally connected, but cf. Timotheos of Hagnous, *IG* ii² 5279 and (?) *SEG* 56. 289.

²⁶ *IG* i³ 375. 50; restored in *SEG* 32.161 Stele 1 [14], but not in *Agora XIX* P 2. His office in 410/9 would suggest that he had supported Theramenes in 411. Aischines the Socratic (son of Lysanias) also belonged to S.

Xenokles son of Xeinis S. is the first attested member of a family that became prominent in the Lykourgan era and can be traced into the third century. Xenokles made two dedications on the Akropolis commemorating liturgic victories, with a tribal torch-race team at the Panathenaia of 346/5, and with a team of pyrrhichistai. After Chaironeia he became one of Lykourgos' associates, and took over the position of finance minister (*epi tēi dioikēsēi*) for (?) 332/1–329/8. After Lykourgos' death he became, with Lykourgos' son Habron, a symbol of the retrospectively idealized halcyon summer of democracy; it was probably in 318/7, after Polyperchon's proclamation of freedom for the Greek cities, that he took office as epimeletes of the Mysteries, dedicating two statues at Eleusis and constructing a new bridge on the processional route at his own expense. He emerged again in 307/6 as agonothetes of (?) both the Dionysia and the Lenaia, and in the following year led an embassy to Antigonos I that brought back a gift of 140 talents for Athena.²⁷

Xenokles had one or perhaps two attested brothers: Krates, if the Krates named with him on a curse tablet of (?) the 320s was a brother, and Androkles, who financed Akamantis' eutaxia team c.330. Both Xenokles and Androkles are recorded as contractors for some kind of public business in the Lykourgan period. Xenokles II, perhaps a grandson (SS) of Xenokles I, contributed to the epidosis of 248/7 and may have served as tribal priest of Akamas in 223/2.²⁸

²⁷ See also ch. 20 n. 137; *APF* 11234; Ampolo 1979, Habicht 1988*b*; O'Sullivan 2009. Gymnasiarch for torch-race *IG* ii³ 4. 340; for pyrrhichistai 4. 434 (Rausa 1998; Goette 2007*b*, 122–4). It should be noted that the only other known dedication for a victory with pyrrhichistai is that of Atarbos of Thorikos in 323/2 (Table 27.6B; ch. 12 n. 85; Appendix 3); this may indicate that they saw each other as rivals within the tribe. Mysteries: *IG* ii³ 4. 212–13, archonship of Archippos; Kirchner (followed by *APF*) dated the office in 321/0, but 318/7 seems to me politically more likely. Bridge, *Anth. Pal.* ix 147 = Gow and Page 1965 I p. 11 no. 2; *IEleus* 95. Agonothetes, *IG* ii³ 4. 518, 519; Lambert 2003*a* (restoring [Androkles] in 3073, questionably); see D. M. Lewis 1988 on the importance of the celebrations in this year. I share his doubts (p. 303) about the ascription of ii³ 4. 518 to the Lenaia rather than the Dionysia. Embassy, *IG* ii² 1492 B 99–102, see Lewis *ibid.*; if the episode in a parody-epic by Matron (Athen. 134d–137c) in which the 'rhetor' Xenokles hosts a banquet refers to X. of Sphettos—which is not certain—it may derive from this embassy, on which Xenokles was accompanied by Chionides of Thria and possibly by Kleainetos of Kydathenaion; on the circumstances see Billows 1990, 147–51; Cargill 1995, 51–2; Paschidis 2008, A 31. This may have been the occasion for Antagoras' epigram: see Gow and Page 1965 II, 29.

²⁸ Curse: Xeinis and Xenokles, Humphreys 2010*b*; ch. 14 n. 70; *SEG* 58. 265 A I 24–5; 'the other Krates', I. 23. If this means that there were 2 men called Krates in Sphettos (which is quite uncertain), there might be a connection with Krates son of Ktesibios S., represented as a hoplite c.350 with his father and his brother Ktesikrates on the lekythos *IG* ii² 7504 = *CAT* 3. 868. Antipatros son of Ktesibios (too young to be represented on the lekythos?) whose name was added later, had a son Phoxias who served as councillor in 281/0 (*Agora XV* 72. 17), and may be the Phoxias attested in the cavalry c.250 (Bugh 1988, II B 213). The A[n]tipa[tros] S. whose son sold land as (?) demarch of Sphettos in the hekatostai sales (Lambert 1997*a*, F 6 B 28) cannot have been the son of Ktesibios; if any link with Ktesibios' family is to be constructed, it would perhaps be best to assume that the demarch had a sister who became Ktesibios' second (?) wife (see Appendix 2). Eutaxia, *IG* ii³ 550. with Lambert 2001. Contractors: *IG* ii² 1593 = *SEG* 48. 155, 52. 142 (Lambert 2002*a*; Papazarkadas 2011, 115 n. 71 suggests they were tax-farmers). For

Sphettos had a number of members who were active in politics in the second half of the fourth century; it seems to have been a deme in which most of the energy of the elite was drawn off by the city. Polyeuktos son of Sostratos S. perhaps appears first in 356/5, as councillor, proposing honours for ambassadors from Neapolis in Thrace; most of his political activity, however, belongs in the 340s and the Lykourgan period. He accompanied Demosthenes and others on an embassy to the Peloponnese in 343/2 to encourage opposition to Philip, and was sufficiently active in the Assembly and perhaps also the lawcourts in the Lykourgan period to be named prominently in the list of politicians whose extradition was demanded by Alexander in 335. He was accused of taking money from Harpalos in 324, but acquitted, and actively supported Athens' bid for freedom in the Lamian War. He is attested as a mine lessee *c.*350 at Thorikos, and is named *c.*323 (?) on a curse tablet with his (?) son Sostratos and with Strombichos III and Eukrates of Euonymon, perhaps affines. He may have died *c.*322. Antimachos S., whose son or daughter Sostrat[os] or [-e] died in the late fourth century, may have been a brother of Polyeuktos.²⁹

Timarchos S. was another ally of Demosthenes. He served in the 360s or 350s as logistes, as archon on Andros, and as councillor, and he was councillor again in 347/6; in the latter year he is known to have proposed two decrees, one hostile to Philip and the other concerned with houses on the Pnyx. He had also taken part in a number of embassies before 346/5; in that year he accused Aischines of misconduct on the embassy to Philip (*parapresbeia*), and the case was blocked by Aischines' counter-accusation that Timarchos had lost his citizen rights by prostituting himself in his youth. Aischines' speech, despite its obvious tendentiousness, contains a number of assertions about Timarchos' property and family affairs, supported by witness testimony, that may be trustworthy. Timarchos' father Arizelos had (according to Aischines) a blind brother, Arignotos, who had not married; their property had remained undivided, and Arizelos managed it, paying Arignotos a living allowance (a third brother, Eupolemos, who had been a professional trainer of athletes, *paidotribês*, had died young and unmarried). Arizelos died while Timarchos was still a minor; his guardians continued to pay Arignotos' allowance. However, when Timarchos came of age, 'thrusting away' (*parôsamenos*) his uncle, he ceased to provide for him. He inherited a large *eschatía* at Sphettos, a house 'behind the

Androkles see also n. 35. Xenokles II (son of Xeínis II): *IG* ii³ 1011 I 57, ii³ 1153. 39–40, 55, ii³ 1035 (with reference to Xenokles I).

²⁹ On Polyeuktos' career see M. H. Hansen 1983*b*, 175; Oikonomides 1991; there is not much reason to identify him as the stepfather of Charidemos ([*Dem.*] 58. 30–2, cf. chs. 2 n. 30, 29 n. 71). Bosworth (1980) *ad Arr.* 1. 10. 4 regards *Plut. Dem.* 23, in which Polyeuktos' name follows that of Demosthenes, as the most reliable list of the politicians demanded by Alexander. Mine lease, *Agora XIX P* 16. 16; curse tablet *SEG* 58. 265 I A 60–4, cf. Humphreys 2010*b*; Sostrat[os] (?) the spacing favours this reading rather than Sostrat[e] Antimachou S., *SEMA* 639, found re-used in Koryze St (Makriyanni) south of the ancient city.

Akropolis', and land at Alopeke (where his mother perhaps lived), as well as nine slave leather-workers, a woman skilled in weaving who sold her work in the market, and a skilled male weaver (*poikiltês*). His father had also owned land at Kephisia and Amphitrope, and two mining ergasteria, one in Aulon and the other in Thrasymos; he had lent 3000 dr. to a fellow-demesman, Metagenes, who testified for Aischines that he had repaid part of this sum to Arizelos and the rest to Timarchos. Apparently Timarchos in his defence claimed, or was expected to claim, that he had sold property elsewhere in order to increase his investment in mining, a claim Aischines tries to discredit.³⁰

Metagenes also had something of a political career, acting as ambassador to the Phokians in 343, and may therefore have had a base in the city; however, he was commemorated with his wife on a naiskos found in the deme area.³¹

Timostratos son of Smikrias S. freed a slave wall-builder (*teichistês*), perhaps an agricultural worker, living in Sphettos, in (?) the 320s, so he may have owned land in the deme.³²

Diopieithes II son of Diopieithes I S. was involved in a dispute over trierarchic obligations in 349/8, and collaborated with Euboulides of Halimous on a decree for exiles

³⁰ Cawkwell 1981 argued that the list of the offices to which T. was appointed by lot, in Aisch. 1. 107–13, is in chronological order, but this would compound the problems surrounding the ages of Misgolas, Aischines, and Timarchos (see ch. 24 n. 6). Aischines distinguishes offices in which T. worked alone from those in which he had colleagues. On the procedural aspects of Aisch. 1 see Lipsius 1915, 280–2; A. R. W. Harrison 1971, 204–5; Fisher 2001, 36–53. Timarchos' property, Aisch. 1. 97–105 (the property listed in § 101 appears to have been sold by Arignotos, perhaps towards the end of his life). The town house was bought first by an actor and then by a *chorodidaskalos*, so it was perhaps near the theatre, 'behind the Akropolis' from the point of view of the lawcourts in the Agora. The land at Sphettos was bought by Mnesitheos (son of Tachyboulos) of Myrrhinous, attested as syntrierarch in (?) 341/0, *APF* 10297, see ch. 25 n. 47. *CAT* 3. 342 = *SEMA* 1673 (lekkythos, no provenance) may commemorate Timarchos with his daughter Deipyle and his brother (?) Zeliass, perhaps Deipyle's husband (FB). The stone names Deipyle Timarchou, Timarchos Arizelou, and Zeliass Arizelou; the name Arizelos is otherwise attested only in Steiria. It is however odd that if Timarchos had a brother he was not mentioned in Aisch. 1.

³¹ Embassy Aisch. 2. 134 (in 343 Metagenes testified for Aischines). Naiskos, from Koropi, *IG* ii² 7523 = *CAT* 4. 423 (Bergemann 1997, 166 no. 311). Metagenes is represented as an elderly man; the standing woman, who looks elderly, is taken to be his wife, and the seated woman his daughter. Other local tombstones: *IG* ii² 7510, relief Ioutrophoros, Philati, Demetrios son of Aischron; his sister Philoumene perhaps married into the family of Platon son of Teisamenos S., commemorated on a stele recorded at Koropi, *IG* ii² 7527 (the second name on the stone cannot be reconstructed with any confidence and the relationships are unclear); they may have been related to Teisiades son of Teisippos S., secretary to the Delian amphiktyons in 341/0 (*ID* 42. 8); ii² 7504 (Koropi).

³² *SEG* 18. 36 B 343–5. It is not clear whether there was any relationship between Timostratos and the Timokles S. who served as councillor in (?) 336/5 (*Agora* XV 42. 310), or Timotheos son of Agasikles I and his sons Agasikles II (*IG* ii² 7501) and Timesios (7528), who were apparently buried in a peribolos NE of Lykavettos, on the road leading from Ambelokipi to the Hymettos–Pentelikon gap (Bergemann 1997, 192 F 16). Menalkes S., whose daughter married into Myrrhinous (ch. 25 n. 53), may have been resident in the deme.

from Abdera in 346/5; he had earlier proposed another anti-Macedonian decree. Hyperides had prosecuted him in a political case, and says that he had the reputation of being the cleverest (*deinotatos*) politician of his time. He was apparently dead at the time of this comment, made in 324 at the latest, so the (?) . . . peithes son of Diopheithes of S[phettos] who freed two slave women with a Leochares son of Leochares in (?) the 320s may be a son.³³

Nausistratos son of Stratokles S. seems to have married a sister of Dexileos of Thorikos; his name was added to her stele in the conspicuous family peribolos in the Kerameikos. Another son of Stratokles, Straton, is attested as diaitetes in (?) 371/0.

Euetion son of Autokleides S. is recorded as secretary to the kleruchs' council on Samos c.350, but apparently did not stay there long; he leased a disused mine for 150 dr. c.340, served as diaitetes in 329/8 and councillor in the following year, and is also recorded as trierarch in the 320s. The councillor Autokleides S. who served in (?) 336/5 may be a brother (or cousin) rather than a son.³⁴

Androkles S., the speaker of [Demosthenes] 35, had lent money for a trading voyage and was evidently resident in Piraeus or in the city.³⁵ The borrower had been introduced to him by his *epitêdeioi* (friends or kin) and fellow-demesmen Thrasymedes (II) and Melanopos sons of Diophantos I (son of Thrasymedes I) S., with whom he spent much of his time. Their father was councillor in 368/7, proposing honours for Koroibos of Sparta and for an embassy from Lesbos; he later held the post of manager of the theorkon, and in 352/1 proposed a vote of thanksgiving for the successful expedition to stop Philip at Thermopylai. He testified for Demosthenes against Aischines in 343. He is attested in the mining records as registering (?) a mine and leasing it for 20 dr. The Diophantos son of Th[rasymedes?] S. who bought three properties in the deme, at least one with a house, for which he paid 1000 dr. or more, in the hekatostai sales may be either Diophantos I or a homonymous grandson.³⁶

³³ Diopheithes II, *APF* 4328 (*IG* ii² 1620. 32–74, ii² 218. 22–3, Dem. 18. 70, Hyp. 4 *Eux.* 29); . . . peithes, ii² 1575. 4–12 (the women's place(s) of residence are uncertain but do not seem to be Sphettos). The [D]iophe[i]th[e]s —tios who leased the shrine of Hypodektes in the city from orgeones at the end of the 4th c. (*IG* ii² 2501) may be the manumittor, or a younger member of the family.

³⁴ Nausistratos: *IG* ii² 6230 (Bergemann 1997, A1; see Table 27.6A); *IG* ii³ 4. 24. 25. Euetion: *IG* xii 6. 262, *Agora* XIX P 26. 218, *IG* ii³ 4. 34 with *IG* ii³ 360, ii³ 359 (Lambert 2004b no. 11), *APF* 5463. Cf. ch. 17 n. 15. Autokleides: *Agora* XV 42. 308; Aleshire 1991.

³⁵ [Dem.] 35 (not 25 as *LGP*N Androkles 57) 6, 10, 14. He may also be the long-lived Androkles of Men. *Samia* 606 (cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 289).

³⁶ Diophantos I (see M. H. Hansen 1983b, 166) appears as a witness and synegoros in Is. 3. 22, and was evidently already relatively well known at this time. He apparently served on the theoric board (schol. Aisch. 3. 24), but otherwise appears as an opponent of Euboulos' policies (this may also be the implication of Dem. 20. 137). Mining: *Agora* XIX P 9. [10], 13. *IG* ii² 107, his decree for the embassies from Lesbos, carries a rider by Autolykos of Thorikos, the purpose of which seems to be to ensure that the names of Autolykos and his two fellow-ambassadors, omitted by Diophantos, appeared in the decree. Lambert 1997a, F 6 B 30–4, with p. 156 no. 26, regards the hekatostai purchaser as Diophantos I; this is an important plank in his argument for two sales, one c.343 and the other about 20 years later. There is however no reason why a homonymous grandson born in the 350s should not appear as a purchaser in a single sale of the 320s (see Appendix 2).

Hagnous

The deme lay in the Markopoulo area, perhaps at Dardiste, southwest of Markopoulo.³⁷ Stephanos of Byzantion refers to a mention in Solon's axones of sacrifices at Hagnous to the herald-hero Leos, who informed Theseus that the sons of Pallas were planning to ambush him; this seems to imply that in the early sixth century Hagnous had a cult of Leos that was recognized in the city's calendar, but we hear nothing of it later. A dedication to Hermes made in the fourth or third century by Theopompos son of Ktesikles H., which was re-used in a church southeast of Koropi, may have come from a deme sanctuary.³⁸

The Theognis who arrested metics under the Thirty may have been Theognis II H., whose father Telestes son of Theognis I H. served as secretary to the treasurers of Athena in 423/2; Theognis III, syntrierarch *c.*350, may be the oligarch's grandson (SS).³⁹

The most distinguished family attested in the deme is that of Derkylos son of Autokles I H., who was prominent by the middle of the fourth century. Derkylos served on all three embassies to Philip in 346 (with his fellow-demesman Philokrates); he seems to have managed to remain on good terms with both Demosthenes and Aischines. He and his brother Kallias were among the wealthy Athenians who guaranteed the triremes sent to Chalkis in 341. His service as general, for which he was honoured by the deme Eleusis, may not have been his

³⁷ There was a good deal of movement of stones in this area, first for church construction and later to the houses of collectors in Markopoulo. *IG* ii² 5259 (cf. *SEG* 56. 289), 5277–9, and 5280a were all recorded at Markopoulo; 5280 was re-used in the church of Panagia Moskou NE of Markopoulo (see also *SEMA* 9). Kirsten (1959) put Hagnous at Dankla; Traill (1986, 132) put it at Dardiste and attributed *IG* ii² 1183 to it. See however ch. 25 s. 'Myrrhinous' for re-attribution to Myrrhinous. Steinhauer 2001 suggests that the deme had more than one centre (Dankla, Liotrivi, Pouli).

³⁸ St. Byz. s.v. *Hagnous*; Plut. *Thes.* 13; it was claimed that as a result of this action there was no intermarriage between Hagnous and Pallene. One wonders whether this story might be connected with the cult of Athena Pallenis (see ch. 20 nn. 56, 129); Peek (1942, p. 25) suggested that the parasite of *SEG* 34. 157. 11 might be Kallias son of Autokles of Hagnous, but Myrrhinous is also now a possibility (*SEG* 23. 161. 14), and there is no other obvious member of Hagnous in the list. Hermes, *IG* ii² 4657, re-used in the church of St George at Drokeia/Rhodokia, *AGC* 21 X8/Y3 no. 3. Theopompos' father (or son) Ktesikles served as priest of Asklepios and dedicated a silver cup weighing 75 dr. in the Asklepieion (*IG* ii² 4400, ii³ 898, Aleshire 1989 Inv. IV 118; ead. 1991 no. 8866, suggesting that the priest is Theopompos' son, but the dedication is not closely dated). Nikarete daughter of Ktesikles H., commemorated by a stele found between Athens and Piraeus, *IG* ii² 5275, of the second half of the 4th c., may belong to an earlier generation.

³⁹ Theognis II, Lys. 12. 6–15; the error in Xenophon's list of the 30, Theogenes for Theomenes (of Xypete) does not imply that the Lysias passage is also corrupt (indeed it might have produced a 'correction' of Xenophon's text). Identification with the tragic poet *TGF* I no. 28 is doubtful, since several sources call the latter a Megarian. *Ek tôn triakonta* in Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 11 must be corrupt, cf. ch. 29 n. 34. Telestes (attributed to 433/2 instead of 423/2 in *LGPV* Theognis 9, Telestes 11, and to 424/3 in *APF* 6738), *IG* i³ 302. 29; 303. 40, 48; Theognis III, *IG* ii² 1622. 662. Themis 2009b suggests that the Lysimenes who was a target of abuse in the first half of the 4th c. was L. of H., councillor *c.*336 (*Agora* XV 42. 318).

first military command. He owned property in Eleusis (the deme granted him freedom from local taxes). His son Autokles II made a dedication with the daughter of Emmenides of Koile, presumably his wife.⁴⁰

On the embassies to Philip Derkylos was accompanying his fellow-demesman Philokrates son of Pythodoros, who was impeached by Hypericides in 343 for persuading the Athenians to conclude the peace, and condemned *in absentia*. As a result, his property was sold by the poletai. It included two or three workshops in Melite with an adjoining house, and probably a group of rural properties including land and a house at Hagnous.⁴¹

⁴⁰ *APF* 3248, *IEleus* 99 (on the date and interpretation see Couvenhes 1998; ch. 30 n. 79). Derkylos would have had to compete for office with the family of Phaidros and Thymochares of Sphettos and with Leosthenes of Kephale. Autokles II, *IG* ii² 3837 = *SEG* 42. 167 (no provenance); his father-in-law Emmenides was one of the private citizens appointed in 352/1 to survey the boundaries of the sacred orgas, *IG* ii³ 292, 79–80, and may have belonged to the Kerykes or Eumolpidai (Humphreys 2017*b*). He served as councillor in 349/8, ii³ 296. 4–5. Derkylos' brother Kallias might conceivably have derived his name from an intra-deme marriage with the family of Kallias I H., whose son Kephisodoros was honoured in 346/5 for his work as supervisor of the water-supply (*IG* ii³ 301). Kallias II, son of Kephisodoros, is known from two dikast-tickets found in the same grave, possibly on the road to the Akademy (Kroll 1972, 149b–150, class VI; it seems less likely that they belonged to Kallias I; the report of Conze 1893–1922 *ap. IG* ii² 11804 that this lekythos belonged to the same grave may not be reliable; it is not mentioned in Ross 1846, 54 no. 25b). *Comm. IEleus* 57 suggests, in view of Derkylos' Eleusinian connections and the name of his brother Kallias, that their mother may have been Kekropia, daughter of the daidouchos Kallias (*APF* 7826 misses her; ch. 20 n. 94), whose husband was an Autokles. However, Autokles son of Strombichides of Euonymon (*APF* 4386) also has to be considered. In either case Clinton is probably right in attributing Kekropia's dedication to Kephisodotos I.

⁴¹ Philokrates H. is probably the Philokrates who proposed *IG* ii² 182, and whose decrees are mentioned in that text and in ii³ 292. 55, though no demotic is given. He too probably belonged to one of the Eleusinian genê (Humphreys 2017*b*). Poletai sale, *Agora* XIX P 26. 367–403?, 449–60 + *SEG* 60. 197. Some of this property seems to have been in Myrrhinous; there are references in ll. 382–95 to the Eikadeis, perhaps a genos or group of orgeones based in Myrrhinous (see ch. 12 n. 59, 19 n. 152, 25 n. 44), and to a shrine of Artemis, perhaps the well-known Artemis Kolainis of Myrrhinous. Lines 403–17 may also be part of Philokrates' property, including some at Hagnous. Line 367 perhaps [demarch of Hagnous] Sosias (*SEG* *ibid*). The kleter Kephisodoros (H)ag— has been identified with Kephisodoros son of Kallias of Hagnous, but the letters *Ag* may be the beginning of a patronymic rather than a demotic (cf. *AO* p. 342). Clairmont's assertion *CAT* 4. 472 that *IG* ii² 5701 (Bergemann 1997, naiskos no. 629) commemorated a daughter of Philokrates of Hagnous named Pherokleia [*sic*], seems quite unfounded (see Bergemann pl. 122). However, the family of Timokrates son of Kallippides H., which seems to have been responsible for commissioning the monument, must have been wealthy. Timokrates will have been either the husband or the son of Hierokleia daughter of Philokrates of Atene, for whom the naiskos was perhaps made; Timokrates' daughter Kallistrate was commemorated on *SEMA* 11 (see Schmaltz and Salta 2003 no. 28 on changes made to this monument) with (?) her mother Timagora daughter of Ekphantides of Myrrhinous (both monuments seem to have been found at Markopoulo). Bergemann (90, 108–10) thinks that the seated woman and youngish bearded man at left and right of the group portrayed on *IG* ii² 5701 are Hierokleia and Timokrates, with older parents in the background, but I am not convinced that it is impossible to see the seated woman (whose head is lost) as Hierokleia, grouped with her daughter, husband, and son.

Nikeratos H. was also wealthy and perhaps city-based; the horos *SEG* 55. 289 (56. 122), from the Kerameikos area, marked property worth 7000 dr. put up as security by the lessee of his estate.

Kikynna

This was a small deme, appointing only two councillors in the fourth century; we have no evidence by which to locate it precisely, although Aristophanes' *Clouds* implies that it was rural and included high ground suitable for pasturing goats; a location west of Sphettos, on the slopes of Hymettos, is perhaps not impossible. It had a well-known festival of Apollo.⁴² The only well-attested family in the deme⁴³ is that of Lysitheides K., which had mining interests and probably also a base in the city. Lysitheides I was an early pupil of Isokrates, appears as an arbitrator *c.*372 in [Demosthenes] 52, and is attested as trierarch in 355. His (eldest?) son Lysikrates won a victory as choregos with a boys' choir in 335/4, so must have been born by 375. He is recorded as owning property near Laureion (?) *c.*350, and as a principal trierarch in 325/4. His choregic victory was commemorated by the 'monument of Lysikrates', still conspicuous on its site in the ancient Street of Tripods.⁴⁴

⁴² Location, cf. Steinhauer 2001; Kakavogianne 2009, 190 (Chalidou/Karela); Ar. *Clouds* 71–2 (for a *phelleus* on Hymettos see ch. 29 n. 92). Milchhöfer 1892 suggested a connection with the cult of Apollo Kynneios of the Kynneidai on Hymettos (R. Parker 1996, 304). However, *IG* ii² 6469, commemorating Chairylla wife of Prokles of Kikynna, was re-used in a church in Kalyvia Kouvaras, which might suggest a site for Kikynna somewhere near Prospalta. There may have been more than one small deme of Akamantis in this area. Apollonia, schol. (vetera) Ar. *Clouds* 134.

⁴³ The family of Eraton owned properties in Sphettos and in Kikynna (Lys. 17. 5, 8), but we do not know their deme. It is also possible that the Chaireleos of the Thirty, who may have belonged to Akamantis, was Ch. of Kikynna, attested as neokoros of Poseidon Hippios in 413/2/1, *IG* i³ 405.

⁴⁴ *APF* 9461; Lysikrates' monument, *IG* ii³ 4. 460, Travlos 1971, 348–51; Goette 2007a. Property, *Agora* XIX P 13. 47, cf. 15. 11. His son Ly[sithe]ides III made two dedications to Asklepios (one a gold crown) in the late 4th or early 3rd c. (Aleshire 1989, 211 = *Stele* IV 62; 1991, no. 9396). The Lysitheides K. who owned land at Thorikos, and perhaps elsewhere in the mining region, *c.*340 (*Agora* XIX P 27. 102–3, P 28. 6–7) may be Lysitheides II, a homonymous son of Lysitheides I; if so, he may be the father of Pythodoros [Lysithe]dou K., who as trierarch dedicated shields to Athena in some year before 305/4, possibly after fighting with Demetrios Poliorketes at Salamis in 306 (*IG* ii² 1491. 30–34, with D. M. Lewis 1988; Habicht 1995, 82–4). Either Lysikrates or Lysitheides II had perhaps died by *c.*330/29, when the heirs (*paides*) of a Kikynneus appear as landowners (P 35. 4, cf. 7–8; there is no pressing reason to restore [Lysitheido]u as the patronymic of *paides* of unknown deme in P 27. 98–9). *IG* ii² 6477 = 7358, found at (?) Ambelokipi, may commemorate a daughter of Lamachos of E[—], wife of Kephisokles of Kikynna, whose sons Lamachos and Euboulos K. served as ephebes in 305/4 (Peek 1942, 223 no. 33; *IG* ii² 478 = Reinmuth 1971, no. 17. 130–2). Papazarkadas (*SEG* 54. 223, 339) restores a son of Leukos K. in the diadikasia-list of 383/2 *IG* ii² 1930. 9; tombstone of L.'s daughter Kallisto, *SEMA* 318 (400–350).

Prospalta

The deme lay somewhere in the area of Kalyvia Kouvaras (Thorikou); it had a well-known sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.⁴⁵

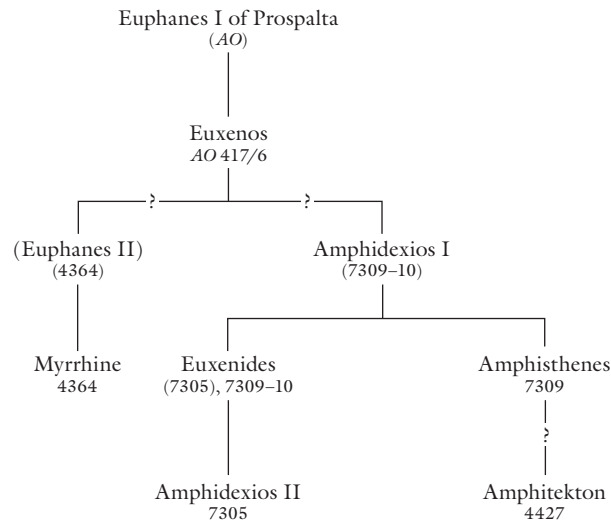
Although we have a number of tombstones from the deme area, most of our evidence for the activity of demesmen comes from elsewhere, with the exception of a kin group who made a dedication to Asklepios as orgeones (ch. 12 n. 43). Euxenides son of Amphidexios P., commemorated with his brother Amphisthenes and his son Amphidexios II on a group of monuments that probably stood in a peribolos close to the city, in the area of Omonia Square, won victories at the Nemeia and Isthmia; Euxenides' name suggests a relationship with Euxenos son of Euphanes I P., secretary to the treasurers of Athena in 417, and Myrrhine daughter of Euphanes II P., who made a dedication probably to Asklepios in the first half of the fourth century with (?) an Apollonios (see Table 27.3). Amphitekton P., priest of Asklepios in 348/7, may also have belonged to this family.⁴⁶

Menios son of Diphilos P., attested as syntrierarch in or before 338/7, had a brother called Archeneos who served as one of the Delian amphiktyons in 341/0.⁴⁷ Nausistratos

⁴⁵ Deme-site at Enneapyrgi NW of Kalyvia, where *IG* ii² 7306 was found in the church of St Peter; cf. *KvA* text III–VI p. 12; R. G. Osborne 1985*a*, 193; Philippou-Angelou 1986, 131–50, 2000; *Mes.-Arg.* 205–212; Steinhauer 2001 thinks the deme had more than one centre (Ennea Pyrgi, Ag. Petros, Ag. Georgios E. of Kalyvia, Volomandra). Sanctuary, Paus. 1. 31. 1. The name Propharta seems to have been given to the hill between Markopoulo and Drerivouni. Buchholz 1963 suggested that another settlement site at Megale Avle between Kalyvia and Keratea (between the churches of Ag. Trias and Ag. Kyriake), where a dedication of Prospaltian orgeones to Asklepios, *IG* ii² 2355, was recorded, also belonged to Prospalta. The stele *IG* ii² 7725, commemorating Mnesistrate daughter of Sophanes of Phrearrhioi with her husband Diophantos son of Dion of Kephale, and the naiskos ii² 11873 = *CAT* 3. 423, representing Mnesistrate with her (?) daughter Kleostrate, also came from this area (church of Ag. Antonios; Bergemann 1997, 207, peribolos V 6, naiskos 298, with an erroneous *IG* reference; *LGP*N s.v. Kleostrate 6, Sophanes 18, takes the two women to be sisters). In view of the size of Kephale, it may be more likely that the Megale Avle site belonged to that deme (cf. Humphreys 2007; another Asklepios dedication from Keratea, *SEG* 61. 169). *SEMA* 586, from Volomandra, commemorated Lyandros son of Gnathios I P. and his wife Menestrata daughter of Kephisophon P.; their grandson (SS) [Phr]ynichos son of Gnathios II served as councillor in 303/2, *Agora* XV 62. 122 (on archaic tombs from Volomandra see Philippou-Angelou op. cit.). *IG* ii² 7311, from the deme area, was set up for Hegeso daughter of Lykophron P. The remains of walls noted by *KvA* XIII along the road leading from Kalyvia to Koropi may well have belonged to periboloi. It is unclear whether the horos marking a hieron of the Medontidai, *IG* i³ 1383, recorded at Keratea, would have been set up in Prospalta or in Kephale. *IG* ii² 7315 = *CAT* 1. 381, perhaps found in the Koropi area, commemorated Kleonike, daughter of Diagoras P.; cf. also ii² 10898 + *SEG* 13. 184, from near Keratea, Attas with [Euag]ora Diagorou.

⁴⁶ *IG* ii² 7305, 7309–10; Bergemann 1997, peribolos F 8a; *IG* i³ 305. 6 etc.; see *LGP*N Euxenos 20; *IG* ii² 4364, 4427. Apolexis P., whose daughter married Theopompos of Oion Kerameikon, left land in the deme to his two sons, Is. 11. 48–9 (*APF* 2921 XII).

⁴⁷ *APF* 10032; *ID* 42. 7. There may be a connection with Archedemos son of Archinos of (?) P., trierarch in the 330s (*APF* p. 69) and/or with —peithes son of Archinos of (?) P., councillor c.340, *Agora* XV 39. 6, but the attribution to Prospalta is somewhat doubtful in both cases (this section of *Agora* XV 39 has three possible links with Prospalta and two each with Kephale and Sphettos). The security horos Finley 1952 no. 17, on which Aischylos son of Diphilides P. is creditor, came from the deme area (Kalyvia Kouvaras; Humphreys 2007, 65 n. 6; cf. J. E. Jones and Lambert 1999, 133).



Note: LGPN has Amphisthenes as son of Amphidexios II.

TABLE 27.3. Prospalta: Euphanes

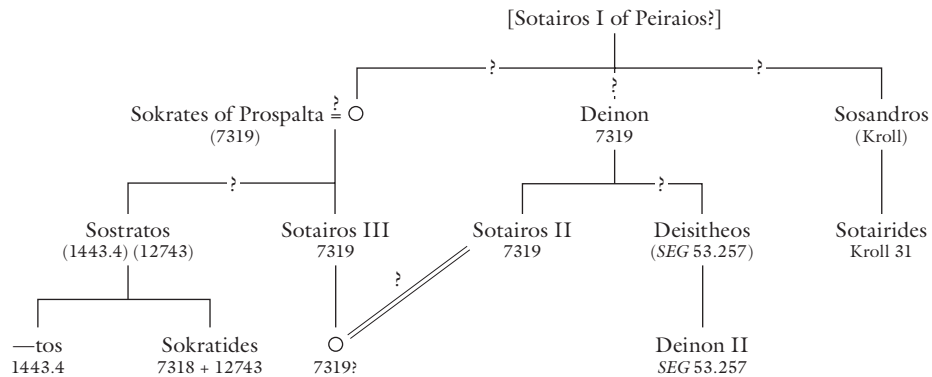
P. served as a member of the kleruchs' council on Samos *c.*350; his son Lysimachos is attested as proedros in 299/8, and Nausias son of Nausikrates, councillor in Athens in 335/4, may have been related to them. Olympiodoros son of Eumelos P[—], who sold property on Salamis for the Eikadeis in the hekastotai sales, may have been the son of Eumelos son of Eumeliades of Prospalta, councillor in 335/4; the councillor's names suggest that the family had at one time owned sheep, for which the high land on either side of the Kalyvia–Keratea valley perhaps provided grazing.⁴⁸

Two families left tombstones in Piraeus. Epikrates son of Kallias P., commemorated by a stele, served as councillor in (?) 336/5; Eukolon daughter of Kallias P., commemorated by a stele of the third century now in the Eleusis museum, may have been his granddaughter (SD). The rare name borne both by Sotairos son of Sokrates P. and by Sotairos son of Deinon of Peiraios, commemorated on the same relief stele from Piraeus, suggests an affinal link (see Table 27.4). Since Sotairides son of Sosandros of Peiraios, whose dikasticket is preserved, presumably came from the same family, it is likely that Sokrates of Prospalta had married a daughter of Sotairos I of Peiraios. The two Sotairoi are represented on their stele with a woman; since Sotairos of Prospalta is seated and thus represented as senior to his cousin, it seems possible that the woman is a daughter of Sotairos of Prospalta who had married her cousin (FMBS) Sotairos of Peiraios.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ *IG* xii 6. 262 V 22; *IG* ii³ 844. 8–9; *Agora* XV 43. 119–20. Olympiodoros Eumelou, Lambert 1997*a*, F 13 A 13; the reading P[—] for the demotic 'cannot be excluded', p. 105. Eikadeis, ch. 12 n. 43. Eumelos, *Agora* XV 43. 121–2. Cf. also *IG* ii² 11438 = *CEG* 503.

⁴⁹ *IG* ii² 7307 Epikrates, 7308 Eukolon. Sotairos a. o., *IG* ii² 7319; Sokratides P., commemorated with a Sostratos by a loutrophoros of the second half of the 4th c., ii² 7318 + 12743 (Pologiorge 2002*b*), also from Piraeus, may be related, as may the son of a Sostratos P. who served as one of the treasurers of Athena

TABLE 27.4.
Prospalta: Sotairos



The Embios whose pottery workshop, which functioned from the late fourth to the second century, has been excavated on the north end of Karababa hill (on the site of the Spata airport) probably belonged to Prospalta, since the name is attested in the later Hellenistic period in that deme, and does not occur elsewhere.⁵⁰

COASTAL TRITTYS

The coastal demes of Akamantis are generally agreed to have been Poros, Kephale, and Thorikos; the two latter are securely located, but *Poros* is not. Traill (1986) places it at Metropisi; this location is partly based on an association in the hekatoistai texts between Poros and Besa, the latter being located in the northern sector of the Legrain valley. The deme-site at Plaka, if not assigned to Deiradiotai, would be an alternative candidate for identification as Poros.⁵¹

Demesmen are not well attested, and no classical grave monument can be attributed to a possible deme area. Nikostratos son of Gyles P. married Phile daughter of Kalliades of Potamos, which might suggest residence in southeast Attika; since the name is rare, Gyles P. may have been a grandson (DS) of Gyles of Probalinthos. The daughter of Thouphanes P. made a dedication in (?) the 340s at Thorikos to [Hygi?]eia.⁵²

in 345/4 (*IG* ii² 1443. 4). Sotairides, Kroll 1972 no. 31. For Makartatos P. (perhaps commemorated on *CAT* 2. 861 = *SEMA* 2134, with a Chrysopolis) see *APF* 2921 XII; ch. 7 Case 9.

⁵⁰ *SEG* 34. 250. Topography of workshop area: Steinhauer 1994*a*, Steinhauer a. o. 2005.

⁵¹ Metropisi had a large ancient nekropolis, seen by Vanderpool (Stanton 1984*b*); see also Lohmann 1993*a*, insisting that Metropisi's communication routes lead NE. The name Poros would derive from the location of the deme at a pass leading from the Anavyssos plain to the Potamos valley (Traill 1975*a*, on Metropisi; a similar explanation would be valid for Plaka, on which see *AGC* 21 X9/Y2 no. 7). Alternatively, one might assume that the deme (which appointed three councillors in the 4th c.) had been coastal, perhaps at Kake Thalassa, but was no longer inhabited in Strabo's day. (Goette 2000, puts Amphitrope [ch. 32 n. 103] at Legrain.) See also Papazarkadas 2011, 292.

⁵² Nikostratos, *IG* ii² 7250 (no provenance); cf. ch. 25 n. 15 on Gyles of Probalinthos. Democharides P. has been eliminated from *SEG* 58. 265, but we still have Demonstratos son of Democharides P. on *IG* ii² 2861, a monument consisting of more than one stone (see drawing in *IG*) with 6? (12? more?) crowns

Kephale

This was the largest deme in the coastal trittys, appointing nine councillors in the fourth century. The main settlement was perhaps at Mesochori, east of modern Keratea, or at Megale Avle; it has been suggested that in the classical period the coastal village at Kake Thalassa, which had a sanctuary of Dionysos, belonged to Kephale. The main deme centre was evidently a settlement of some importance before Kleisthenes' reforms, since a sixth-century 'Hipparchan' herm marked the half-way point between it and the city of Athens; two well-known archaic statues, and fragments of others, were found in the area. The eponymous hero Kephalos was the subject of a myth which in the sixth century formed part of a complex of stories about Athens' expertise in dealing with cases of accidental homicide, and later became a subject for tragedy (ch. 20 n. 81). The sacrifice prescribed for him on the calendar *IG* i³ 256 *bis* = *SEG* 33. 147 was probably made by the neighbouring deme Thorikos; presumably he also received sacrifices at Kephale. The deme also had sanctuaries of Aphrodite, of the Dioskouroi, of Hera (?), and of another hero, and possibly a cave-cult of Pan; it was perhaps the base of the phratry Achniadai. Tombs lined roads leading from the deme centre; in the last decades of the nineteenth century local residents were actively engaged in unofficial excavation and sale of antiquities.⁵³

In the late fifth century the deme contained at least one prominent family, that of Teisias II son of Teisimachos, who served as general at the siege of Melos in 417/6, and probably also in the following year. His father is attested as one of the treasurers of Athena in 444/3. Teisias' service in Melos suggests a link with Alkibiades, and thus supports the case for identifying him with the Teisias who

for epimeletai (and others?), of uncertain date. Daughter of Thoupphanes P. (added online to *LGP*N), *Thorikos* V, 149 no. 1. On Thoutimos and Androkles, sons of Androkles P., *IG* ii² 5752, see *APF* 12267.

⁵³ See Buchholz 1963 (with map, reproduced in Papahatzes 1974, 406); Athanasios 1985; Philippou-Angelou 1986. Herm, *IG* i³ 1023, found at Koursala (Koropi; see Ross 1855, 217); on roads from Kephale to Athens see Kakavogianne 2009. It is worth noting that Kephale rather than Thorikos is chosen as the terminal point on the road leading through the former to the latter. Buchholz' view that Kake Thalassa became a separate deme, Kyrteidai, in the 3rd c. BCE is problematic, since Kyrteidai is first attested in the 2nd c. CE, and does not appear in Strabo's list of coastal demes (C 399/ 9. 1. 21–2). Archaic statues: *AGC* 21, X9/Y3 nos. 15–17, and Philippou-Angelou, loc. cit. *SEG* 33. 147 is discussed below, s.v. Thorikos, nn. 69–72; on Kephalos' homicide see Humphreys 1991, p. 33. Horos of Aphrodite Kephalethen, *IG* ii² 2604, cf. Is. 2. 31 (*AGC* 21 X9/Y3 no. 21, near cave of Pan); of hero Egglem—?, ii² 2612 (attributed by Solders 1931, 7, implausibly, to He[ra] E[i]lei[thia]); the horos of Demeter and Kore attributed to Kephale in *IG* i² 869 is a doublet of ii² 2600, from Thorikos, *IG* i³ p. 972). Dioskouroi, Paus. 1. 31. 1. Achniadai, ch. 19 n. 8. Tombs, Buchholz, *ibid.*; cf. *BCH* 82, 1958, 672, 675 fig. 10. Unofficial excavations, Leonardos 1892 (cf. *AA* 1899, 147, Louvre acquisitions); ch. 11 n. 16. The rubble fort at Ovriokastro, between K. and the Potamos demes, may date from the early 3rd c. BCE (Lauter 1992; but Lohmann 2001 thinks it medieval). *AD* 46 B 1, 1991 (1996), 66: peribolos at Grava, farm (?) at Senkini, settlement remains (?) around chapel of Ag. Antonios at Roudseri. Sanctuary on Keratovouni, Steinhauer 2001 (Langdon 1976, 103). Note also horos marking land of Dionysios the *mantis* (500–450), *IG* i³ 1140, found in the Keratea area.

commissioned Alkibiades to buy a four-horse racing team from the city of Argos for him and enter it in his name at the Olympic games of 416, and subsequently sued Alkibiades (successfully) for entering the team under his own name. On the basis of this identification, Teisias will have served as councillor under the Thirty in 404/3 and will have been a brother-in-law of Charikles, one of the prominent members of the junta. The priest of Asklepios in 338/7, Teisias, who belonged to Akamantis, may well be a descendant.⁵⁴

The trierarch Nikippos K., who belonged to the *genos* Brytidai and appeared as witness for Apollodoros of Acharnai in the late 340s (*APF* 10833, [Dem.] 59. 61), seems to have belonged to a similar milieu (aristocratic pretensions, horse-racing).

Leosthenes son of Leosthenes of Kephale served as general in charge of the countryside in (?) 329/8; his syntrierarchs and heirs owed money for a damaged trireme at the end of 323/2, and his sister Philoumene set up a dedication to Athena made by the younger Kephisodotos on the Akropolis shortly after 350. Identifications with other generals bearing the same name are problematic.⁵⁵

Another military leader from Kephale, Smikythion, was honoured by the deme Eleusis for his services as peripolarch in the late fourth century, at a moment when the deme needed defending.⁵⁶

The comic poet Philippides K., whose father Philokles is attested as trierarch, was honoured by the city in 283/2 with a gold crown, a bronze statue to be set up in the theatre, and hereditary *sitesis*, for his services as ambassador to Lysimachos,

⁵⁴ *APF* 13479; Teisimachos son of Teisias I, *IG* i³ 455. 16; Teisias II kedestes of Charikles, Isokr. 16. 42; Teisias III, *IG* ii² 1533 = Aleshire 1989 Inv. III 29, *SEG* 30. 163. Teisias II will first have tried to make a career with the help of Alkibiades (the Melian expedition looks like one of the latter's attempts to provide occupation and pay for the fleet after the Peace of Nikias) and will then have moved into the oligarchic camp. Cf. ch. 15 s. 'The Thirty'.

⁵⁵ *APF* 9142 requires revision. The generalship of L. of Kephale is recorded on *I Orop* 353, on the date of which (329/8?) see Humphreys 2009. The Leosthenes who (having perhaps served under Dareios III, Badian 1961) collected a force of mercenaries on Cape Tainaron in the southern Peloponnese in 324/3, commanded the Athenian force at Lamia, died in the autumn of 323, and was commemorated by a painting of him with his sons set up in the *temenos* of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira in Piraeus (Paus. 1. 1. 3), may not have belonged to Kephale (cf. Worthington 1987; Gehrke 1976, 78–9, and Jaschinski 1981, 52–4 accepted the identification). Worthington (*ibid.*; cf. *APF* loc. cit.; Gabrielsen 1994, 168–9) points out that the damages to *Hebe* during the trierarchy of Leosthenes K. and his *synteleis* (*IG* ii² 1631. 601–5, 681–2, Leosthenes' heirs; 499–501, 605–7 *synteleis*) may not have occurred in 324/3/2. The Leosthenes who was defeated by Alexander of Pherai in 362/1 and fled to Macedon, where he was still alive at Philip's court in 346/5 (Aisch. 2. 21), is also not necessarily to be attributed to Kephale; he might be the L. of (?) Kydathenaion attested as trierarch in (?) 366/5, *APF* p. 344 (wrongly dated c.336/5, *LGPN* Leosthenes 7). The Malthake daughter of Moschos, wife of a Leosthenes, who made two dedications to Artemis Brauronia (*LGPN* Malthake 2, cf. 1, 3), and the Leosthenes who served in the cavalry c.250 (Bugh 1988, II B 147), may or may not be linked to one or another of these generals. Philoumene, Matthaiou 1994 = *SEG* 44. 136.

⁵⁶ *IEleus* 80; see ch. 30 n. 78. Cf. also Pamphilos son of Demetrios K., honoured at Rhamnous as military official, below, n. 65.

his generosity to individual Athenians who had fallen into Lysimachos' hands, and his contributions to festivals. He was evidently a very wealthy man, having acquired funds from Lysimachos to add to the estate inherited from his father. The decree awarding the honours was proposed by his fellow-demesman Nikeratos son of Phileas, whose father is also attested as trierarch.⁵⁷

The burial areas of the deme have yielded a rich harvest of monuments. Two pairs of stones can be attributed with some confidence to periboloi: a stele and naiskos commemorating Mnesistrate daughter of Sophanes of Phrearrhioi, wife of Diophantos son of Dion K., and two stelai commemorating Timotheos son of Nikon I K. and his son Nikon II, with the latter's wife (?) Mnesikleia. Nikon is attested as syntrierarch on two ships in 322.⁵⁸ A pair of lekythoi commemorating a Kephisodoros, perhaps the father of the Kephisodoros Kephisodorou K. who served as councillor in 303/2, with his (?) wife Lysimache, will also have stood together;⁵⁹ the same may be true of the stelai commemorating Demochares son of Demokles K. and Nikaïos son of Demochares K. Demochares owned a dikastic pinax, and his father had served as treasurer of sacred funds in 398/7, so this family may have had a base in the city as well as in the deme.⁶⁰

Aischron K. was commemorated by a loutrophoros representing him as a beardless youth, with his father.⁶¹ A naiskos representing the young Lykourgos with his father Hierophon K. may possibly be identical with a similar monument in which the father's name is reported as Xenophon; however, both names are attested in the deme in the fourth century, Hierophon as councillor in (?) 336/5, and Xenophon as father of Theophilos K., secretary in 299/8. The kioniskos of Theophilos' son Philion has the peculiar distinction of being (according to Koumanoudes) the only monument published by Lenormant from Athens that has subsequently been traced.⁶² Mnesimache, daughter

⁵⁷ Philippides, *APF* 14546, *IG* ii³ 877; Habicht 1995; Paschidis 2008, A 40. Philokles perhaps appears on a curse tablet (Wünsch 1897, 103, cf. Wilhelm 1904, 122–5; but see ch. 14 n. 83); Philistides son of Philippos K., secretary to the naopoioi on Delos in 345/4 (*ID* 104-23. 14; 104-24. 1), and councillor in (?) 336/5 (*Agora* XV 42. 273), was perhaps the poet's uncle (FB). Nikeratos, *APF* 14239, may also have been a relative.

⁵⁸ Mnesistrate: *IG* ii² 7725 with Diophantos, 11873 = *CAT* 3. 423 (re-used at the same site) with Kleostrate, presumably her daughter, and a servant (Bergemann 1997, peribolos V 6). Sophanes K, ii² 6369, from Athens, may be their son. Timotheos and Nikon (Bergemann, peribolos V 5), *IG* ii² 6370; 12803a = *CAT* 3. 465a, representing Nikon and Mnesikleia and naming another woman, Timostrate (perhaps a daughter or sister of Nikon); *APF* 11111. It seems to me less likely that the Timotheos named (first) on ii² 6370 is a son of the trierarch who died before his father.

⁵⁹ *CAT* 2. 842 with 2. 842a = *IG* ii² 11844; *Agora* XV 62. 91. Bergemann, peribolos V 7.

⁶⁰ *IG* ii² 6350, 6365; the latter is undated. Demochares' pinax, Kroll 1972, no. 111c (no provenance); Demokles, *LGPN* no. 35 (cf. possibly ii² 10909 = *CAT* 2. 279, loutrophoros of Demokles, with his father Autokles, from Keratea; n. 65 below). The (?) lost lekythos reported from Senkini or Dardiza by Leonardos 1892, 27 no. 17, commemorating Nikostratos, Demochares, and [P?]anta[klea] or [-riste] may belong to the same family, and perhaps suggests an affinal link with the family of Theainetos K., buried on Salamis, discussed below with Table 27.5).

⁶¹ Aischron, *IG* ii² 6345 = *CAT* 2. 336, Hamiaux 1992 no. 184, c.370.

⁶² *IG* ii² 6358 = *CAT* 2. 911, representing Hierophon as a bearded elderly father leaning on a stick, facing the young Lykourgos, a nude boy, with a dog (added?) by the young man. A naiskos with similar

of Kallimachos K., was commemorated in the second half of the fourth century by a stele to which the name of her mother, Timarete daughter of Euthymachos of Lamptraï, was later added. The stele of Pythodoros son of Noumenios with his wife, Ktesikleia daughter of Naukrates K., was also found in the deme; however, a descendant, Pythodoros II son of Noumenios II, settled in Egypt.⁶³

Other monuments found in the Mesogeia may in some cases at least have travelled from burial-sites in the deme. The loutrophoros of Eschat(i)on son of Pythokles, on which he is represented with his parents, was found either at Sounion or at Spata.⁶⁴ A stele naming Androkles II son of Androkles I K. with his wife Phanistrate, his son Antisthenes II, and Antisthenes I, son of Alkisthenes K., was recorded at Kato Vraona; a lekythos naming a Pamphilos and a Kleitopolis, found at the church of Ag. Athanasios in the hills north of Keratea, may have commemorated an ancestor of the military officer Pamphilos son of Demetrios K., honoured at Rhamnous c.220; a stele found at Mpriki near Thorikos, naming an Autokles and a Demokles, may possibly commemorate an older kinsman of Autokles II son of Autokles I K., councillor in 303/2.⁶⁵

Another set of three monuments, linked by the name Aiolos, may all have been set up in the deme, but if so they became scattered through sale; none of the names can be linked to Kephale. A relief lekythos seen at Roudseri by Leonardos, representing Kalliphanes as

inscriptions but giving the father's name as Xenophon was recorded by S. A. Koumanoudes in Athens, *AEE*² no. 162. Matthaiou (ad loc., cf. *SEMA* 294) notes that *IG* ii² 6358 appears to have travelled straight from SE Attika (Keratea, then Lavrion) to the National Museum in Athens; however, if the two monuments are not identical (in which case Hierophon and Xenophon would presumably be brothers, sons of a Lykourgos I) one would perhaps have to assume that Koumanoudes' statement that the Xenophon monument had been moved to the museum was due to confusion with ii² 6358. Hierophon, *Agora* XV 42. 274; Theophilos son of Xenophon, *IG* ii³ 844–5; Philion ii² 6372 (*RhM* 21, 1866, 378 no. 162). *IG* ii² 12237 = *CAT* 3. 823, a loutrophoros of (?) the first or second quarter of the 4th c. from Keratea commemorating a Lykourgos son of Hieroptes with his father, his (?) mother Nausiptoleme, and his young (?) sister Phainippe (Kokula 1984 L 93, 360s), may be an earlier monument belonging to this family (youth's figure changed according to Schmaltz and Salta 2003, no. 15); a connection with Hierokles K., commemorated by a painted stele of the 5th c., *IG* ii² 6357 = i³ 1331 (no provenance; *CAT* 244, Posamentir 2006, no. 28) is also possible.

⁶³ *IG* ii² 6363; for Timarete's family see ch. 23 n. 73. Pythodoros, ii² 6366; the name of Ktesikleia was added later. Pythodoros II appears as an *Athenaios tēs epigonēs* in the late 3rd c., *BGU* 1269. 1 (A. Martin 1989). *IG* ii² 12324, of uncertain date, from Keratea, may commemorate Noumenios I or II. Cf. perhaps also ii² 11844, c.350, Keratea, Kephisodoros and Lysimache; the name is common but a Kephisodoros son of Kephisodoros K. was councillor in 303/2, *Agora* XV 62. 91. *SEMA* 2156–7, paired lekythoi for a Melanthios from 'Ag. Trias between Markopoulo and Porto Rapti' (outskirts of Markopoulo?) may commemorate Melanthios father of Megalokles K., councillor in 305/4 (*Agora* XV 58. 60).

⁶⁴ Eschation, ii² 6353 = *SEG* 16. 195 (*AG* I; there is room on the squeeze for the iota); attributed to Spata by *CAT* 3. 859, but there may be some confusion, since *CAT* erroneously has Eschation's father as Pythodoros (ii² 6353 attributes the stone to Sounion). Eschation is bearded but probably unmarried.

⁶⁵ Androkles, *IG* ii² 6346 (re-used in a church); since all the names are said to have been cut by the same hand, Antisthenes I is more likely to have been the MF of Antisthenes II than his SS. Pamphilos, *Hesp.* 19, 1950, 28 no. 3, cf. *IG* ii² 1322. 36; *PAAH* 1991 30–1, no. 4 (with reference to descendants). Autokles and Demokles, ii² 10909, loutrophoros, dated before 350 (ch. 11 n. 40); there may be a connection with Demokles father of Demochares, as noted above, n. 60. Autokles II, *Agora* XV 58. 63.

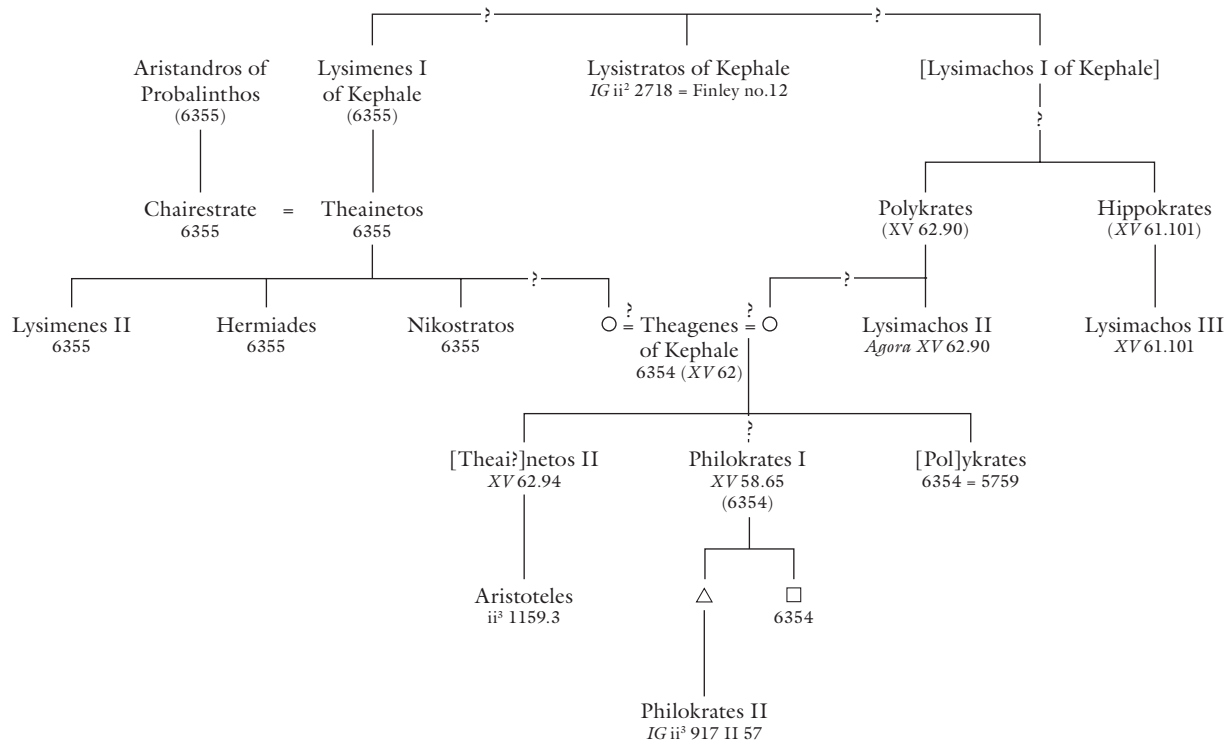
a soldier, with his father Aiolos, went to the Louvre; a Kalliphanes is represented with a Leonike on *CAT* 2. 875; and on *CAT* 7. 330 = *SEG* 14. 229 Stratokleia, Leonike, Aiolos, Aristomache, and Axiomache are represented with two maids.⁶⁶

While members of leading families from Kephale made political careers in the city, it is rarer to find evidence of less eminent demesmen whose activities were based outside the deme. However, Theomnestos K., who freed a slave kapelos *c.*(?) 330, probably had a base in the city or Piraeus; a tombstone of his family was found at Koukouvaones, north-west of the city (towards Kephisia).⁶⁷

Two tombstones from Salamis record members of families from Kephale that may have been linked to each other and to other families in the deme (see Table 27.5); the group as a whole contributed five councillors in the years 305/4–303/2, a significant date in view of Athens' recent recovery of Salamis. There may have been some relationship already between Lysimenes I, whose son and grandsons were buried on Salamis, and Lysimachos I, the hypothetical common grandfather of two councillors named Lysimachos; Lysistratos K., who lent money secured on property in Ikarion, may also have been linked to them. The name of Theainetos I, son of Lysimenes I, perhaps recurs as that of [Theai?]n-etos II, son of Theagenes K., councillor in 303/2 and (?) father of Aristoteles son of Theainetos K., who served as secretary in (?) 218/7. Theagenes may have had two other sons, Philokrates I son of Th—, councillor in 305/4, and [Pol]ykrates (deme uncertain), commemorated on a tombstone from Salamis, *IG* ii² 6354, with the son or daughter of a Philokrates. [Pol]ykrates' name might suggest an affinal link with the Polykrates K. whose son Lysimachos II served as councillor in 303/2; the latter's cousin (FBS) Lysimachos III son of Hippokrates had served in 304/3. Philokrates II K., probably a grandson (SS) of Philokrates I, served as ephebe in (?) 266/5. For other K. councillors at the end of the fourth century cf. ch. 17 n. 18.

⁶⁶ *IG* ii² 10603 = *CAT* 3. 921, in the Louvre; Leonardos 1892, Hamiaux 1992, no. 177; this lekythos may be 20–30 years later than the other two monuments (so *CAT*), but the date 2nd–1st c. BCE in *LGP*N (Aiolos 2, Kalliphanes 24) seems mistaken and is contradicted s. Leonike 2, where all three monuments are dated *c.*375–350. *CAT* 2. 875, *SEMA* 2035, Kalliphanes and Leonike; *CAT* 7. 330 = *SEG* 14. 229, *SEMA* 2412, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, Stratokleia a. o. *CAT* thinks that Leonike was the wife of Kalliphanes, and Aristomache and Axiomache their daughters; Aiolos would have survived to a ripe old age in a household of women.

⁶⁷ *IG* ii² 1566. 13; 6356, Theomnestos I son of Theomenes I K; Theomenes II son of Theomnestos I. Since this text is dated *c.*350, the manumittor may be Theomnestos II son of Theomenes II. Note also Sosi[-*c.*6-] Sostr[atou] K., commemorated on a stele of the 4th c. found in the city (*SEMA* 296), presumably related to —phr— —ostratou K., commemorated on a lekythos of unknown provenance of *c.*380 (*CAT* 3. 777 = *SEMA* 297 (A)) to which the name of Pyrrhos son of Pankles of Potamos was added; a later member of this family in K., —tos son of Sostratos, is recorded as ephebe *c.*236/5 (arch. Kimon: *IG* ii² 1027 c 11). *IG* ii² 6359–6360, also from Athens, are probably readings of a single stone.



Notes: IG ii² 6354 is the same stone as 5759; LGPN should be corrected. 6355 = CAT 5.910, Scholl 1996 no. 489. Lysimenes II is represented as a hoplite. The gap between Theainetos and Aristoteles is long but not impossible. Both marriages of Theagenes are hypothetical.

TABLE 27.5. Kephale: Lysimachos (a different reconstruction in M. C. Taylor 1997)

Thorikos

Thanks to Belgian excavations on the site since 1963, supplemented more recently by those of the Greek archaeological service, the main site is well known. The akropolis (Velatouri) has prehistoric remains, including evidence of early metal-working, and in the historical period seems to have been inhabited at least from the sixth century; evidence of cult at a MH shaft grave and at one of the Mycenaean tholos tombs cut into the hillside also begins in the sixth century, and continues into the fourth. The two burial areas that have been explored, which attest iron-age settlement on the site from *c.*1100, have yielded surprisingly few inscriptions, but the one near the theatre had ‘monumental’ graves from *c.*500. The classical town spread over the southern slopes of the hill; a theatre area was in use from the late sixth century, and was enlarged *c.*450 and again about a century later. The temple of Dionysos, associated with the theatre, may have been built at about the same time as the first theatre extension. A public building of unusual form—perhaps two stoas flanking a central wall—was begun in the last quarter of the fifth century but abandoned due to flooding. The isthmus of the Agios Nikolaos peninsula east of the city was fortified in 412. In addition to the evidence for cult provided by the calendar, discussed below, Thorikos perhaps had a shrine of Hygieia and/or a healing hero in the ‘industrial’ area of the town, with finds from the sixth century; a temenos of Demeter and Kore; and a shrine of Zeus (?) Auanter.⁶⁸

The sacrificial calendar *IG* i³ 256 *bis* in my opinion belongs to the deme.⁶⁹ On this view we learn from it that Th.—like the Salaminioi to the south and Halai to

⁶⁸ General accounts: Mussche 1974, 1994; Travlos 1988; Goette 1999, 2001. Hero-cult at Tholos I, Devillers 1988 (cf. Whitley 1994*b*): main period *c.*550–425, finds mainly cheap vases. Grave monuments attributed to Thorikos: *IG* ii² 11780 (cf. 6225, from Synterini, and below, n. 86); *AEE* 537 (kioniskos, Agathias Leokritou Th., *SEMA* 3037, suspect, not in *LGP*N); *SEMA* 255–6 (below, n. 80). Town: see *Thorikos VII*, 1970–1 (1978) 39–110; Mussche (ed) 2008, plans pp. 58, 62. Theatre (in the Lykourgan period it could have held 6000) Bingen 1991; Goette 1995*b*, 2014. ‘Doric building’ of stoa-like form, Dinsmoor 1982; Oikonomakou 1996; *AD* 49 B 1, 64–6. Kakavogianne and Anetakis 2012 take it to be a market. Fort (marked on *KvA*): Xen. *Hell.* 1. 2. 1, see Lauter a. o. 1989, Lauter 1992. Healing hero, *Thorikos V*, 1968 (1971), 103–30 (dedication to Hygieia, above n. 52, daughter of Thouphanes of Poros); see however Lauter 1993, 135 n. 426; Humphreys 2007, n. 12. Demeter and Kore, *IG* ii² 2600, cf. above, n. 53. The ‘Doric building’ has been thought to be the Koreion, but on slender grounds (N. D. Robertson 1996; the horos ii² 2600 perhaps came from this site, but so did a pederastic inscription, *Ergon* 1995, 20–3). Zeus Auanter or Lu(m)anter, *IG* ii² 2606 (conceivably associated with the sekos of Zeus Kataibates?); see now M. Miles 2015*b*. Two tile fragments stamped with the abbreviations Nikarch/Akam/Chaire, *Thorikos IX* nos. 89–90, see Bingen 1990 (*SEG* 40. 52), remain mysterious and scarcely provide evidence for a deme cult of Akamas. A possible subordinate hamlet of Th., to the west, with a (?) public building, ergasteria, and burial areas, Salliora-Oikonomakou 1985 [1991]; but see also Besa, ch. 32 nn. 98–9. Unpublished deme decree of ? Thorikos, *c.*460–440, providing for lease of two *temenê*, the Dionysion, and the Herakleion, Matthaiou 2009*a*; Papazarkadas 2011, 113.

⁶⁹ I summarize here the analysis in Humphreys 2004, 155–65. See also Lupu 2005, 115–49; *SEG* 54. 60. M. H. Jameson (*per ep.*; cf. Ismard 2010) was once inclined to attribute the text to a (pre-Kleisthenic?)

the north—had a salt-pan; as we would expect, it celebrated the Rural Dionysia; it had a Pythion, and perhaps a sanctuary of the Eleusinian goddesses (*koreion*). It sent victims to Agrai for the Diasia (ch. 22 n. 57). The text was dated *c.*430 in *IG* i³, in the 420s by Matthaïou (2009*a*). I have suggested that it was a response to complaints that sacrifices, perhaps especially those at peripheral sites,⁷⁰ had been omitted; anxiety had perhaps been aroused by the plague, the flooding of the ‘Doric building’, or the lightning-strike at Sounion mentioned by Aristophanes (*Clouds* 402) in 422. Deme meetings in Metageitnion for euthynai and in Skirophorion (for scrutiny of eighteen-year-olds and elections?) are suggested by reference to oath-victims.⁷¹ It is interesting that Th. sacrificed in Mounichion to Artemis Mounichia (in Piraeus?) rather than at the nearby sanctuaries of Brauron and Halai. A sacrifice to Poseidon at Sounion was perhaps shared with the Salaminioi, since there are other resemblances between the cultic assemblages of the two bodies.⁷² There are also signs, however, that Thorikos’ early theatrical tradition might have encouraged the introduction of offerings to figures prominent in tragedy.

Even the financing of dramatic competitions at the Rural Dionysia seems to have required some regulation *c.*420, the date of a very fragmentary inscription excavated in the theatre. It appears to record a decision that the names of choregoi, both for tragedy and for comedy, should be recorded on stone, followed by a list which does not seem to have contained more than three names, probably the choregoi of a single year. As at Ikarion (ch. 24 at n. 28), there may have been complaints from ex-choregoi that they were carrying too much of the financial burden, while others evaded their responsibilities. Mnesi[as], one of the listed choregoi, may be the son of Ameipsias Mnesi[o], who is mentioned at the end of the decree, perhaps as having been concerned in some way with the decree or the record. The son of —ylides, also a choregos, may have been the father or another relative of Aischylides Th., who appears in a mining record of *c.*330/29, perhaps as a landowner.⁷³ Another decree, perhaps also passed in the Lykourgan period, informs us that three choregoi were appointed each year and that prospective choregoi were to bid for the honour, a minimum sum being

amphiktyonic religious association similar to the Marathonian Tetrapolis; evidence that Thorikos was running its own Rural Dionysia by the late 5th c. may perhaps tell against this, and the somewhat sinister associations of Kephalos may explain his appearance in association with the Plynteria and oath-taking. On the ‘heroines of the Koroneians’ see now Papazarkadas 2011, 26 n. 50; *Nymphé Korōneia*, *BE* 2009, 255.

⁷⁰ We now have a horos of the hero Hyperpedios, from the Thorikos valley, *SEG* 51. 158, cf. 52. 157; Papazarkadas 2011, 139. Krahe 1941 rejects the association of the toponym Mykenai with mushrooms.

⁷¹ There may have been further meetings, possibly in Boedromion (cf. ch. 22 at n. 108 on the prerisia; ch. 30 n. 76), or in association with the Rural Dionysia.

⁷² It is also possible that the Poseidon cult derived from an early amphiktyony; see ch. 18 n. 6.

⁷³ *IG* i³ 256 *bis*; cf. Takaeuchi 2013, 102–5. The length of line is not very certain and I cannot suggest a restoration for l. 8, in which Ameipsias appears. Aischylides, *Agora* XIX P 34. 5. Dorokles, father of the third choregos, bears a name not attested elsewhere.

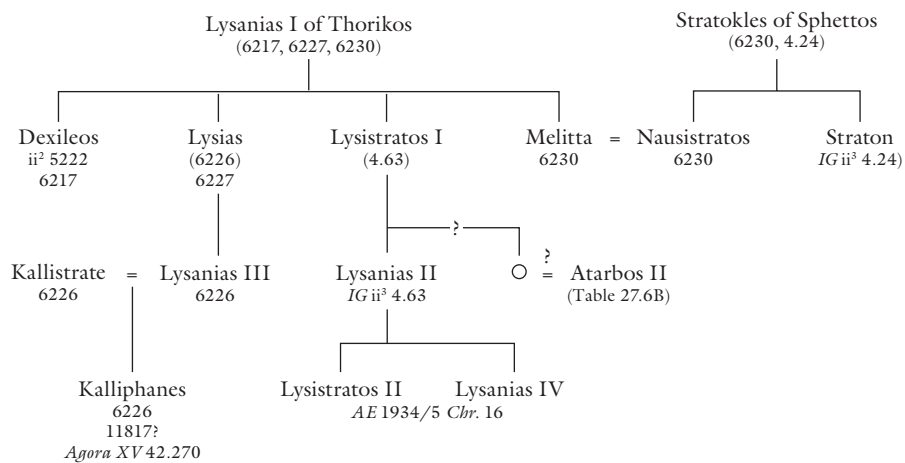
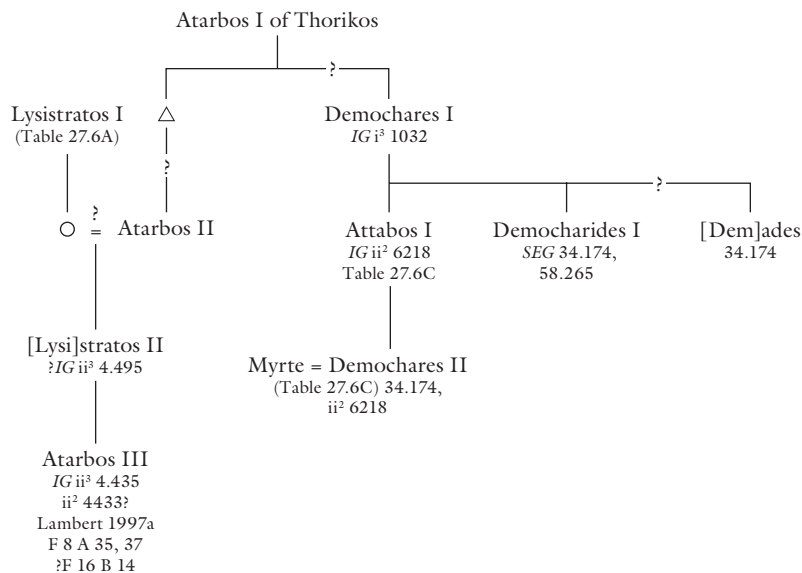
fixed by the deme. The number of three choregoi is surprising, but is supported by the earlier text, and perhaps by a choregic dedication of c.380–350 made by three choregoi, two for comedy and one for tragedy. However, a list of (?) victorious actors, dated by demarchs, names only two in each year, one for comedy and one for tragedy. Apparently at Thorikos prizes were awarded to actors but not to productions.⁷⁴

The earliest prominent family that can be traced in the deme is that of Kason, *kalos* on vases dated in the 530s, and his son Boon, who appears on ostraka both as *Thorikios* and as *Thorikôi oikôn*.⁷⁵ Since one would expect a boy named as *kalos* to be resident in Athens, possibly the family had moved to Thorikos in the late sixth century to engage in mining.

The names of the choregoi who dedicated SEG 34. 174—Demochares, Democharides, and [?Dema]des—lead to a connected group of families who were evidently prominent in the deme, although there are some problems of reconstruction (see Tables 27.6A–27.6D). Demochares I, the choregos, may be the Demochares Th. named in IG i³ 1032. 186 as (?) one of the survivors of Aigospotamoi (ch. 21 n. 41); he could have been a young man at the time of the battle. Democharides (and [?Dema]des?) may have been his son(s) or brother(s). Democharides is named three times on the large curse tablet SEG 58. 265 (A 1 13, 26; B 128). Demochares probably also had a son called Attabos, whose son Demochares II was commemorated on a stele found in the church of the Prophet Daniel near the Akademy. The stele also names Demochares II's two sisters, their husbands (members of Thorikos), Demochares' (?) wife Myrte, and her father Paramythos son of Stephanos of Aphidnai. It may have been set up by Myrte after the death of the other members of the family (ch. 11 nn. 33–4). Attabos II Th. and his (?) son Stephanos, both attested in the third century, were presumably descendents of Attabos I.

⁷⁴ Decree SEG 34. 107 (date, Matthaïou 2009*a*); see Summa 2006; P. Wilson 2007*d*; 2010*a*, 71–6 (SEG 57. 126). Dedication SEG 34. 174; list of (?) actors SEG 40. 167. The minimum sum for a choregia may have been 300 or 3000 dr.; since the speaker of Lysias 21 spent 3000 dr. as choregos for a full tragic programme in 411/10, and 1600 for comedy in 403/2 (APFD 7), the smaller sum is the more probable of the two, but even for a rural performance it seems low. IG i³ 1027 *bis*, dated c.435–410, is a verse dedication by a choregos called Python made in fulfilment of a vow, which might suggest victory in a competition; perhaps he was celebrating the victory of his leading actor, or his own success in the bidding competition. The choregoi of SEG 34. 174 may have been kin (P. Wilson 2010*a*, 43 n. 22) who had served in different years. The interpretation of SEG 40. 167 as a list of victorious actors is based on the identification of Pindaros son of Proteas in l. 2 as the well-known tragic actor Pindaros (see *Thorikos IX*, 1990, no. 84). Possibly, if there were three productions each year, the same comic actor played in both comedies, or a full program of tragedy (three tragedies and a satyr-play) was split between two choregoi (however, performance of trilogies at the Rural Dionysia is not so far attested elsewhere); on IG ii³ 4. 498, see ch. 29 n. 131.

⁷⁵ Brenne 2001, no. 43. Siewert 2002, T1/39, suggests that the phrase *Thorikôi oikôn* cast doubt on Boon's citizenship; this seems to me unlikely (ch. 22 n. 39).

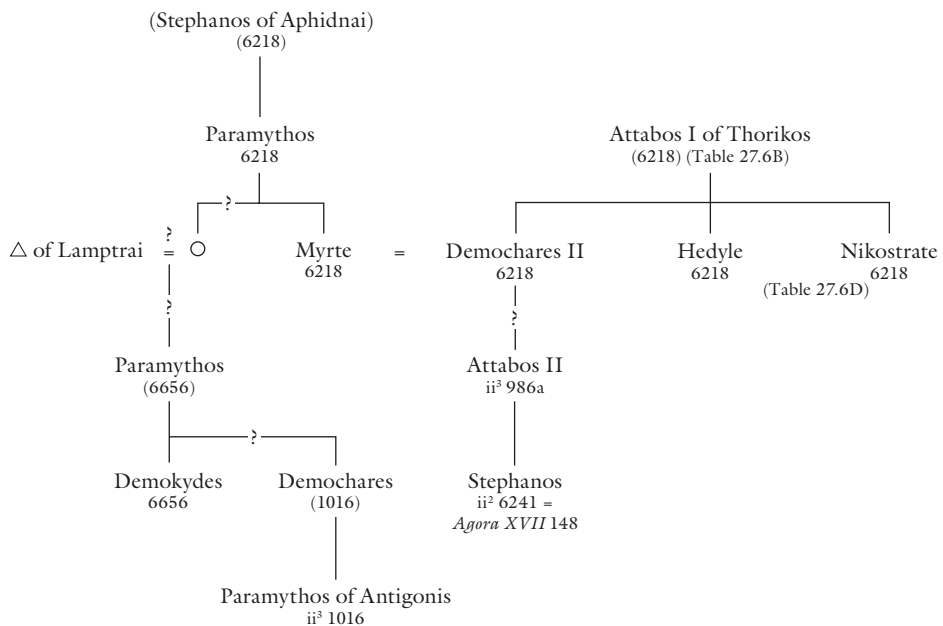
TABLE 27.6A.
Thorikos: LysaniasTABLE 27.6B. Thorikos:
Atarbos APF 2679

It may be coincidence that Stephanos (II) bore the name of Myrte's grandfather (FF), but there is rather more reason to posit a continuous family tradition in the case of Paramythos son of Demochares of Antigonis, ephebe in 242/1 (archon Philoneos), who bears two of the family names. He may be the descendant of a sister of Myrte who married into Lamptrai, later transferred to Antigonis.

Euthippos Th., father of the brothers Charmides and Sosigenes II, one or both of whom married into Demochares' family, probably had a brother called Sosippos, whose son Sosigenes III is attested by a late fourth century tomb monument commemorating him with his wife Chairylla (n. 80). The names suggest a horse-owning family.

The name Attabos does not occur elsewhere in Attika, and may be a variant of the better-attested name Atarbos, which also occurs in Thorikos. In that case

TABLE 27.6C.
Thorikos:
Attabos



Demochares I and a brother may both have been the sons of a hypothetical Attabos or Atarbos I. A son of the brother, named Atarbos II, would have married a daughter of Lysistratos, member of another prominent family of Thorikos (Table 27.6A). His son [Lysi?]stratos II made a dedication on the Akropolis in the middle of the fourth century, and is probably also the [Lysistratos? At]arbou Th. who commemorated a victory with a boys' choir at the Thargelia *c.*350–325 with the choregic monument *IG* ii³ 4. 495. Lysistratos II's son Atarbos III won choregic victories with a boys' choir and with pyrrichistai in 323/2, and purchased land at Thorikos in the hekatoistai sales; he may be the Ata[rbo]s who made a dedication to Asklepios with another person *c.*300.⁷⁶

The two lineages descended (on this hypothesis) from Atarbos I can be linked to two other families in the deme. The name Lysistratos, as I have suggested, probably came into the Atarbos line through a marriage of Atarbos II to a daughter of Lysistratos I son of Lysanias I Th.⁷⁷ The family of the latter is known principally from an imposing cluster of monuments set up in a prominent site in the Kerameikos round the stele of Dexileos son of Lysanias I, who died while

⁷⁶ Appendix 3 with J. L. Shear 2003 for the various uncertainties in this reconstruction, and references to other discussions of the data; ch. 12 n. 85. For the variation Atarbos/Attabos cf. perhaps Mnesippos/Mnasippos in Table 24.7.

⁷⁷ Lysippides, who put a decree to the vote in Thorikos *c.*400 (it is not certain that he was demarch), *SEG* 34. 107, may have belonged to this family.

fighting in the cavalry in the Corinthian War.⁷⁸ Dexileos had two brothers, Lysistratos I and Lysias, and a sister, Melitta, who married Nausistratos son of Stratokles of Sphettos.⁷⁹ Lysistratos I, in addition to the daughter hypothesized above, seems to have had a son, Lysanias II, who served on a board of officials in mid-century and had two sons, Lysistratos II and Lysanias IV, who made a dedication together in the late fourth century.

Lysias, Dexileos' second brother, was commemorated at the Kerameikos site *c.*340 (*IG* ii² 6227); his son Lysanias III was commemorated with his (Lysanias') wife Kallistrate and son Kalliphanes on a trapeza perhaps inscribed shortly after Demetrios of Phaleron's legislation limiting display in tomb monuments (ii² 6226). Kalliphanes may also have been commemorated alone by a (?) pedestal, ii² 11817. He had served as councillor in (?) 336/5 (*Agora* XV 42. 270).

The marriage of one or both of the sons of Euthippos Th. to daughters of Attabos I links the Attabos/Atarbos lineage to yet another family, resident in the deme, via the marriage of Sosigenes II (son of Euthippos' brother Sosippos) to Chairylla daughter of Chai— Th. Chairylla's father was probably related to Charinos son of Chairephon I Th. and Charinos' son Chairephon II, who should be either Chairylla's father or her uncle (FB). Charinos, Chairephon II, and the latter's sister Sosippe were all buried in the deme *c.*370–350; Sosippe's name may suggest an earlier marriage with the family of Sosippos and Euthippos.⁸⁰

There may also have been a connection between the lineage of Chairephon I and two other lines in which names based on the root Char- were used. Aristokrates son of Chares I Th. was honoured on Paros in the middle of the fourth century; he may be the Aristokrates Th. named (with his fellow-demesman Autolykos II?) in 361/0, and should be the father of Chares II, who served as councillor in 348/7 and in that capacity was cited by Demosthenes as a witness in his speech against Meidias (21. 121). A son of Chares II leased a mine *c.*340/39.⁸¹ Exekestides I

⁷⁸ *IG* ii² 6217, 6226, 6227, 6230, 11817 (see also notes to Table 27.6A). There is a considerable gap between Dexileos' stele of 394/3, ii² 6217, and the other monuments, dated *c.*350–310, and no monument for Dexileos' brother Lysistratos I is preserved (ch. 11 n. 21). Dexileos' monument, Bugh 1988 II A 24; Ensoli 1987; Spence 1993; Nemeth 1994; Stupperich 1994a. His dates of birth and death are recorded, probably to show that he was too young to have been involved with the Thirty. He was also named on the public monument *IG* ii² 5222, cut by the same hand as ii² 6217 or at least in the same style (Dow Nachlass). See ch. 21 n. 48. ii² 6217 tells us that Dexileos was one of the '*pente hippeis*', possibly a small squadron used for special manoeuvres (Xen. *Hipparch.* 8. 25).

⁷⁹ Straton son of Stratokles of Sphettos, diatetes in 371/0 or 363/2 (*IG* ii³ 4. 24, *SEG* 34. 63, cf. n. 4, Appendix 1; this genealogy somewhat favours the earlier date, since Melitta's husband should have been born before *c.*425), will have been Nausistratos' brother. Nausistratos' name was added later to ii² 6230, of mid-century, Melitta's stele.

⁸⁰ Sosigenes III and Chairylla were buried in the deme in the late 4th c, *SEG* 34. 202 = *SEMA* 256 (255, Sosigenes son of Sosippos, also from the deme).

⁸¹ Aristokrates: Matthaiou 1998 = *SEG* 48. 1135 (*LGP*N no. 92); *SEG* 23. 78. 11 = Reinmuth 1971 no. 1 (see now A. Chankowski 2014). If Aristokrates was born in the 420s (since a grandson was adult *c.*340,

son of Charias Tho—, named in a diadikasia list of 381/0, may well have belonged to Thorikos, since the son of an Exekestides served as councillor for Akamantis in 378/7, and an Exekestides of Thorikos served as general in 357/6 and eponym of a naval symmory not long afterwards. The Ex[ekes]tides son of Cha— commemorated by a stele with a relief loutrophoros, found at Brahami, was presumably a grandson (SS) of Exekestides I.⁸²

One of the interesting features of the evidence on Thorikos is that it provides evidence for continuing economic involvement in the deme area on the part of families based in the city. Mantias Th. served as treasurer of the dockyards in 377/6 and as general in 360/59; he married a daughter of Polyaratos of Chologos and was also involved with Plangon, daughter of Pamphilos of Keiriadai, who also had a military career. Mantias took out a mining lease c.364 with his son Mantitheos, shortly after the latter came of age, and this Mantitheos or his half-brother Mantitheos-Boiotos purchased land at Thorikos in the hekatomastai sales.⁸³

Land in the deme was bought on the same occasion by a Karkin[os], presumably a descendant of the comic poet Karkinos son of Xenotimos I Th. of the fifth century. Karkinos' son Xenokles, grandson (SS) Karkinos II, and (?) great-grandson (SSS) Xenokles II all wrote tragedies, and presumably had a base in the city, but another (older?) son, Xenotimos II, dedicated horse trappings at Brauron before 398/7.⁸⁴

Agora XIX P 29. 46, he cannot have been born later) he might still be alive as an elderly man in 361/0; it is less likely that the Aristokrates of *SEG* 23. 78 is a grandson. There may be a connection through Polykles son of Aristokrates Th., *IG* ii² 6237 (3rd–2nd c.) with a well-known family of Hellenistic sculptors; see Stewart 1979, 42–59. The list of witnesses in Dem. 21. 121 is often regarded as a later invention, since some of the documents in this speech are later additions (MacDowell 1990, 43–7, 343–4), but of the 5 named witnesses two (Chares, and Lysimachos of Alopeke) are attested in the right period, while the existence of Moschos of Paiania is supported by the use of the name Moschion in the deme in the 3rd c. and perhaps by *IG* ii² 7034 (known only from Pittakes). If the witness Pammenes son of Pammenes of D. 21. 22 belonged to Thorikos (so Oikonomides *ap. OCT Dem.* II), his existence may be supported by *SEMA* 254, naming him with his son (city, dated c.300). However, MacDowell 1990, 245 was right to point out that the name is otherwise attested only in the Roman period.

⁸² *APF* 4718; since the councillor (*IG* ii³ 4. 52. 4) cannot be a son of the general, it is perhaps more likely that the Exekestides of the diadikasia text had two sons, Cha[r]ias II] (father of Exekestides III, perhaps commemorated by the loutrophoros-relief *IG* ii² 11269) and Exekestides II, the general. The Philok— whose ergasterion at Th. was marked by a horos (late 4th–3rd c., *SEG* 48. 166) might be Philokles Th., councillor in 304/3 (*Agora* XV 61. 81 = *SEG* 36. 216. 14, [Phi]lokl[es]), possibly a grandson of Philokles son of Ainesias Th., commemorated in the early 4th c. by *IG* ii² 6243 (but the name has been restored, questionably, as Philok[rates]).

⁸³ *APF* 9667, cf. Humphreys 1989. (M. C. Miller 2010a suggests that the Mantitheos of Lys. 16 belonged to the same family and attributes the hekatomastai purchases to him.) Hekatomastai, Lambert 1997a F 8 A 39–41, two purchases (that one plot was bought by each brother is hardly likely). R. G. Osborne's claim (2011) that Thorikos had a high proportion of demesmen still resident in the deme is not supported by prosopographical analysis.

⁸⁴ *APF* 8254; Lambert 1997a F 8 A 33. Karkinos II should have been born by 405, so the purchaser should be his son or grandson; a grandson born c.345 could have bought land in the 320s as a young man. (n. 36; Appendix 2). Xenotimos II, D. Harris 1995, II no. 31.

Thorikians are relatively common in the mining records. As we have seen, a son of Chares Th. leased a mine c.340. Smikythos son of Epiteles Th. owned land in the mining area next to Nikias Th., about the middle of the fourth century; he served as councillor in 338/7, and his son Epiteles II is attested as a principal trierarch before 323/2, as performing the eutaxia liturgy c.330, and perhaps as a landowner. Eudraon Th. owned property at Thorikos in the mining area, and leased a mine in (?) 341/0 for 500 dr., an unusually high rent; he is also attested as a trierarch. Eudraon III son of Ly—, councillor for Thorikos in 305/4, is probably his nephew (BS).⁸⁵

The son of Kallias Th. recorded as (?) a landowner in the mining area in (?) 341/0 was probably Thoukritides, who seems to have made a dedication with his father Kallias son of Kalli[krates?] to Zeus Philios in the second half of the fourth century. Kallias served as diaitetes in 329/8; Thoukritides served as councillor in 338/7 and as secretary of the Eleusinian epistatai from 332/1 to 329/8. The syntrierarch Kallias Th. recorded in 322 is more likely to be Thoukritides' son than his father.⁸⁶

Nausikrates I Th. was buried in the city with Boularchides Th. (*IG* ii² 6234), possibly the liturgist of *IG* ii² 1929 (*APF* 2914; the name Boularchos is however attested in the fourth century in Phlya, ch. 29 n. 85). Nausikrates' son Nausikrates II married the daughter of Pytheas of Alopeke (*SEG* 54. 338; ch. 32 n. 19).

Autolykos I and II Th. were distinguished figures in the city, but their only discernible link with deme affairs is that the heroine Philonis, who received an offering at Thorikos in Mounychion, is said by Pherekydes (*FGH* 3 F 120) to have been the mother of Autolykos by Hermes. Possibly the family belonged to the genos Kepholidai. However, the name of Autolykos I is also linked to that of

⁸⁵ Smikythos and Epiteles, *APF* 4959: *Agora* XIX P 16. 13, P 29. 49, *Agora* XV 39. 8; Lambert 2001 reads Epitelēs in *IG* ii³ 550. 20. Eudraon, *APF* 5444: *Agora* XIX P 13. 50, P 27. 100, P 29. 17–20; *Agora* XV 58. 73, Eudraon III. The Eudraon who contributed a set of oars by 347/6 should be Eudraon II, but the syntrierarch of 322 may be Eudraon III (who might also be a DS of Eudraon I or Eudraon II). Other Thorikioi in the mining records: Menon, registrant in 370/69, P 4. 40; P 14. 35, owner; P 19. 26, registrant. P 26. 239–40 Aischines, owner (cf. perhaps Aischylides, owner?, P 34. 5, c.330/29); P 27. 82, son of Kallias (n. 86), owner?, 341/0; P 34. 3, owner; P 34. 6–7 son of Epameinon, owner?

⁸⁶ *APF* 7865; Thoukritides, *IG* ii³ 4. 27, *IG* ii² 1544. 10; dedication, *SEG* 41. 173/44. 135. Spacing seems to require (if the text was symmetrically arranged) Kalli[-6-7-] as Kallias' patronymic, and Thoukr[itides] rather than Thoukr[itōs] as the name of the second dedicant. Kirchner restored the diaitetes' patronymic in *IG* ii³ 4. 35. 19 as Kalli[telous], but as *APF* (7865, 8210) points out, we do not know whether the trierarch Kalliteles Thor— of c.350 belonged to Thorikos or Thorai. Kallias' father might have been Kallikr[ates] son of Dionysi [os?] Th., commemorated by a stone found at Synterini in the mining district (*IG* ii² 6225, undated, but given the pattern of mining activity and the prosopography it should belong to the 4th c.). In that case Kallikrates (II) Th., recorded as contractor at Eleusis c.333/2 (*IEleus* 159. 64), will be Thoukritides' brother, and they will have been related to Dionysios II son of Kalliades, councillor with Thoukritides in (?) 338/7 (*Agora* XV 39. 10 and (?) 336/5 (*ibid.* 42. 266), and father of Kallippides, crowned in 304/3 as member of a board of officials (*IG* ii² 488. 11). *IG* ii² 6219 + *SEG* 23. 133, a bronze vessel, also names a Dionysios Th., perhaps as its owner; it was found in Piraeus (and is probably not funerary). Cf. also *IG* ii² 11780 = *CEG* 492, a stele of the beginning of the 4th c., found at Thorikos, commemorating a Kallimachos who died overseas, with [Kal]limachos son of Kall— Th., epebe in 305/4 (*IG* ii² 478 Reinmuth 1971 no. 17. 134).

his father Lykon, attacked in comedy as a cuckold and homosexual (*malthakos*). Autolykos I was a much-feted boy pankratiast who won at the Panathenaia in the summer of 422/1, and figures both in Xenophon's *Symposium* and Eupolis' *Flatterers*; he was killed by the Thirty. Autolykos II, probably his son, served as envoy to Lesbos in 368/7 and held office as tribal epimeletes in 361/0. He was probably still alive as a member of the Areiopagos in 347/6, and may be the Autolykos who served as kosmetes of the epheboi in (?) 331/0 or 330/29; he would have been in his seventies, but from a symbolic point of view he was a well-qualified candidate.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Lambert 1996 suggested that they belonged to a phratry or genos Ionidai, but see R. Parker 1996, 325; on the Kephallidai see ch. 20 n. 81. Lykon: Kratinos *PCG* 4. 232 F 214; *PCG* 5. 320–1; Sommerstein 2008. Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 270, and Schol. Plat. *Apol.* 23e say that his wife was Rhodian, which can hardly have been literally true. Cf. ch. 13 n. 13. Autolykos II: *IG* ii² 107; Reinmuth 1971 no. 1. Areiopagos, *AO* p. 322; kosmetes, Reinmuth 1 = *SEG* 23. 78. 15, 18 (*pace* A. Chankowski 2014, the 9-letter patronymic may be [Autolykou], and the archon by whom the text is dated, [*epi*] or [*ep* –11–12–], may be [Aristophanous], 331/0, or [Aristophontos], 330/29. Mitchel 1976 suggested that the kosmetes was A. III son of A. II).

VI Oineis

Oineis was topographically a relatively compact tribe, with city demes in the area stretching from the river Kephisos westward to Mt Aigaleos and eastward towards the city, a very large inland trittys to the north of these consisting of a single deme, Acharnai, and a coastal trittys stretching from the west side of Aigaleos and the Thriasian plain up to Phyle on Mt Parnes. Some small demes of Leontis, however, seem to have separated the city trittys from Acharnai.

CITY TRITTYS

Boutadai

This was probably the deme closest to the city, although it is far from certain that the tombs of a group of Lykourgos' kin, found near the Academy (Table 4.6), lay in the deme. In any case, this family, which held the Eteoboutadai's priesthood of Poseidon Erechtheus, must have had a leading position in the deme both at the time of Kleisthenes' reforms and in the late fourth century, when Lykourgos IV became the dominant figure in Athens after the battle of Chaironeia. His second son Habron, who served as ephebe *c.*330, re-emerged as a figure carrying at least symbolic weight after the restoration of democracy, holding his father's post as finance minister in 307/6 and serving as treasurer of military funds in 306/5.¹ Habron's niece Kallisto, daughter of Lykophron II, married into another very prominent family in the tribe, her husband being Kleombrotos, son of the well-known general Deinokrates of Acharnai (n. 54).

Boutadai was perhaps the base of the phratry to which Aischines (of Kothokidai) belonged, which sacrificed on altars shared with the genos Eteoboutadai (see below *s.v.* *Kothokidai*). The deme also contained at least two families belonging to the genos Salaminioi: those of Thrasykles I, who served as hellenotamias in 410/9, and whose grandson (SS) Thrasykles II son of Thrason, was hereditary herald of the genos in 363/2, and of Melittios son of Exekestides, who like

¹ *APF* 9251; cf. ch. 20 n. 132 and Table 4.6. Tombs, SEG 37. 161–2, Bergemann 1997 peribolos D 8. Habron, Reinmuth 1971 no 12. 72; *IG* ii² 463. 36, 1492. 123.

Thrasykles II served as one of the oattakers for the Salaminioi of the Seven Tribes in the same year.²

Interest in the sanctuary of Kephisos at Phaleron is documented for Kephisodotos son of Demogenes B., who dedicated a relief and altar there in the last decades of the fifth century to Hermes, Echelos, and [I]asile. A homonymous descendant, Kephisodotos son of Deinias, served as councillor in 303/2.³ Demogenes' name seems to imply that he was born in the deme, perhaps relatively soon after it acquired deme status.

There seem thus to be some signs of resistance to cultic domination by the Eteoboutadai and their phratry. Moreover, Boutadai was not peopled solely by wealthy families with religious interests. It was also the deme of residence of a woman kithara-player, freed by two sons of Theodoros of Melite in the late fourth century.⁴

Kothokidai

This deme has been located in the coastal trittys, but only on the evidence of a single tombstone of the Imperial period found near a church at Goritsa.⁵ Aischines' statement (2. 147) that his phratry shared its altars with the Eteoboutadai suggests a location in the city trittys near Boutadai.

Land at Kothokidai was owned by the Apheidantidai, probably a *genos*, and by the Oikatai, perhaps also a *genos*, or a group of *orgeones* (Lambert 1997a F 16 A 19–21). Both groups might have belonged to the phratry based at Boutadai. Straton son of Mnesiphanes K. acted as *epimeletes* of the Oikatai in the *hekatostai* sales and bought their plot himself for 100 dr.; Mnesimachos II son of Mnesochos K., probably a kinsman of Straton, bought the land sold by the Apheidantidai, for

² *Agora* XIX L 4a 75–6. Note that the existence of Salaminian families in this area is relevant to Kimon's interest in the Oschophoria. The name Exekestides also occurs in Kothokidai (Table 28.1).

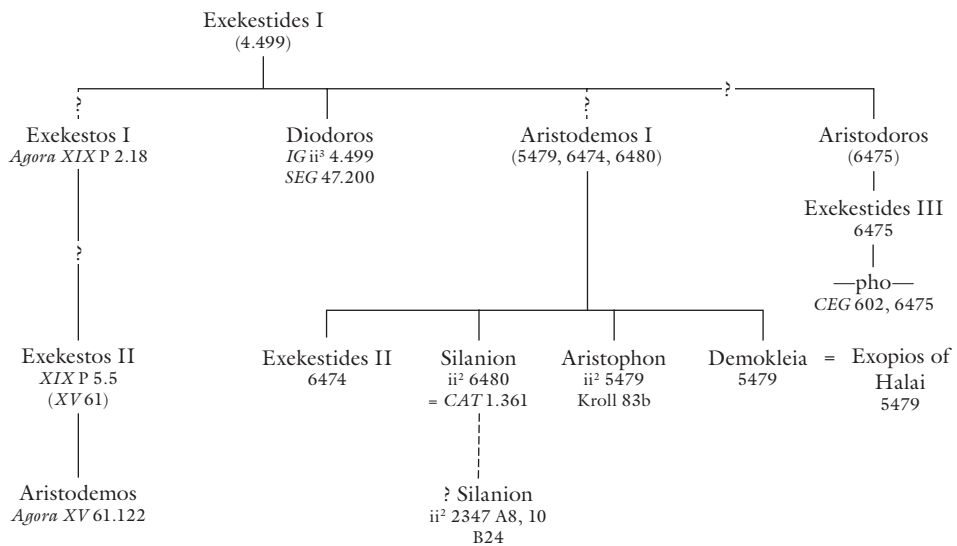
³ *IG* i³ 986; the reading A<l>exo in line Ba, which would associate a woman with the dedication, is unclear. Cf. ii² 4547, a 4th c. text from the same site.

⁴ *SEG* 18. 36 A 505–9. Did she play at Skiron? (St. Byz. s.v. *Skiros*, cf. *Lex. Bekker* 1814 p. 300, 23, *Et. Mag.* p. 717. 28, both quoted *FGH* III B *Suppl.* I p. 287, with notes 30–43, *ibid.* II pp. 196–7).

⁵ *IG* ii² 6481 (note that ii² 6477 = 7358, from Ambelokipi, is now attributed to Kikynna, Peek 1942, 233 no. 33). Traill (1975a, 1986; followed by Stanton 1994), in accepting a location in the coastal trittys for K., was influenced by the desire to equalize the size of trittyses, but in any case the size of Acharnai made this impossible for Oineis. Milchhöfer 1892 argues that Ar. *Thesm.* 620 implies a situation for K. at some distance from the city (women whose husbands belonged to the deme would rarely be seen at the city Thesmophoria); but the demotic—for Mnesilochos, disguised as a woman—may have been chosen in allusion to *kothēma*, a term for the male genitals (Hsch.). In the *hekatostai* sales, Leontios of Epikēphisia sold land in Kothokidai on behalf of the *genos* Apheidantidai (ch. 20 n. 142; Lambert 1997a F 16 A 19–21); this also suggests a location in the city trittys. Aischines' claim (2. 147) that his father lost property during the Peloponnesian War is vague and not to be accepted without question; in any case it would not decide the question of location (Perikles' land at Cholargos was topographically at risk, Thuc. 2. 13. 1).

210 dr. He was perhaps the grandson (SS) of the Mnesim[achos?] K. whose wife was commemorated by a stele of *c.*400, a fragment of which was found on the Akropolis, and an ancestor of Mnesimachos III son of Aristokles, ephebe in 246/5. Mnesiades K., one of the dockyard superintendents in 375/4, and Mnesikles K., ephebe *c.*330, probably belonged to the same family.⁶

One of the wealthier families in the deme was based on Salamis. Unfortunately the relationships are very difficult to reconstruct (see Table 28.1). The earliest attested member of the family is Diodoros son of Exekestides (I), who won a victory with a boys' chorus at a Salaminian festival in the early fourth century. Exekestides son of Aristodoros, commemorated on Salamis by a stele to which the name of his son was added, was presumably Diodoros' nephew (BS). Diodoros and Aristodoros may have had a brother, Aristodemos, whose son Silanion died in battle; another son, Aristophon was buried at Sepolia, north of the city, with his sister Demokleia and her husband Exopios of Halai. The Exekestos who owned land on Salamis in 402/1 may be a fourth son of Exekestides I; Exekestos II, secretary of the poletai in 367/6, would then be his son, and may be the father of Aristodemos Exekestou K., who served as councillor in 304/3.⁷



Note: Exekestides II or III, *IG* ii² 1613.183.

TABLE 28.1. Kothokidai: Exekestides *APF* 4179

⁶ Mnesim[achos] I, *IG* ii² 6478; Mnesimachos III, ii³ 1008. 14 (arch. Polyeuktos); Mnesiades, ii² 1622. 489; Mnesikles, Reinmuth 1971 no. 12 II 69.

⁷ I accept here—with some hesitation—Pittakes' assertion that *IG* ii² 6474, reported by Rangaves (1855, 1518) as commemorating an Exekestides son of Aristodemos K., is a doublet of ii² 6475, the stone of Exekestides son of Aristodoros. Other reconstructions in *APF* 4719, M. C. Taylor 1997 Stemma 1, and Bergemann 1997, 209 (peribolos Z 6). The man or men named Silanion listed in the thiasos inscription *IG* ii² 2347, from Salamis, may be descendants of the hoplite (or of a kinsman).

The family of Aischines, despite Demosthenes' aspersions, seems to have been of respectable hoplite status; the names of the orator's father and younger brother, Atrometos and Aphobetos, probably indicate some pride in a military tradition. Atrometos, according to his son, was forced into exile by the Thirty and lost his property; after a period in Corinth, he 'returned from Phyle' with the democrats, but subsequently took service as a mercenary in Asia in order to restore his economic position. All this is somewhat dubious. There may well already have been a connection between Atrometos and the liturgic family in Paiania into which Aischines subsequently married, since Aischines' elder brother was called Philochares, a name used in the Paiania family (*APF* 14625, Table 25.3). Atrometos' wife Glaukothea daughter of Glaukos of Acharnai, who shared her husband's exile in Corinth according to Aischines, had a brother who acted as a *mantis* and held some kind of command in the 390s or 380s. In any case, Aischines and his brothers did well. Philochares was elected general from 345/4 to 343/2, and cannot have owed the office solely to Aischines' influence; Aischines and his younger brother Aphobetos, according to Demosthenes, both worked their way up from under-secretaries to secretaries (of the Council and Demos). Aischines became active in the Assembly, and served as ambassador to the Peloponnese and to Philip of Macedon in 347/6; he was again involved in negotiations with Philip in the following year, and in 338/7, and represented Athens at Delphi as a *pylagoras* in 340/39. Aphobetos replaced Aischines on one of the embassies to Philip, and had some financial responsibilities (before 343). Aischines' son Atrometos II perhaps served as ephebic lochagos for his tribe in the Lykourgan period.⁸

Hippotomadai

It was transferred into Demetrias with Kothokidai in 307/6, and may therefore have been its neighbour. The appearance of Menekles H. as one of the epistatai for Eleusis in 408/7 does not of course mean that H. was in the Eleusinian plain.⁹

⁸ *APF* 14625, E. M. Harris 1995; Table 2.4. It is not clear what Demosthenes had said against Atrometos in 343 (Aisch. 2. 78; the published version of Dem. 19 was evidently toned down), but it seems not unlikely that he had at some point sympathized with the oligarchs, had later come into conflict with the Thirty and left for Corinth, had returned with the restoration of democracy, but had found life politically uncomfortable in Athens and had left again for Asia. Athletic activities in his youth, 'before he lost his property' (Aisch. 2. 147), may suggest an upper-class lifestyle. Kleoboulos, *CEG* 519; on the date of his office (396/5 or 388/7?) see *AO* p. 206–7. Atrometos II, *IEleus* 82. 7. On Aischines' date of birth (390?) see ch. 27 n. 30.

⁹ Traill (1986) assigns Hippotomadai to the city trittys on the base of one prytany list. Menekles, *IG* i³ 386. 1.

Lakiadai

It is firmly located by Pausanias (1. 37. 2) in the area where the Sacred Way crossed the river Kephisos, which puts it in modern Aigaleo. It was the eponymous deme of the city trittys of Oineis; since it was not, at least in the fourth century, the largest deme in its trittys, it may have owed this position to the prominence of the family of Miltiades and Kimon in the early fifth century.

Pausanias saw a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in L., on the east side of the Kephisos (presumably close to the Sacred Way), with an altar dedicated to Zephyros and perhaps also altars of Zeus and Poseidon; on the other side of the river was an altar of Zeus Meilichios. The *genos* Phytalidai were responsible both for this altar and for the sanctuary of Demeter. They claimed to have purified Theseus when he arrived in Attika, but this association with Theseus may have been developed only in the 470s, when Kimon discovered the hero's bones on the island of Skyros and brought them back to Athens (ch. 20 n. 69).

Miltiades III may already have been resident somewhere west of the city when the Dolonkoi, on their way back from Delphi to the Thracian Chersonese (Gallipoli peninsula), in the 550s or 540s, invited him to come with them. However, there are problems in assuming that there was continuity in landholding between the departure of Miltiades III and the return in 493 of Miltiades IV; and if the latter had an ancestral connection with Lakiadai, we do not know if it derived from Miltiades III or from his half-brother Kimon I. The latter was buried in Koile, but this site was probably chosen because it was in a conspicuous position just outside the city. Kimon II, in any case, is said to have owned land in his deme.¹⁰

Kimon was ostracized in 461 but was elected general on his return ten years later, and died in Cyprus after an important victory over the Persians in 451. His reputation earned his son Lakedaimonios election first (in the 450s or 440s) as hipparch and later, in 433/2, as general; he may have held military office at other dates, although he does not seem to have left much of a reputation. His twin Oulios may have held office as corn-controller (*sitophylax*) c.425, and had a son named Aristokrates. Their brother Thettalos indicted Alkibiades for profanation of the Mysteries in 415; it seems quite possible that the family had some involvement with the oligarchic regimes of 411 and 404.¹¹

¹⁰ *APF* 8429. Miltiades IV was on Lemnos in 507, and there may have been some element of fiction in the assignation of demes to Athenians on the island at this time (cf. Marchiandi 2008*a*). Stesagoras, the second husband of the mother of Miltiades III, and grandfather (FF) of Miltiades IV, may have been a kinsman of the widow's first husband Kypselos; Miltiades III seems to have regarded the sons of his half-brother (MS) Kimon I as his heirs (Table 2.4). Moreover, Miltiades IV, who had probably held the eponymous archonship in 524/3, may have left for the Chersonese by agreement with the Peisistratidai. Tomb, ch. 10 n. 110. Land of Kimon II, *A.P.* 27. 3, Plut. *Kim.* 10. 1–2.

¹¹ *APF* *ibid.*; the Miltiades who came to Athens with Lysander in 404 (Lys. 12. 72), if he had been sent to Sparta by the oligarchs, may well have been chosen for the sake of his name; this would help

Lakiadai was also the deme of the actor or tragic poet Makareus, who died young and was commemorated in the Kerameikos by a large naiskos with a loutrophoros on top and a verse epitaph on its base. Archebios, also named on the naiskos, was presumably a relative, and an ancestor of Archebios son of Epiteles L., whose wife Olympias was commemorated in the second century BCE by a kioniskos.¹²

Philinos son of Nikostratos L. served as voluntary trierarch to Euboia in 358, and performed other trierarchies in the 350s; —as Philinou L., agonothete for the Dionysia in the early third century, may be his son, as may the Nikostrat[os] Phil[i]nou? who bought land at (?) Echelidai in the hekatomastai sales. Another prominent family of the second half of the fourth century used the rare names Cheimeus and Kikon; Cheimeus, already attested as trierarch in 357/6, was elected sophronistes of the epheboi of Oineis c.330; the base (?) bearing his name may perhaps have belonged to a dedication rather than a funerary monument. The Kikon who served as priest of Aphrodite in Piraeus in (?) the middle of the fourth century may have been his son, and may also be the Kikon who won a victory at the Amphiaraiia in (?) 329/8 with a ‘processional pair’.¹³

A dedication to Herakles was set up in the city in the late fourth century by Straton son of Stratokles L. with his two sons, Kleophon and Theodotos; Kleophon’s son Straton II served as councillor in 303/2 (*IG* ii² 4611, *Agora* XV 62. 190).

There is no evidence from inscriptions for any activity of Lakiadai as a deme;¹⁴ its leading citizens may have been too much involved in political careers in the city, or possibly (in the case of the Phytalidai) in *genos* activity, to devote much attention to deme affairs.

to explain why we hear nothing further of the family until Kimon (IV?) appears as ambassador to Philip in 346. Miltiades VI, who led a colony to the Adriatic in 325/4, may have been the son of this Kimon; his daughter Euthydike, who made a dedication on the Akropolis (*IG* ii² 1466. 7–8, 1469 A 30–1 with *APF* 8429 XV), first married Alexander’s hetairios Ophellas, who became tyrant of Kyrene, and then (in 307/6) married Demetrios Poliorketes. Her son by her first marriage, accepted as an Athenian citizen, was commemorated by a kioniskos found in the area of St John Rentis between the city and Piraeus (ii² 6630). The connection of these 4th c. members of the family either with Kimon or with the Miltiades son of Stesagoras, perhaps a contemporary of Sokrates, mentioned by Aischines the Socratic, is unclear. Note also [. . .] esagoras, hippeus of Oineis on the casualty list *SEG* 48. 83, Matthaiou 2011a, 85–6.

¹² Makareus: *IG* ii² 6626 = *CEG* 568, *CAT* (Suppl.) RSE 24 (after c.350); Stephanes 1988 no 1595. Archebios (II), ii² 5946.

¹³ Philinos: *APF* 14327, with *SEG* 45. 147 (355/4); Lambert 1997a F 9 A 9, Nikostratos II (no demotic). Cheimeus: *APF* 15545, Reinmuth 1971 no. 12; ii² 6635, reported by Rangaves (1855, 1533) as a ‘white marble pedestal’ from Hyperides St in Plaka, inside the city walls, is accepted as funerary by Bergemann 1997, 228 no. 6, and by Nielsen a.o. 1989, 415 n. 14. Kikon, *IG* ii² 4586; *IG* vii 414 + *SEG* 1. 126. 41 (date, Knoepfler 1993b).

¹⁴ The text reported in *SEG* 43. 113 from *EA* 1841, 586, as a deme dedication read *LAKKIADA* and was said to resemble *IG* ii² 2864a (2nd c. BCE) in lettering. It may be a personal name. (However, absence of deme inscriptions does not necessarily imply lack of activity.)

Epikēphisia

It presumably lay on the Kephisos, perhaps upstream from Lakiadai. A deme decree of the late fourth century, honouring the demesmen elected to prosecute Neokles, who had won their case, was found near the Dipylon. The proposer, Pythodoros son of Philokles, appears as guarantor of a lease of sacred property taken out by his son in 343/2 for 160 dr.¹⁵

Leonteus son of Kalliades I E. sold property in the hekatostai sales (at Kothokidai) on behalf of the genos Apheidantidai; Leontichos son of Kalliades (II) councillor in 281/0, is probably his grandson (SS).¹⁶

Kephisogeiton E., appropriately named, was commemorated in the middle of the fourth century with Phormion son of Ophelon of Peiraios by a funerary stele found by the Sacred Way, and thus not far from the deme area.¹⁷ Hegemon E. was represented on his grave monument as a young horseman. Lykiskos son of Diodotos E., who freed a slave in the late fourth century, was apparently buried in a peribolos belonging to a family of Sphettos, 'by the road leading from Ambelokepos to the Mesogeion'.¹⁸

Lousia

It has been very tentatively placed at the northern end of the city trittys on the basis of a single tombstone of the fourth century, re-used in a church in Kato Liosia.¹⁹

Hippolochides son of Thrasymedes L. was evidently a wealthy man: he set up two impressive monuments on or near the Akropolis before the middle of the fourth century, a group of two bronze statues made by Demetrios and a single statue by Symenos. At some date before 354 he adopted Thrasyboulos son of Aischines, also of Lousia, and no doubt a kinsman. Thrasyboulos seems to have

¹⁵ *IG* ii² 1205; if the stone is too late to relate to a case deriving from the diapsephisis of 346/5, Neokles was presumably a delinquent deme official or debtor. Pythodoros, *Agora* XIX L 6. 79–80; Papazarkadas 2011, 314 no. 70.

¹⁶ Lambert 1997a, F 16 A 20 (suggesting that Leonteus and Leontichos were brothers); *Agora* XV 72. 62; *IG* ii³ 1180. 9 (cf. *SEG* 21. 401), perhaps Leontichos or a brother (Lambert).

¹⁷ *IG* ii² 6060a, p. 880; see discussion in *APF* 11672 IX and ch. 30 n. 15. If the trierarch Phormion son of Ktesiphon of Peiraios was the banker who started his career as a slave of Pasion of Acharnai, Phormion son of Ophelon cannot have been related to him. Presumably the latter was an affine of Kephisogeiton.

¹⁸ Hegemon, *IG* ii² 6060 = *CAT* 2. 867a (375–50), no provenance; represented as a mounted hunter (dog, petasos) rather than a cavalryman. Lykiskos, *SEG* 18. 36 A 207 (evidence on the slave's occupation and residence is lost); ii² 7527. 10 (added; Bergemann 1997, peribolos F 16).

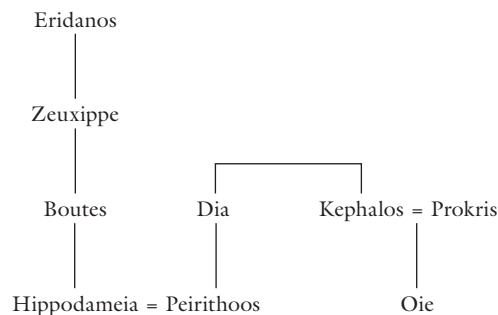
¹⁹ *IG* ii² 6756; Peck 1942, 115 no. 234, found at Ag. Theodoros in the Peristeri area, might have had the demotic [Lo]us[ieus]. The reference in *IEleus* 177. 257 to costs for carting Lousian earth is taken in *RE* s.v. *Lousia* to suggest a site near Skiron, i.e. on the E side of Aigaleos.

changed his name to Hippolochides (II), and appears in this guise as trierarch in the (?) 330s and perhaps on a curse tablet of the same date. Aischines, his father, had married into a wealthy family of gennetai in Leukonoion, whose affairs are known to us from Isaïos 7.²⁰

Euktemon L. may possibly have led an expedition of kleruchs to Samos in 366/5 as a young man, but if so he returned to Athens. He filed a charge of desertion (*lipotaxia*) against Demosthenes in (?) 348/7, at the prompting of Meidias according to Demosthenes, but did not pursue it in court. He seems to be the Euktemon son of Charias attested in Delphi as naopoios in 345, 343, and 334; his son Charias (II) served as councillor in 303/2, and Charias' son Polymedes served in 281/0.²¹

Perithoidai, Ptelea, and Oe are linked to each other, to Boutadai, and perhaps to the sanctuary of the Kephalidai at Daphni by a mythical genealogy in which Peirithoos is the son-in-law (DH) of Boutes and the son of Kephalos' sister Dia, Oie is Kephalos' daughter, and Pteleon is the adulterer who seduced Kephalos' wife Prokris. It is not clear, however, whether these relationships, attested in a variety of sources, were ever linked in a single account (see Table 28.2).²²

TABLE 28.2. Heroes of Oineis



²⁰ APF 1395. Thrasyboulos was Aischines' only son, and Aischines may have died before the adoption, which was presumably made in order to exclude rival claimants. Dedications, *IG* ii² 4895, 4898; cf. ch. 26 n. 67 on Demetrios. The Hippolochides of Wunsch 1897, 65 (Wilhelm 1904, 119; ch. 14 n. 72) may perhaps be either H. I or H. II. Hippolochides II, ii² 1623. 237–8. About another trierarchic family in L., APF 8762, there is little information.

²¹ *IG* ii² 1609. 88, Eukte[monos Lou?]si (date, *SEG* 25. 184); Dem. 21. 103, 139 (with MacDowell 1990); naopoios, *CID* II 31. 74, 96; 79 A I 13; 119. 23. Charias, *Agora* XV 62. 192; Polymedes, 72. 58.

²² In Apollod. 3. 197 = 3. 15. 1, Boutes and Erechtheus are brothers, sons of Pandion; Erechtheus' wife is the grand-daughter (DD) of Kephisos; Prokris wife of Kephalos and Chthonia wife of Boutes are sisters, daughters of Erechtheus; Pteleon is Prokris' lover. Oie is Kephalos' daughter in Philoch. *FGH* 328 F 28 (cf. Dow 1963a). Peirithoos' wife Hippodameia is daughter of Boutes in D. S. 4. 70. 3 and Schol. *Il.* 1. 263, but the source may not be Attic (P. is associated with the deme Perithoidai by Ephoros, *FGH* 70 F 23). Oe will be discussed below with the coastal trittys. Kallias son of Charias of P. made a dedication to Aphrodite at Dafni in the first half of the 4th c., *IG* ii² 4570; the text of Plut. *Mor.* 440b has been emended to refer to him, but see ch. 29 n. 119.

Perithoidai

One late fourth or early third century gravestone was found at the church of Ag. Georgios in Chaidari. It commemorates two brothers, Eukles and Philistides sons of Aischylos P. Eukles served as councillor in 303/2, and Philistides is attested as one of the contractors responsible for rebuilding the city's walls in 307/6, guaranteed by a third brother, Euktemon. The [? Euktem]on son of Aischines II P. who served as tamias in 342/1 was perhaps an earlier member of the family, possibly their great-uncle (FB) or grandfather (FF). If so, the family can be traced back to Aischines I P., hellenotamias in 418/7.²³

Perithoidai has four attested liturgists, including Hyperbolos, whose lamp-making establishment was evidently located in or near the city.²⁴ Pherekleides son of Pherekles P., who served as general in 324/3, freed a slave grammateus and family resident in Thorikos, probably in the 320s, so he presumably had mining interests. It is possible that he was the Pherekleides paid for carting stone to Eleusis in 329/8, and/or the eponymous archon of 304/3.²⁵

Some interest in the deme in Eleusinian affairs is perhaps suggested also by the service of Glaukon P. as one of the horistai appointed to survey the sacred orgas in 352. Later, in the second century, Hierophantes son of Noupgrades P. served as hierophant; possibly Glaukon too belonged to the Eumolpidai.²⁶

Ptelea

It has only one recorded liturgist, Phanokles son of Phaniades, who served as syntrierarch in 322/1 and was appointed proxenos of Eretria in the late fourth

²³ *IG* ii² 7219, dated 4th c. by Kirchner, with a date *c.* 350 for ii² 1746, now recognized as part of *Agora* XV 62 (Eukles, l. 182). Philistides and Euktemon II, ii² 463 + *SEG* 25. 78. 122–5; [Euktem?]on I, ii² 1455. 3; Aischines I, *IG* i³ 287. 5.

²⁴ *APF* p. 61; 10328; 13910 (Hyperbolos); 14791.

²⁵ General of the Akte, *IOrop* 353 (on the date see Humphreys 2009; he was also honoured at Rhamnous, presumably as general of the chora, and thus in a different year, *IG* ii³ 4. 288 = *AO* p. 413). Manumission *SEG* 18. 36 A 464–75; Eleusis, *IEleus* 177. 50 (cf. Burford 1960 on stone-carting by wealthy landowners). In *IG* ii² 553+ (M. J. Osborne 1981–3, D 44), [Phere]kleides perhaps appears to support the case for granting citizenship to a benefactor called Neaios, having previously drawn Neaios to the attention of the authorities while he was serving as general (ll. 5–8); Osborne dated this text in 304/3, but Tracy (1995) assigns it to the cutter of ii² 330 + 445. 3 = ii³ 327, Schwenk 1985 no. 18, a text of 335/4, and puts it probably in the 330s.

²⁶ *IG* ii³ 292. 81; Glaukon son of —s P., councillor in 303/2 (*Agora* XV 62. 183), may be his grandson. Hierophantes, ii² 1934 (cf. Humphreys 2017b; Table 20.3). (Polyeuches son of Antagoras served as one of the epimeletai at Eleusis in 332–329, but they were appointed by lot.) Other members of P. with interests outside the deme: Naumachos rented two properties on Salamis before the middle of the 4th c., *IG* ii² 1590a [5], 8 (p. 810); Kallimachos and Demochares P. served as ? councillors on Imbros in 352/1, *IG* xii 8. 63b 4–5.

century. Diomedes son of Diodoros P. was honoured as general at Rhamnous perhaps *c.*250.²⁷

INLAND TRITTYS

Acharnai

Acharnai was not only by far the largest of the Attic demes, appointing twenty-two councillors in the fourth century, but was also in all probability the largest trittys. It doubtless contained more than one settlement centre, but there is no evidence of any regular division within the deme such as those that divided upper and lower sections of some other demes.²⁸

Finds from the area of modern Menidi and Ano Liosia probably belonged to Acharnai; concentrations of material have been found on the hills of Agioi Saranta (provenance of the deme decree *IG* ii² 1207) and Prophetes Elias, but it does not seem very clear whether these concentrations mark the sites of villages or are due to later transport of building materials. The sanctuary of Herakles at Ano Limni Zofra may have been either in Acharnai or in one of the small Leontis demes; a dedication to Herakles of *c.*500–480 by a Hippotheride[s], very possibly the H. of Acharnai who made a dedication on the Akropolis at the same date, was found in the church of Ag. Vlasios at Menidi. The church of Ag. Nikolaos, also at Menidi, has capitals from a smallish building of the second half of the fifth century.²⁹

²⁷ Phanokles, *APF* 14058; Diomedes, *SEG* 43. 31 = *IRb* 14 (*LPGN* Diomedes 11, attested in 208/7, may suggest that this text should be dated later?). *SEMA* 587, from Od. Zakynthou in Aigaleos, might come from the deme area, but is 3rd–2nd c.

²⁸ Only one inscription (*IG* ii³ 4. 56, 360/59) gives the ‘quota’ of 22 (Aphidnai, also a one-deme trittys and the second-largest deme, appointed 16 councillors). Note that Hornblower 1991 emends *hoplitai* in Thuc. 2. 20. 4 to *politai*. Traill (1986, 142–4) thinks that the deme had two settlement centres, the smaller of which regularly contributed 6–7 councillors to the city trittys, but his argument is far from compelling (if, as accepted here, n. 58, the date of *Agora* XV 68 is *c.*320, there is no guarantee that Oineis appointed 50 councillors in the year that it represents). Note also that Acharnai was not divided in 307/6, when one section was taken from each of the divided demes for transfer into the new tribes Antigonis and Demetrias; if there had been a recognized and regularly operationalized division between two settlements in the deme, Acharnai would surely have been a prime case for division on this occasion. On the question of whether the competition between *kómoi* mobilized entries from different villages (*kómai*), see below at n. 45. Information on neighbouring demes in Platonos-Giota 2013 is outdated and unreliable.

²⁹ On topography see Vanderpool 1965*b* (with map); Papahatzes 1974, 410ff.; Steinhauer 1992, 183 n. 1; 1994, n. 25; Platonos-Giota 2004*a*, 2013; Kellogg 2013*b*. Ag. Saranta, perhaps the site of the deme sanctuary of Athena Hippias, was earlier known as Agioi Pantas. *AD* 42 B 1, 1987 (1992) 62–7, burial ground used from PA into the 3rd c. CE, children’s burials from the mid 5th c. to *c.*375. Platonos-Giota 2013, 147–8 reports excavation of the deme’s theatre at Odos Salaminos, possibly constructed in the early 4th c. (but see Goette 2014), and a new (Roman) inscription mentioning Athena Hippias from Ag.

Acharnai had a theatre (partly excavated), a sanctuary of Athena Hippiā, and altars of Ares and Athena Areia; Pausanias also notes cults of Apollo Agūieus, Herakles, Dionysos Kissios or Melpomenos, and Athena Hygieia. The view that an Acharnian temple of Ares and Athena was moved to the Agora in the Roman period has now been disproved.³⁰

We have three deme decrees of the fourth century explicitly identified as passed by Acharnai, plus several other documents that may have issued from the deme. The earliest of these is a text concerning leases found at Kamatero, dated before the middle of the fourth century. It perhaps mentions Acha[rnai], and may be a record of leases granted by the (or a) deme, but very little survives. The only preserved name, Aischron, is not otherwise attested in Acharnai (or in any other deme in this area).³¹ *IG* ii² 1173 has been conjecturally attributed to Acharnai, but it has no provenance.³²

Ioannis; see Makres 2009*c* for other finds here probably from the sanctuary, including *SEG* 56. 230, mid-fourth-century dedication commemorating the victory as gymnasiarch for the Panathenaia of —pos son of Stratokles A. (names in -ippos are not the only possibility). Ano Limni Zofra, Themis 2004, 255, 266–9 = *SEG* 54. 235; there is little reason (*pace* Platonos-Giota 2013, 147) to suppose that the Herakleion *en kyklōi* of Cholargos lay in this area (ch. 20 n. 130). Hippotherides, *IG* i³ 971, 698; Hippotherses son of Klearchos A., ephebe *c.*330 (Reinmuth 1971, no. 12 II 44), named in a list of Athenians of (?) 323 found on Euboia (*IG* xii 9. 1242. 20), may be a descendant; Kallippos son of Hippotherses A., who served as one of the epimeletai responsible for the procession of Dionysos in 266/5 (arch. Nikias, *IG* i³ 920. 29), is probably his son. Ag. Nikolaos, *Hesp.* 65, 1996, 135. The Hippotherses of *POxy* XIII 1606 (Lysias F LXX Carey 2007), who fled to Dekeleia when the 400 fell, and was later associated with the Thirty (Sakurai 1995), may also belong to this family.

³⁰ Paus. I. 31. 6; Polemon F 78 Preller 1838 (Athen. 234f.) says that the laws of the basileus prescribed sacrifice to Apollo at Acharnai (possibly Agūieus?) by parasites. On the supposed temple of Ares and Athena see Goette 2001, 81; Kellogg 2013*b*, 161–8; ch. 32 n. 41. For a dedication to Kybele see Kellogg 2013*b*, 168–9.

³¹ *Agora* XIX L 5 (Aischron, l. 23; only published in the *Agora* series because the finder brought it to the Agora). Cf. Behrend 1970, 74–5. Walbank (*Agora* XIX) suggests an association with the ‘Acharnian’ aqueduct project (ch. 22 n. 61), but both the date and the mention of an *oikia* (?) in l. 24 make this unlikely; there is no trace of the terminology characteristic of the aqueduct documents, which belong to the third quarter of the century (however, *IG* ii² 2491, 2502, *SEG* 19. 181–2, and *SEG* 21. 642, classed as deme documents by Papazarkadas 2011, with *SEG* 54. 237, do belong to the aqueduct dossier: see Matthaiou 2009*b*, Georgousopoulou 2013. *SEG* 54. 80 is a doubtful case). *IG* ii² 1362 = *LS* 37, late 4th c., also found in the Kamatero area (at Dragomano), concerning the cult of Apollo Erithaseos, is conventionally assigned to Eupyridae.

³² *APF* p. 36 notes that the name Leonteus is found in Acharnai, in which case the proposer Leonteus might be the father of Thrasyllus son of Leonteus A., councillor *c.*321, *Agora* XV 54. 3–4 (the date for ii² 1173 in the first half of the 4th c., Kirchner, perhaps on the basis of the spelling [*thal*]/*lo* in l. 9–10, seems to me rather early; most honorific deme decrees of this type are Lykourgan. *APF* prefers Kephisia, and is followed by Aleshire 1991, 86; see however ch. 24 n. 93). The choregos who is honoured, Lykomedes, bears a name attested in the classical period in Phlya, Boutadai, Konthyle, and Thorikos. The restorations printed in *IG* ii² need modifying; the reliefs show that only two crowns were awarded, probably of 500 dr. each (to the demarch and a choregos?). The name of the demarch, [Dio? Neo?]kles son of Kalli—, does not help.

Most of the Acharnian decrees probably belong to the Lykourgan period, although a relief that may belong to an honorary decree passed by the deme³³ has on stylistic grounds been dated earlier than *SEG* 21. 519 (which may belong to the 330s). The latter text, which commemorates the erection of altars of Ares and Athena Areia, was found in clandestine excavations at Menidi with R/O no. 88, a copy of the oath sworn by Athenian epheboi and of the oath allegedly sworn by the Greeks before the battle of Plataia. *SEG* 21. 519 bears a relief of Athena Areia crowning Ares. The dates assigned to it on the basis of the style of the relief and lettering have ranged from the 340s to c.320; the Leon who is recorded in it as priest of Athena and Ares could be the Leon son of [Di?]on honoured as epimel-etes of the Rural Dionysia for 315/4.³⁴ The text specifies arrangements for the rapid construction of the altars; Delphi has been consulted, but the approval of the oracle seems to have been taken for granted. The proposer, Kalliteles son of Stesias A., might be the Kalliteles A. who served as councillor in 360/59, but the name is common. The construction of the altars is associated with the introduction (or elaboration) of the festival Areia. Arrangements are made for the benefactor who has advanced money for the altars to be repaid.³⁵

Both this text and the associated record of the ephebic and Plataia oaths seem to belong historically in the early years of the Lykourgan ephebate. The oath stele, generally thought on epigraphic grounds to be the earlier of the two inscriptions, was a version of the Plataia oath in which the Greeks swear only to destroy Thebes, and not to destroy all states that join the Persians. The association of the Plataia oath with that sworn by the ephebes clearly indicates support for Philip's project of invading Persia, and the choice of the 'Theban' version of the oath suggests a date after Alexander's destruction of Thebes in 335.³⁶ The oath-stele was set up

³³ M. Meyer 1989*a* A 119 (Lawton 1995 no. 147 dates it in the 320s). This text is now in a private collection in Athens. Milchhöfer also (no. 515) reported from Menidi a monument representing crowns awarded by the Athenian demos and by the honorand's tribe and deme, which seems to be lost (cf. Peek 1942 no. 53). Milchhöfer no. 499 (dated c.310 by Meyer, A 149, c.350–325 by Lawton, no. 125), represents an armed figure (Ares? Oineus?) by an altar, with three worshippers (possibly tribal epimeletai? cf. ch. 21 n. 71).

³⁴ *SEG* 21. 519 (altars); see Tracy 1995, 125–6 (cutter of EM 12807) on the various dates that have been assigned to the lettering and the relief. The relief is dated c.320 by M. Meyer 1989*a* A 137, 350–325 by Lawton 1995 no. 143; the lettering is dated c.320, or in the Lykourgan period, by Tracy (cutter of EM 12807, working c.334/3–314/3). Leon: *SEG* 43. 26, discussed below at n. 40.

³⁵ See L. Robert 1938; Delphi was asked whether construction of the altars would be beneficial both for the deme and for the Athenians. Kalliteles: *IG* ii³ 4. 56. 56. The Kalliteles A. once read on our largest curse tablet (*SEG* 58. 265) is now assigned to Kydantidai. Ziebarth 1934 no. 15b names a Stesias who might be his father, although side a is directed against (i.a.) Lysimachos of Alopeke.

³⁶ On religious innovations associated with the ephebate see Humphreys 1985*a*. Celebration of the Areia may not have lasted long. Oath stele (*SEG* 57. 117), R/O no. 88 (dating it before Chaironeia); M. Meyer 1989*a* A 65, Lawton 1995, 177; Scharff 2016, App. III. On the Plataia oath—the first literary version of which may date from c.371 or the 360s—see also Siewert 1972; N. D. Robertson 1976; Van

by the priest of Ares and Athena Areia, Dion son of Dion, probably the brother (or father) of Leon son of Dion, who held the same office at the time of the altar decree. Possibly they belonged to a local genos; the versions of the two oaths used by Dion suggest a certain antiquarian interest in ritual.³⁷ Leon may also have served as epimeletes of the Dionysia in 315/4 (see below at n. 40).

IG ii² 1207 is a deme decree of Acharnai proposed by the son of —okles, found at Menidi in the church of Agioi Saranta; it honours the priestess of Athena Hippiia for her dedication(s) in the sanctuary.³⁸

IG ii² 1206, a theatre lease (?) of unknown provenance which does not explicitly refer to Acharnai, has been assigned to the deme on the basis of its instructions for publication in the sanctuary of A[then]a [Hippiia]. This attribution is slightly strengthened by the possibility of restoring the demarch's name in l. 18 as [Dio-g]enes, and identifying him with the proposer of *SEG* 43. 26 (discussed below at n. 43). The preserved part of the text, presumably the end of an honorary decree, provides for payment every year of 20 dr. to the honorands for a sacrifice, the money to come from theatre revenues or, if that source is inadequate (or unavailable), from deme revenues.³⁹

SEG 43. 26, a recent discovery, contains two deme decrees of A. inscribed on a single stone and published in the sanctuary of Athena Hippiia. The stone was found in re-use in Roman baths in Liosia Street, Menidi, behind the church of St John. The second decree on the stone (B) was passed in 315/4, just after the Rural Dionysia, and the first (A) at the beginning of 314/3. Decree B praises the demarch Oinophilos son of Oinophilos, the treasurer Phanomachos son of Nikodemos, and the epimeletes of the Dionysia Leo[n] son of [Di?]on, for conducting the sacrifice to Dionysos, the procession, and the dramatic competition, and awards them crowns of ivy, to be proclaimed in future at the Dionysia, and the hereditary right to front-row seats at the festival.⁴⁰

Wees 2006*b*; Krentz 2007; according to Justin 11. 3. 10, reference was made to the 'Theban' version in a meeting of the League of Corinth in 335.

³⁷ The Acharnian and literary versions of the ephebic oath are compared in L. Robert 1938, 293–316, and Siewert 1977. Robert assigned the stele to the Lykourgan period.

³⁸ Dated at the end of the 4th c.; Androkles, Autokles (n. 70), Demokles, and Pythokles are possible names for the proposer's father. The length of line is quite uncertain.

³⁹ *SEG* 38. 123 gives parts of two additional lines from the earlier part of the text; see also *SEG* 60. 166; Csapo 2007; *SEG* 57. 124. In ll. 13–14 Whitehead (1986*a*, 140 n. 106) questions the restoration *ton gram[m]latea meta t[on] dêmotôn* and suggests [*huper*] rather than [*meta*] (*SEG* 43. 26. 23 has merely *ton grammatēa tōn dêmotōn*). [Diog]enes: Epigenes and Theogenes are also attested in Acharnai in the classical period.

⁴⁰ See Steinhauer 1992; ll. 22–3 are wrongly divided in his published text (*SEG* 44. 57). Both decrees are on the same side of the stele. Steinhauer restores [*The*]ônos as the patronymic of the epimeletes, but Takaeuchi 2013 confirms D̄ion. The grant of *proedria* in decree B seems to be an afterthought, added after the provisions for publication, but apparently by the same proposer. P. Wilson 2010*a*, 78–82, thinks that Leon was appointed by the city.

The later decree (A), also proposed by Diogenes son of Naukydes, honours the tamias Phanomachos, and was passed after he had completed his year of office. He is praised for making all the deme's sacrifices to gods and heroes, helping the demarch to conduct the Dionysia, dedicating a silver cup weighing one mina (100 dr.) according to law, presenting his accounts both to the city and to the deme within the time-limits prescribed by the laws of each body, handing over a surplus of 326 dr. to the demesmen, successfully passing his euthynai, and generally carrying out all the duties required of him. He receives an olive crown.

The main historical interest of this text is that it gives us a securely dated view of deme life under Demetrios of Phaleron. The tamias' obligation to present his accounts to the city as well as the deme is a novelty, and the dedication of a silver cup seems to imply that the institution of such dedications by liturgists, c.330, had been extended to some deme liturgists and/or officials. Demetrios may have been responsible. The introduction of an epimeletes of the Dionysia, apparently replacing the choregoi of earlier years, may be related to Demetrios' reform of the City Dionysia.⁴¹

The son of the proposer Diogenes, Naukydes II, had served as one of the ephobic lochagoi of Oineis c.330; Diogenes will have been in his mid-sixties at the time of our texts. Philokydes, councillor for Acharnai in 360/59, and his son Epikydes, honoured by Gargettos during the second half of the century, may have belonged to the same family.⁴²

The tamias Phanomachos son of Nikodemos was perhaps the grandson (SS) of the Phanomachos A. who served as councillor in 360/59, who in turn is probably the [Ph]anomachos whose son Satyros served as dikast in the middle of the century. The epimeletes of the Dionysia may have been either the Leon who was priest of Athena and Ares in (?) the 330s, or a younger man, the Leon A. who

⁴¹ See Csapo a. o. 2013. For the dedication of silver cups (of 50 dr. in other known instances) by liturgists see D. M. Lewis 1968; their function is apparently to provide proof that a liturgy has been performed. Demetrios' reform of the City Dionysia has sometimes been dated to 309/8 on the basis of *FGH* 76 F 10 (Pickard-Cambridge 1988 suggests 316/5). There was no general abolition of choregiai at the Rural Dionysia, since they are attested in Aixone in 313/2 (see ch. 29 n. 114). *Pace* Steinhauer (1992), these texts do not show that the state had taken over financing of the Rural Dionysia (or, P. Wilson 2010*a*, was contributing to it), only that some control was being exercised over Acharnai, which in view of its size may have received special treatment (as, for other reasons, did Peiraios). The tamias' position of course was not formally liturgic, although de facto he was probably expected to be generous (as was the agonothe of the City Dionysia).

⁴² Steinhauer 1992 takes the lochagos (Reinmuth 1971 no. 12 II 52 and right side 1) to be the father of Diogenes, which is impossible. Nausistrate daughter of Naukydes A., commemorated by a relief lekythos recorded in Athens, in which she is represented as a married woman (seated, with a girl standing behind her, and a standing bearded man; *IG* ii² 5823 = *CAT* 3. 421b), was probably Diogenes' sister. Diophantos son of Diogenes A., who went to Samos as a kleruch in (?) 361/0, *IG* ii² 1952 II 34, could have been the uncle (MB) of the proposer, but in a deme of the size of Acharnai this is a slender possibility.

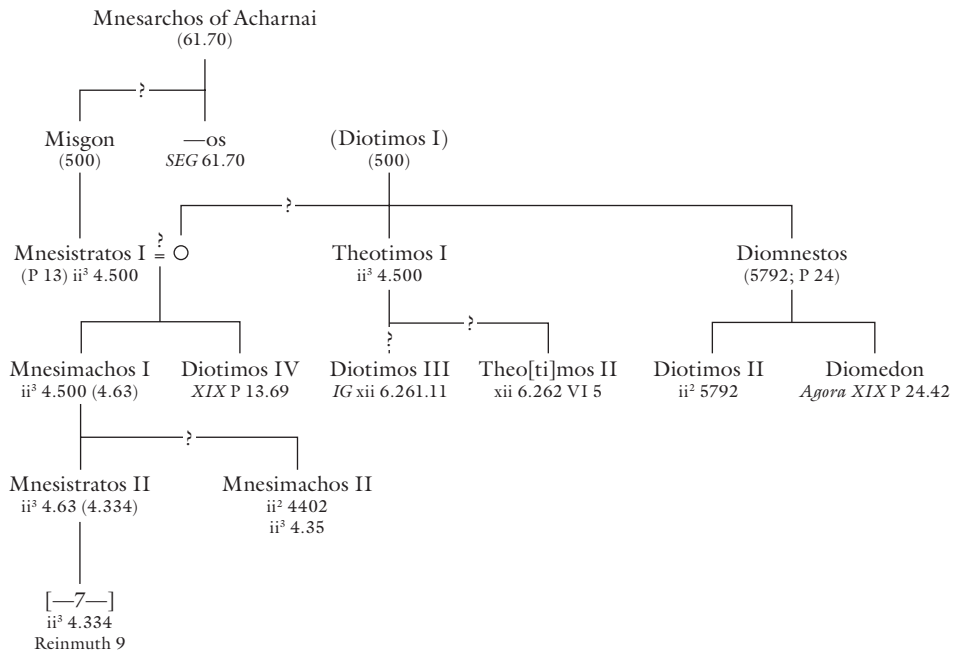
served as ephebe $\epsilon.330$; he may well have been the son of Dion II (son of Dion I), who as priest of Ares and Athena set up the stele bearing the ephebic and Plataian oaths.⁴³

Earlier records of the celebration of the Rural Dionysia in the deme are provided by three choregic dedications. *IG ii*³ 4. 500, of the early fourth century, was found in the city, but seems to record victories in the Rural Dionysia, and can be assigned to Acharnai on prosopographical grounds (cf. P. Wilson 2000, 306–7). It commemorates victories by Mnesistratos I son of Misgon (A.) with Diopethes son of Diodoros, of Mnesistratos' son Mnesimachos I with Theotimos son of Diotimos I, perhaps Mnesimachos' uncle (MB), and of a Theoti[mos] with a Mnesi— (see Table 28.3). Diotimos IV, the second son of Mnesistratos, is attested as a mine lessee in mid-century; his nephew (BS) Mnesistratos II son of Mnesimachos I appears in a list of magistrates of about the same date: The son (7 letters, Alipherê 2015) of a Mnesistratos A. served as kosmetes of the epheboi in 333/2; he is presumably the son of Mnesistratos II, although if so he is rather young for a kosmetes. Mnesimachos II, perhaps a brother of Mnesistratos II, served as diaitetes in 325/4 and may be the Mnesimachos A. who with others (including Nikias of Oe) dedicated a relief representing a sacrifice to Asklepios and Hygieia. Mnesias A., who served as ephebe $\epsilon.330$, may belong to this family, perhaps as a son of Mnesistratos II or Mnesimachos II.⁴⁴

Mnesimachos I's co-choregos Theotimos son of Diotimos I also belonged to a well-attested family. His father may well have been the Diotimos A. who served on a commission appointed to arm the poorer citizens in 404/3 after the democrats had captured Piraeus; he testified to this in court in 398/7. In addition to Theotimos, he may have had two other children: a daughter (?) married to Mnesistratos I, and a second son, Diomnestos (whose name may suggest that there had been an earlier connection between the two families). The Diotimos (III) A. who acted as symproedros of the kleruchs on Samos in 346/5 was probably Theotimos' son; another son, a second Theo[ti]mos, may have served in the kleruchs' council at about the same date. Diomnestos had two attested sons, Diotimos II, commemorated after mid-century by a naiskos

⁴³ Phanomachos I, *IG ii*³ 4. 56. 58, *SEG* 34. 146e; Leon, Reinmuth 1971 no. 12 II 47 (it would be nice to think that the erection of the oath stele was associated with his ephebate). Note also Kleomedon son of Leon A., purchaser in the hekatomtai sales.

⁴⁴ Kosmetes, Reinmuth 1971 no. 9 (cf. Humphreys 2009 n. 3; Alipherê 2015; Appendix 1). Another kosmetes from A., Thougeiton son of Aristokrates, *SEG* 54. 227 (333/2/1). His brother and nephew, *SEMA* 144 (Drapetsona, Piraeus). *IG ii*³ 4. 500 with Makres 1998; Agelidis 2009 no. 55. The absence of demotics shows that this is a deme dedication. The honorand who commemorated his crowns on Milchhöfer 1888, no. 515 (n. 33 above) might also belong to this family, but Deinokrates son of Kleombrotos (below, n. 54) is another possibility. Mnesimachos II's fellow-dedicant is presumably Nikias son of Nikostratos of Oe, recorded on *IG xii* 9. 1242. 7 (Euboia, ? $\epsilon.323$). Cf. *SEG* 61. 70, son of Mnesarchos A. choregos 420s.



Notes: It is far from certain that the kosmetes of Reinmuth 9 (read Mnesistratos, not Ainesistratos, in ii³ 4.63) was also named on *IG* ii³ 4.334 (ii² 2976, Reinmuth 8).

TABLE 28.3. Acharnai: Mnesarchos

of unknown provenance, and Diomedon, who purchased some confiscated property from the poletai in 342/1.

Mnesistratos I's fellow-choregos Diopeithes son of Diodoros I A. may have been the father of S[imon?] son of Diopeithes; the Diodoros (II) who served as epebe *c.*330 may have belonged to this family, but cannot have been a grandson of Diodoros I (if Simon was the son of the choregos he was fairly old by 323).

The second (not necessarily Dionysiac) dedication, *IG* ii³ 4. 234, was found at Menidi and was set up in 340/39 by a victorious komarchos, Antiphanes I son of Ep—; he was perhaps the Antiphanes A. whose wife and young son Antias were commemorated after 340 by a relief stele found in Piraeus. Antiphanes II, who served as epebe *c.*330, may have been a second son, and may be the Antiphanes A. who made a dedication to Asklepios. The title komarchos comes from *kômos* (a band of revellers) rather than *kômê*, village, but in the Tetrakomoi (Piraeus, Phaleron, Xypete, and Thymaitadai) the competing komoi came from the four demes of the association; possibly subdivisions of the deme competed in Acharnai.⁴⁵

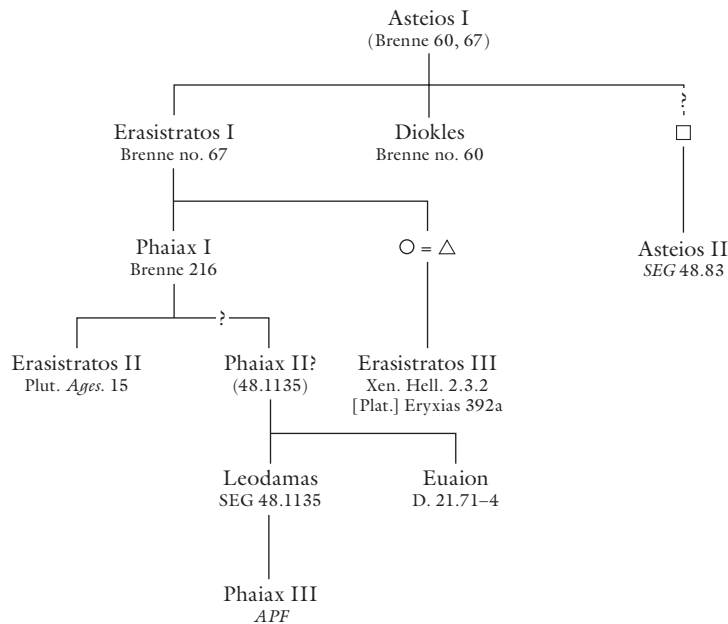
⁴⁵ *IG* ii³ 4. 234 was set up in the archonship of a Theophrastos; a date in 313/2 seems to be unlikely in view of *SEG* 43. 26, discussed above at n. 40. However, the text does not explicitly refer to the Rural Dionysia (note the warning in Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 44–5); the komos competition of the Tetrakomoi

A third dedication, by three synchoregoi (Summa 2004, *SEG* 54. 302) was recorded by Kirchner in the ruins of the church of Agios Vlasios, with *IG* ii² 5809, in 1907. The names of the choregoi cannot be securely restored, but we have their patronymics. Dorotheos, father of the second, could be the D. who was councillor in 360/59 (*IG* ii³ 4. 56. 50), and Kleomedon, father of the first, might be the grandfather (FF) of the K. who appears in a list of magistrates of (?) c.300 (*IG* ii² 1704).⁴⁶ A date in the Lykourgan period seems plausible.

So much for the attested deme notables, men who played prominent roles in deme affairs. Many families will have had larger fish to fry; Acharnai lay within easy reach of the city, though since it also provided a sizeable pool of voters ambitious men may have taken care to appear at deme meetings and festivals.

One of the deme's most prominent families in the fifth century must have been that descended from Asteios—a name implying political ambitions and quite probably city residence (see Table 28.4). Asteios' two sons Erasistratos and Diokles were both named on ostraka in the early fifth century; Erasistratos' son Phaiax was also a target, in the ostracism of 417, and had been the leading member of an embassy to Sicily in 422, which

TABLE 28.4.
Acharnai: Asteios
APF 13921 (revised)



honoured Herakles, who was also worshipped at Acharnai. Antias, *IG* ii² 5783 = *CAT* 1. 942; if the date of ii³ 4. 234 is 313/2 the komarch will be his father (cf. Aleshire 1991, no. 1229). The komarch's wife (for what it is worth) came from Xypete.

⁴⁶ *IG* ii² 4317, a dedication by a Dorotheos son of Dorotheos A. and others, from the Akropolis, may be Hellenistic. The probability that Kleomedon I and II were descendants of the 5th c. politician Kleophon A. is fairly low. Note also the epimeletes from A., son of Kleo— on *IG* ii² 2861 adn. (*IRb* 91, ch. 31 n. 78).

probably implies wealth, and perhaps also local connections on the island. According to [Plato] *Eryxias* 392a, a nephew (*adelphidous*) of Phaiax, Erasistratos III, had travelled to Sicily and back before 415 with his uncle, perhaps on the occasion of this embassy. This nephew may be the Erasistratos who had a dispute with Plato's stepbrother (MHS) Demos son of Pylilampes about the peacocks given to Pylilampes by the King of Persia, and may also be, as suggested by *APF*, one of the Thirty. A homonymous grandson of Asteios may have died as a cavalryman in the 420s, *SEG* 48. 83 with Matthaïou 2011a. Phaiax (I) seems to have had two sons: Erasistratos II, mentioned in Plutarch *Agessilaos* 15. 7 as responsible for a witty comparison between Athens and Sparta, and Phaiax II, father of Leodamas, honoured on Paros in the middle of the fourth century. The date of the latter text makes it unlikely that the honorand was the Leodamas who was appointed as archon for 382/1 but rejected at his dokimasia because of his associations with the oligarchs of 411 and 404, and possible to identify him with the L. who was a pupil of Isokrates; he became a well-known *rhetor*, i.a. serving as ambassador to Thebes, and his brother Euaion killed a man called Boiotos in a brawl. Phaiax III, son of Leodamas, is attested as trierarch at some date between 356 and 346/5, and was still alive in 322.⁴⁷

Rivalry in deme and tribe between Phaiax' family and that of Kleippides son of Deinias, general in 429/8, and his better-known son Kleophon, will have helped to push Phaiax' sons towards oligarchy and Kleophon towards extreme democracy. Kleippides and his two sons, Kleophon and Philinos I, all appear on ostraka. Kleophon owned a workshop of slave lyre-makers, and occupied the house of Andokides (of Kydathenaion) while the latter was in exile. Philinos II, councillor and strategos of the Samos kleruchy c.350, was probably a grandson (SS) of Philinos I; his son Philostratos served as councillor in 328/7, and is named first among the three epimeletai responsible for the dedication made by the Council in that year. The Philostratos A. attested as trierarch in the 370s may well have been his grandfather.⁴⁸ A third Acharnian family also produced a general in the fifth century, Kallistratos, who served c.441–438. Thrasymedes son of Kallistratos A., taxiarch or phylarch in 373/2, may be his son.⁴⁹

The Eurymachos son of Eu— condemned in 415 for mutilating Herms, since the name is rare, may have been the father of Kephisodotos son of Eurymachos A., named as guarantor in a Delian record between 360 and 330. He may also have been the Eurymachos commemorated by a stele of the early fourth century, found in Piraeus, with an epigram

⁴⁷ *APF* 13921. Leodamas, *SEG* 48. 1135; cf. perhaps *SEG* 61. 170.

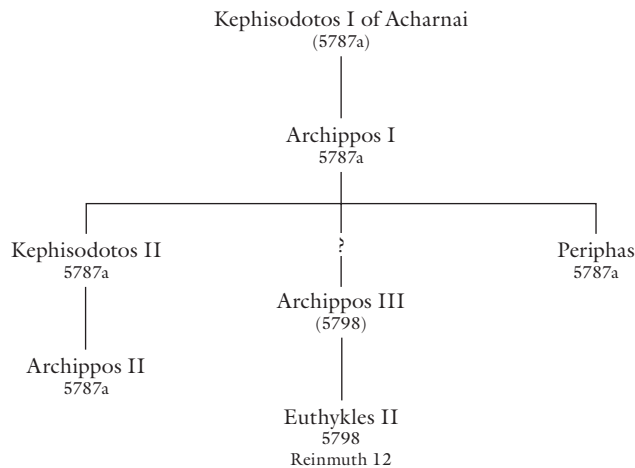
⁴⁸ *APF* 14726 (Philostratos I and II only; but the status of the family makes descent from Philinos I very plausible). The name Deinias is too common for any attempt to trace connections. Ostraka: Brenne 2001 nos. 136–7, Kleippides; *Agora* XXV 600–607, Brenne 140, Kleophon; 659, Brenne 224 Philinos. Kleophon's occupation of Andokides' house, Andok. I. 146; lyremakers *ibid.*, with Aisch. 2. 76, *A.P.* 28. 3 with P. J. Rhodes 1981a, 354–5. Lys. 19. 48 says he died poor, but the same need not be true of his brother. Philinos II, *IG* xii 6. 262 VI 6, XI 14; Philostratos II, *IG* ii³ 360. 4, 48. Descendants, *APF* loc. cit.

⁴⁹ Kallistratos and Thrasymedes, *AO* pp. 89 (441/0), 246. A name as common as Kallistratos is not a safe guide to relationships in this large deme, but a Kallistratos son of Kalliades served as tamias in 398/7 (*LGP*N no. 39), a Kallistratos was councillor in 360/59 (*IG* ii³ 4. 56. 64), a Kallistratos son of Kallisthenes freed a slave woolworker living in Melite in (?) the 320s (*IG* ii² 1576. 65–8), and a Kallist[ratos] served in the council in 303/2 (*Agora* XV 62. 165).

referring to his ambitions (*hyperphialai dianoiar*).⁵⁰ Eurymenes son of Meleteon A. won a victory at the Thargelia in the late fifth century (*IG* i³ 961, *APF* 5976); his sister Polyippe dedicated gold bracelets on the Akropolis (D. Harris 1995 V no. 130).

In the fourth century, there were three members of the deme competing for high military office in the 360s: Timomachos (general in 367/6 and 361/0), Kephisodotos (general in 360), and the immigrant Charidemos, whose first attested generalship was in 361/0, and who established himself solidly in office in the 350s. Euthykles of Thria, another deme of Oineis, attacked both Kephisodotos and Charidemos; perhaps he too had military ambitions. Timomachos, who was condemned to death *in absentia* for his activities in 361/0, was a kedestes (DH?) of the politician Kallistratos of Aphidnai; Timomachos I A., who worked as a carpenter on the roof of the Erechtheion in 409/8, may have been his grandfather (FF).⁵¹

The general Kephisodotos may have been K. II son of Archippos I, who was commemorated with his father (son of Kephisodotos I) and his brother Periphas, named after an early king of Attika, on a stele found at Perdna north of Menidi (see Table 28.5). He may be the Kephisodotos A. represented in Anaxandrides' *Protesilaos* as playing the kithara at Iphikrates' dinners in Thrace.⁵² Euthykles son of Archippos (III?), represented as a young



Notes: Hamiaux 1992 no. 304 regards the relief and inscription of ii² 5798 as genuine though the top of the vase (loutrophoros) is not. *SEG* 43.82 disagrees.

TABLE 28.5. Acharnai: Kephisodotos

⁵⁰ Eurymachos, *IG* i³ 422. 238; *IG* ii² 11466 = *Agora* XVII 827, *CEG* 535; Kephisodotos guarantees lease, *ID* 104-8 B 9.

⁵¹ Kleoboulos son of Glaukon A. may have served as general in the 390s or 380s; see above, n. 8 (E. M. Harris 1995 doubts whether this family had any significant status). On the date at which Charidemos was granted citizenship see D. H. Kelly 1990; on Euthykles of Thria see below, n. 82. Timomachos, *APF* 8157 IV; Timomachos I, *IG* i³ 475. 245. He may have worked with a slave team; even so, this would be a family that rose in the social scale.

⁵² *IG* ii² 5787a (p. 890), refund by the Greek princesses, *Polemon* 7, 1958, 62, 95-6; *SEG* 19. 242, 39. 253. Anaxandrides, *PCG* 2. 260ff., F 42. 18 (the events would be dated c.383 and are attributed by

horseman, with his parents, on a loutrophoros of (?) the 320s from Piraeus, may have been the grandson (SS) either of the general or of Periphas, and may be the Euthykses A. who served as ephebe c.330. Kephisodotos son of Euarchides A., who in 329/8 proposed the second rider to the probouleuma honouring Herakleides of Salamis in Cyprus for his gifts of corn, may be unconnected, as may Timodemos son of Kephisodotos A., councillor c.321; he proposed an honorary decree passed by the Athenian kleruchs on Lemnos, either before 318 or in 307/6.⁵³

Charidemos came from Oreos in Euboia; we do not know why he selected Acharnai as his deme. His sons were called Eurymedon, Phylakos, and Troilos (*APF* 15380), but we cannot trace the later history of the family.

Charidemos was still in office as general in 338/7; by this time there was competition in the tribe from Aischines' elder brother Philochares, and in the deme from Deinokrates I son of Kleombrotos I A. The latter is attested as general in 338/7 and 336/5, and was honoured by the demos with a gold crown and a statue. His son Kleombrotos II married Lykourgos' granddaughter (SD) Kallisto, daughter of Lykophron II; since she was an epikleros, it is possible that there had been a previous marriage between the two families, although Kleombrotos was certainly not her next-of-kin. Deinokrates I may have had a daughter who married Menon A., and had a son [Dei?]nokrates II who bought land at Lousia in the hekatostai sales for 2600 dr. and a daughter who married Pythodoros II of Acharnai.⁵⁴

Pythodoros I A., who acted as agent for the banker Pasion in the 390s and may have been responsible for Pasion's admission to Acharnai when he was granted citizenship, is the first known member of a sizeable liturgic family. The nickname *skēnitēs* given to him by Isokrates (17. 33–4) is linked to a story that he had tried to rig the selection of judges for the Dionysia, and need not be taken as evidence of low origins (though of course this is Isokrates' implication). His son Nikostratos I had two sons. Pythodoros II, presumably the older, was born in 384/3, serving as diaitetes in 325/4. He aided Pasion's son Apollodoros in 361/0, and served as syntrierarch with Menon A., perhaps

PCG to Kephisodotos I, although the play was performed after 376; the question is whether K. was named as a well-known musician or—like Melanopos, who anoints Kallistratos' feet with Egyptian oil—as a young hanger-on; cf. also Plut. *Dem.* 13. 3).

⁵³ Ktesilla, Archippos, and Euthykses, *IG* ii² 5798 = *CAT* 3. 382, Hamiaux 1992 no. 304. Euthykses as ephebe, Reinmuth 1971 no. 12 II 62. Kephisodotos son of Euarchides, *IG* ii³ 367. 51, R/O no. 95 (*AO* p. 396 wrongly has the patronymic as Eucharides). Timodemos, *Agora* XV 54. 5; ii² 3207. 28–30 (the honorand may have been Lykourgos IV of Boutadai).

⁵⁴ *APF* 9251; Table 4.6. Deinokrates' generalships *IRb* 93 (338/7); *IG* ii² 1628. 351, 370; 1629. 871, 890 (336/5); *IRb* 94 undated (it is not categorically stated that in 336/5 D. was acting as general, but it is likely). Statue, *IEleus* 81 (*IG* ii³ 4. 278). *AO* has Nausikles of Oe, Charidemos, and possibly also Stratokles of (?) Lakiadai, to whom D. must be added, all as generals in 338/7, which may be too many representatives from Oineis. Statue, *IEleus* 181; see Wilhelm 1909, 47–8 no. 34. To account for the name of [Dei?]nokrates son of Menon A. in the hekatostai records (Lambert 1997a, F 11 B 5) *APF* 12413 suggested that Menon I son of Pythodoros I A. married a sister of Kleombrotos I; their son would have been born in the late 390s or 380. The names [X]enokrates (*SEMA* 156) and Ameinokrates (*IG* ii² 10639, found at Menidi) may also have been used in Acharnai (however, Lambert says that the space in the hekatostai text is too short for the latter name, and it is far from certain that the Xenokrates of the *Agora* text belonged to A.). For a different reconstruction see Table 28.6.

his father-in-law, in 356; in 341/0 he was one of the amphiktyons at Delos. He in turn had two sons: Nikostratos III, who was an ephebic lochagos of Oineis in one of the early years of the ephebate, and Menon II; the latter is attested as syntrierarch before 325/4 (during his father's lifetime), and principal trierarch in 322. Pythodoros II and Nikostratos III jointly manumitted a slave tanner living in Skambonidai in the 330s or 320s, and Nikostratos III served as councillor in the 320s. Pythodoros II may also have had two daughters, one of whom became the mother of Pythodoros V son of [Der?]kon A., trierarch in the 330s, and the other of Pythodoros VI son of Po— A., ephebe in the same year as his uncle (MB) Nikostratos III.⁵⁵

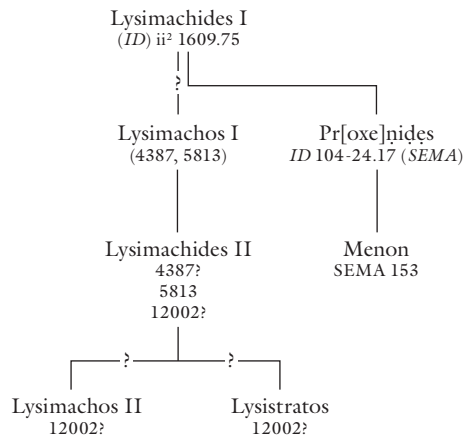
Nikostratos II, the second son of Nikostratos I, won a victory at the Dionysia with a boys' chorus in 331/0, and served as a dikast. He may be the N. of Acharnai who manumitted a slave woolworker, and the father of Mnesiptoleme, who died as a young girl. If the choregic dedication, ii³ 4. 510 seen by Fourmont at Menidi, belongs to A., the dedicant may be [Nik]ostratos; the stone may even commemorate his success in 331/0 together with another (local?) victory in comedy. The Menon A. who was elected with Thymochares and Straton of Sphettos to set up a statue of Thymochares' father Phaidros, and may also have been a member of the committee that supervised the construction of Zeno's tomb in 261/0, could have derived his name from a connection either with the family of Pythodoros or that of Deinokrates, but direct links cannot be traced; there is no great reason to identify him with Menon son of Proxenides, buried in the city (*SEMA* 153). Proxenides may have been the Proxenides son of Lysimachides attested as a contractor on Delos in 346/5, but this would imply rather long generations.⁵⁶

Proxenides' father may be the Lysi[machid]es of A. who contributed naval equipment in or by (?) 366/5, and is the first attested member of a four-generation lineage (see Table 28.6). The Lysimachides son of Lysimachos who in mid-century dedicated a relief of a bearded man holding a large leg, found in the sanctuary of the healing hero Amynos, may have been either Lysimachides I or II, but the eponymous archon Lysimachides of 339/8, if he belonged to Acharnai, was probably L. II, commemorated after Demetrios of Phaleron's legislation on tomb monuments in a peribolos in the Kerameikos with his sons Lysimachos (II?) and Lysistratos.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ On the reconstruction put forward here, [Dei?]nokrates son of Menon, purchaser in the hekatostai sales, is a cousin (FBS) of the general Deinokrates son of Kleombrotos; Menon II son of Pythodoros II is named after his MF.

⁵⁶ *IG* ii² 3106: [Phil]ostratos (n. 48) and [Dein]ostratos (*IG* ii² 1566, 21, cf. 36?) are also attested in A. Menon and Phaidros' statue, *IG* ii³ 985. 100: note that if ii³ 983 were dated in 254/3 this text could not belong to 255/4 (as suggested in *SEG* 34. 86), since this would make Lyandros son of Lysiades of Anaphlystos councillor in two successive years. Zeno, D. L. 7. 12; Habicht 1982*a*, 21, 1988*a* (the text of D. L., corrected already by Droysen, has Medon; *LGP*N has the reference both under Medon 4—deleted online—and under Menon 20). M.'s tombstone, *SEMA* 153. Proxenides, *ID* 104-24. 17. Cf. ch. 5 n. 58.

⁵⁷ We do not have a patronymic for the archon of 339/8, but we know his demotic. The peribolos in the Kerameikos (Bergemann 1997, A 4) seems to have contained 5 kioniskoi: two for Lysimachides II, one each for his sons, and the fifth (*IG* ii² 11720) for a [Hip]pakides, or conceivably for [Par]pakides of



Notes. SEMA 150, a stone found on Salamis to which the name of a Lysimachos A. was added (*pace* M. C. Taylor 1993, this is unlikely to be the first name on the stone), may be connected, but the name is common.

For chronological reasons, the Menon A. of D.L. 7.12 (if this is the correct reading) and *IG* ii³ 983 is unlikely to be the son of Proxenides.

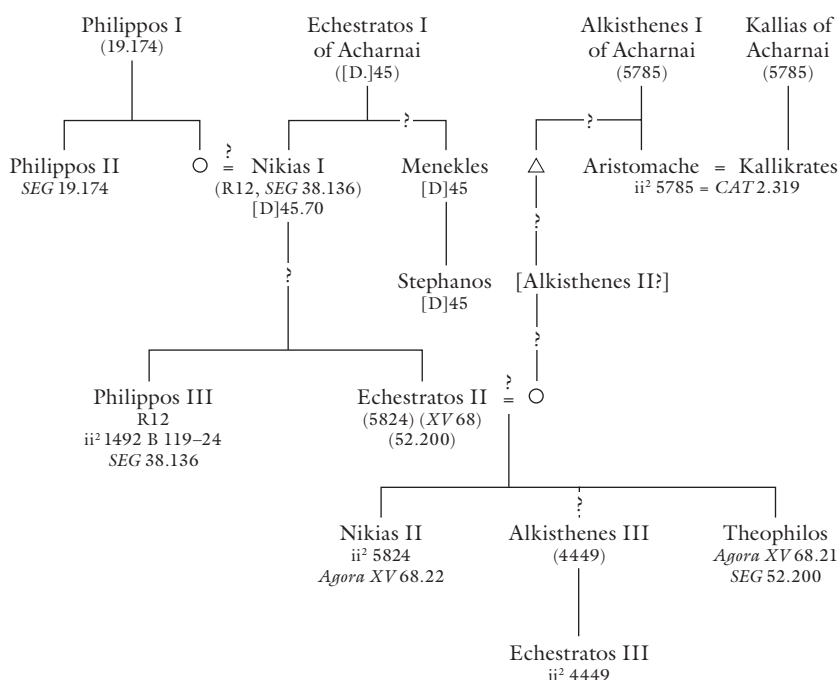
The dedicant of ii² 4387 is [—]des Lysimachou A.

TABLE 28.6. Acharnai: Lysimachides, *APF* 9480

The wealthiest family in the deme in the fourth century was presumably that of the banker Pasion and his two sons Apollodoros and Pasikles. Their main economic base was urban, consisting of a bank in Piraeus and a shield-factory, but Apollodoros owned land in three demes, one of which may well have been Acharnai (the other two perhaps urban). Pasion II son of Pasikles perhaps bought land in the hekatostai sales, possibly in Acharnai, and was named on a curse tablet *c.*323; he manumitted a slave living on Salamis at about the same date. An aunt (FZ) of Apollodoros' wife (who came from a family in Athmonon) had married an Acharnian, Menekles; their son Stephanos is attested as syntrierarch in 323. Menekles had a brother, Nikias; they may possibly have belonged to a family in Acharnai that used the name Echestratos, and it is possible that Philippos son of Nikias A., who served as ephebic lochagos *c.*330 and became prominent in the restored democracy at the end of the fourth century, was a son of Menekles' brother (see Table 28.7).⁵⁸

Daidalidai, attested on *IG* ii² 2385. 77 and on a curse tablet of the Lykourgan period (*SEG* 40. 269 = 42. 218; see ch. 29 n. 41).

⁵⁸ *APF* 11672 X, with table p. 441 (Trevett 1992 does not add anything new on prosopography). Apollodoros' real estate, [Dem.] 50. 8; for his rural neighbours, perhaps owning land in their deme Pelekes, see ch. 26 n. 53. P[asi?]kles A., *SEG* 58. 265 A 56. Pasion II: Lambert 1997a F 16 B 16, Wünsch 1897, 103a 6, *IG* ii² 1570. 42–3. Oikonomides' suggested restorations in *SEG* 42. 93 are improbable. Identifications based on the very common name Nikias, in such a large deme, are extremely risky. However, the date *c.*320 now assigned to *Agora* XV 68, in which Nikias (II?) and Theophilos, sons of Echestratos, appear as councillors, fits with the identification of Menekles' brother Nikias, born *c.*420,



Notes: It is far from certain that Nikias I son of Echestratos I is to be identified either with the brother of Menekles or with Nikias father of Philippus.

SEG 52.200 (unpublished) has been variously reported as a curse tablet or a tombstone. *Agora XV 68* is dated in the 320s by Traill 1986, 2003.

TABLE 28.7. Acharnai: Echestratos, *APF* 11672 X

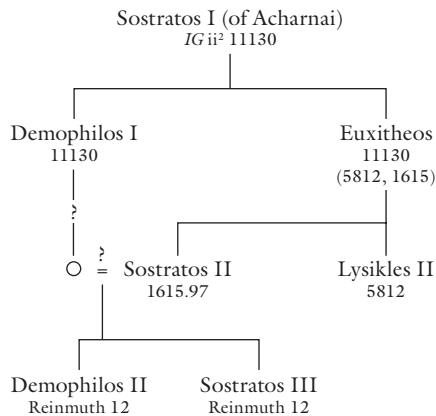
The companions of Philippus III as ephebic lochagoi *c.*330 from Acharnai were a Kephisogenes, who probably appears again as proposer of an honorary decree in 306/5,⁵⁹ and Sostratos III, who came from a liturgic family (Naukydes A., son of the Diogenes who proposed the deme decrees of SEG 43. 26 in 314, was probably the ephebic taxiarch of the year).

Sostratos III served as ephebe in the same year as Demophilos II A., who may be either his brother or cousin (FBS) (see Table 28.8). A Demophilos A. served as councillor, and hieropoios for Eleusis, in 329/8, proposed a decree on naval matters in 323, and may conceivably have been the Demophilos who prosecuted Aristotle and (?) Phokion (*APF* 13346).⁶⁰

as Nikias I, father of Echestratos (ch. 17 n. 18). *IG* ii² 5824 is best dated after *c.*320 and ascribed to Nikias II. Echestratos II may have married a daughter of Alkisthenes A. Philippus III son of Nikias A., ephebic lochagos *c.*330, played a prominent role in the restored democracy at the end of the 4th c., proposing a decree in 306/5 concerning the reconstruction of Athens' fleet, and serving as treasurer of military funds in 305/4 (G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, 182) and general finance minister in 304/3, in which year he proposed crowns for Antigonos and Demetrios.

⁵⁹ Reinmuth 1971 no. 12 II 51; *IG* ii³ 1011.

⁶⁰ *APF* 7562; add Koumanoudes 1970*b* with SEG 30. 127.



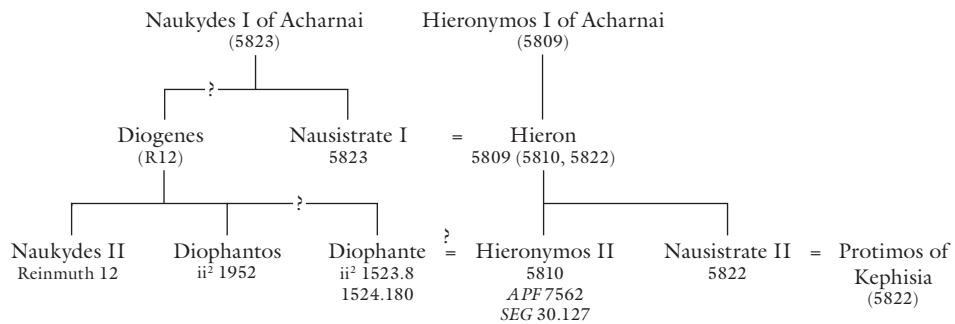
Notes: *APF*’s entry needs revision. The Demophilos of *SEG* 58.265 B 1 belonged to Phlya, not Acharnai, and the Lysikles of A I 4 may be too late for IG ii² 5812. The first name of the proposer of ii³ 419 may have been [Sostratos], and it is far from clear that other references to a politically active Demophilos of Acharnai belong to this family (the name is attested in 17 demes in the classical period). Since Sostratos II paid the trierarchic debts of Demophilos A., and called one of his sons Demophilos, it seems likely that he married an epikleric daughter of Demophilos I (his FBD).

TABLE 28.8. Acharnai: Sostratos *APF* 13346 (revised)

Naukydes and his father Diogenes may have been affinally linked to another liturgic family in A., some of whom were buried in the deme (see Table 29.9). The argument rests on the occurrence of the name Nausistrate in both families. Hieron son of Hieronymos I A., commemorated before mid-century by a stele found in the deme, has two attested children: a son, Hieronymos II, who served as trierarch in (?) 337/6, won a choregic victory at the Thargelia, and was buried in the Kerameikos after Demetrios’ legislation on funerary monuments; and a daughter, Nausistrate, who married Protimos of Kephisia and was buried with him in Piraeus. Nausistrate daughter of Naukydes A., commemorated by a relief lekythos on which she is represented seated, with a bearded man and a maid, may have been the wife of Hieron I. Moreover, Hieronymos II married a woman called Diophante, who made a dedication to Artemis Brauronia before c.336; since the name Diophantos occurs in Naukydes’ family, this may have been a second marriage between the two lines, perhaps between cousins (FZS/MBD).

In addition to Hieron I, a number of other Acharnians buried in the deme deserve attention. Several families used names based on the root Glauk-, but in such a large deme this does not necessarily imply kinship. The mantis Kleoboulos son of Glaukos, brother of Aischines’ mother Glaukothea, held a military command in the 390s or 380s and was commemorated by a poem celebrating his military exploits as well as his professional expertise. Glaukiades, also commemorated at Menidi by a poem, who died in war in the early fourth century, may have been connected, and may perhaps have been the father of

TABLE 28.9.
Acharnai:
Naukydes I,
Hieronymos I



the Glaukias A. who went to Samos as a kleruch. The Glaukon A. who served as councillor in 360/59 had a son Demeas, also buried in the deme.⁶¹

A lekythos found at Menidi represents a Demetrios, with [Ep?]ainetos and Lys—, perhaps his parents; a second monument, recorded in a private house in Athens, commemorates Demainetos A., Demetrios son of Epainetos (I) A., Epainetos II son of Demainetos, and E[u]strate, daughter of Peithon of Phyle. Demainetos II, son of Demainetos I, presumably the brother of Epainetos II, served as councillor in the 320s (*Agora* XV 68. 18).⁶²

IG ii² 5842, a stele of the middle of the fourth century, commemorated Tynnias and Ameinias sons of Tynnides A., with Ameinias' daughter Aristokrite and an Arch—. Aristokrite's brother [Dion]ysios, who died as a boy, had been commemorated by a more elaborate monument, a stele representing him with a dog, with a siren and doves on top, dated c.380–360. Chairestratos son of Ameinias A., who served as secretary *kata prytaneian* in 337/6, should be another brother.⁶³

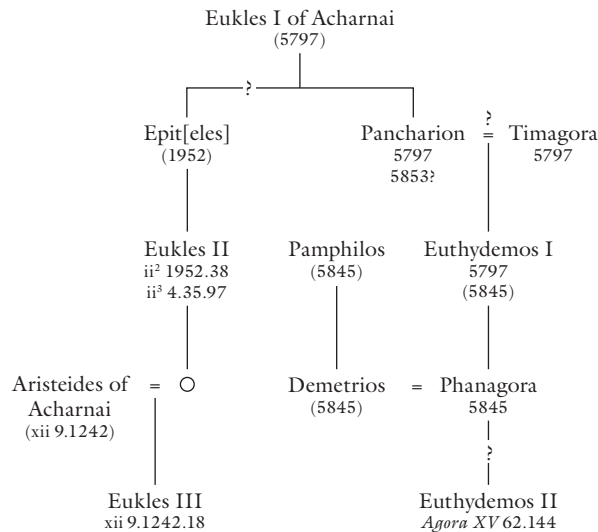
Eukles I A., may have had two sons: Pancharion, commemorated in the deme, as were a son and a granddaughter (SD), Phanagora, with her husband; and Epit[eles], whose son Eukles II went to Samos as a kleruch in (?) 361/0, and probably served as diaitetes in 325/4. Eukles III son of Aristeides A., named on a list of Athenians from Euboia of c.323, may be a grandson (DS) of Eukles II by an intra-deme marriage; Euthydemos II, who served as councillor in 303/2, was probably a son of Phanagora.

A naiskos fragment with an epigram found at Tatoi may have travelled there from the deme area. It commemorated Philokrates I son of Phrynichos A., who

⁶¹ Kleoboulos, *APF* 14625II with *CEG* 519 (*SEMA* 148); Glaukiades, *IG* ii² 10998 = *CEG* 489 (*SEG* 56. 430); Glaukias, *IG* xii 6. 261, 262 VI 8; Glaukon, *IG* ii³ 4. 56. 53, *IG* ii² 5788 (wrongly dated Hellenistic in *LGP*N).

⁶² *CAT* 2. 396c = *SEMA* 142 A. *SEG* 57. 212 = *SEMA* 142; *CAT* 2. 443a.

⁶³ The names on *IG* ii² 5842 are not well preserved, but the restorations seem convincing. [Dion]ysios: ii² 5780 (name, Peek 1942 at no. 356) = *CAT* 1. 370 (dating in the 360s). *CAT* says the latter stone was found in 1908 near the city slaughterhouse, but one would expect the two monuments to have stood together. Chairestratos, see *LGP*N no. 15.



Note: Chronology (Eukles II born 385/4) suggests that Eukles III and Euthydemos II were named for MF rather than FF.

TABLE 28.10. Acharnai: Eukles

may have had two sons; Philokrates II, who guaranteed a lease of sacred property in (?) 333/2, served as trierarch in 322, and was perhaps councillor in 303/2; and Smikythos, who was buried on Salamis (see Table 28.10).⁶⁴

Other tombstones from the deme area include the anthemion stele of Philourgos I A., to which the names of (1) Kallias A, (2) (?) his wife (or daughter), (3) Kratinos A., (4) [Pe]lisinoe daughter of Lysippos of Aixone, and (5) Philourgos II son of Lykinides A, were added. Another anthemion stele, of c.390–365, commemorated Hegistrate [*sic*] daughter of Hegemachos (no demotic), who may have been related

⁶⁴ APF 14604. Philokrates I, *IG* ii² 5847 = *CEG* 565, Bergemann 1997, 228 no. 15, mid 4th c.; Philokrates II has no patronymic in *IG* ii² 1632. 56; the patronymic of the councillor of 303/2 (*Agora* XV 62. 160) is Phil—; in *Agora* XIX L 9. 60 the demotic is restored. That the trierarch was a son of Philokrates I, who served as councillor in his early sixties in 303/2, is possible but very far from certain. If the Smikythos of *IG* ii² 5835 (known only from drawings and not closely dated) was a son of Philokrates I, the latter might have married a daughter of Smikythos son of Charinos A., who served as secretary at some date before 378/7 (*IG* ii² 77. 1; the decree concerns the republication of honours perhaps decreed in the 5th c., but this process continued into the 380s; see P. J. Rhodes 1972, 83–4). Malekos son of Smikythos A., *IG* ii² 5816, may be the secretary's son if his stone is correctly dated to the first half of the 4th c. (*IG* calls it a *cippus*, which would suggest a date at the end of the century; it went to the Leiden museum from the Rottiers collection). All this is clearly shaky. Theophilos son of Olympiodoros A., also buried on Salamis (*IG* ii² 5806), perhaps had a descendant who was *basileus* in 229/8, ii² 1706. 2. Theophilos' father *might* be the Olympiodoros son of Diogeiton Ach— who guaranteed a lease c.330 (*Agora* XIX L 9. 84–5); if so, his grandfather would be Diogeiton II A., treasurer of Athena in 398/7 (*IG* ii² 1388 etc.) and dockyard superintendent in 377/6 (ii² 1604. 2); the son of Diogeiton I A. who was one of the epistatai for the golden Nikai c.407/6 (*IG* i³ 469. 28) would be father of Diogeiton II. Cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 313 no. 65. On Timodemios son of Timonous (Pind. *Nem.* 2. 19) see below, n. 66.

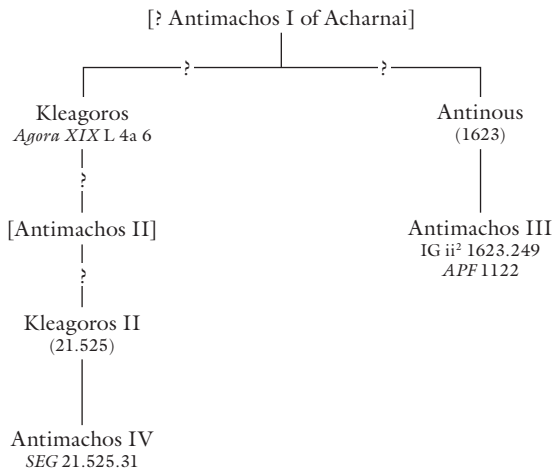
to Hegestratos son of Hegetorides A. and Hegetor A., the latter ephebe c.330. Relief stele of a Herakleides, possibly the son of Sosistratides, see n. 67.⁶⁵

Acharnai contained at least three families belonging to the genos Salaminioi. Antisthenes son of Antigenes A. served as archon of the Salaminioi of the Seven Tribes in 363/2; Aristarchos son of Demokles and Arkeon son of Eumelides I acted as oath-takers in the same year. Aristarchos may be the father of Philokedes Aristarchou A., who was honoured by Lamptraí in the late fourth century, and evidently lived in that deme; by 305/4 he was a member of the Areiopagos. Arkeon had a son Eumelides II who was tamias in 343/2. Kleagoros I A., who served as arbitrator for the Salaminioi in 363/2, had a great-grandson Antimachos IV son of Kleagoros II who served as phylarch in 282/1; Antimachos III son of Antinous A., trierarch before 334/3, may have been a cousin (FBS) of Antimachos II, the hypothetical father of Kleagoros II (see Table 28.11).⁶⁶

As one would expect, given the size of the deme, there is some evidence for Acharnians with mining interests, though not a great deal. Dionysios A., voluntary trierarch in 338/7, may be the man of that name who is mentioned in 350/49 as having previously worked a mine; Epikydes son of Philokydes, whose father served as councillor in 360/59, leased two mines in 320/19; Herakleides A., perhaps buried in the deme, may be the Herakleides son of Sosistratides of Ach[arnai?] who appears in an undated mining record; Hermodoros A., who denounced the property of Stesileides of Siphnos in the mining area to the poletai in 323/2, may have had interests in the area himself; Kleomedon son of Leon, who bought an eschatia at Besa in the hekatostai sales, may be the Kleome[don?]

⁶⁵ Philourgos a. o., *IG* ii² 5848; line 8 *Kallio[u gynē]* is restored, and a daughter Kallistagora Kallio[u] is perhaps more likely. A connection between the Kallias of this text and the Kallias son of Theoteles A. who went to Samos as a kleruch in (?) 361/0, *IG* ii² 1952. 32, is fairly unlikely. Kratinos A. has been removed from *SEG* 58. 265. Hegistrate, ii² 11569a; Hegestratos Hegetoridou A., *IEleus* 82. 10 (Appendix 1); Hegetor, Reinmuth 1971 no. 12 II 61. Herakleides, ii² 11604. Cf. also ii² 5829, Opsios; 5830, Pandios (loutrophoros); 5817 Meidon I with sons Meidias and —oleos, and Meidias' son Meidon II.

⁶⁶ *Agora* XIX L 4a. Philokedes, *IG* ii² 1204; 1492. 128. Eumelides II, *IG* ii² 1443. 7. [Ch]a[ri]as son of Arkeon, who appears on *IG* ii³ 4. 334. 11 (Reinmuth 1971, no. 8), may, since the tribal affiliation and office of the men named in ll. 10–12 is uncertain, have belonged to Acharnai; the name Arkeon is not so far attested in any other deme (see Appendix 1). Kleagoros, *Agora* XIX L 4a 6 (-os not -as, Lambert 1997a, 91); Antimachos III, *APF* 1155, *IG* ii² 1623. 249. (On the restoration in Traill 1975a, 129ff., of an Antimachos son of A[ntias of Acharnai] as proedros in 295/4 see M. J. Osborne 1981–3 D 67. 7, with commentary.) Antimachos IV, *SEG* 21. 515. 31; his father Kleagoros II son of Antimachos II perhaps appears on the curse tablet Wunsch 1897, 38. 3, see Habicht 1997; Wilhelm 1904, 120; Gager 1992, ch. 3 no. 37. (*SEG* 24. 194. 23, a possible descendant, ephebe in 164/3.) Timodemos son of Timonous A., the pankratiast honoured in Pindar's second Nemean ode, is associated with Salamis (19); he may have grown up on the island, but this may equally well be an allusion to membership of the genos Salaminioi (for a later Timodemos A. see above, n. 53; Lambert 1999a, 118–9 XXXIV). Another possible Salaminios is Phaidros A., who made a dedication at Sounion (*SEG* 54. 329); his daughter Sostrate was buried in the deme area, *IG* ii² 5839, and his wife dedicated a gold object weighing 3 + dr. to Artemis Brauronia in 337/6, *IG* ii² 1534. 107.



Note: On LGPN's suggestion that Antimachos 18 = Antimachos IV (30) see Habicht 1997.

TABLE 28.11. Acharnai: Antimachos

recorded as owning land, possibly at Besa, shortly before the middle of the fourth century, and may have belonged to A[charnai].⁶⁷

For Acharnai the main point of prosopographical interest in the new list of kleruchic councillors and officials of c.350 from Samos is that the kleruchs' strategos Philinos A. may have been a grandson (SS) of Philinos son of Kleippides, brother of the demagogue Kleophon.⁶⁸

The Telemachos who introduced the cult of Asklepios to Athens, and commemorated this act with an impressive monument in the city Asklepieion, *may* have been the grandfather of Telemachos (II) son of Theangelos A., who proposed two decrees for Herakleides of Salamis in Cyprus c.329, bought the property of

⁶⁷ Dionysios, *APF* 4159; *Agora* XIX P 18. 68. Epikydes, *Agora* XIX P 38. 25–6, 30 (Philokydes, *IG* ii³ 4. 56. 59; there may be a relationship with the family in which the name Naukydes is used, Table 28.10); Herakleides, *IG* ii² 11604, *Agora* XIX P 44. 15 (statistically he is more likely to belong to Ach[arnai] than to Ach[erdaus]); Hermodoros, *IG* ii² 1631. 439; Kleomedon son of Leon, Lambert 1997a, F 7 A 16 with p. 164; *Agora* XIX P 11. 17 (the name Kleomedon recurs in Acharnai in a list of nine tribally-appointed officials of the first half of the 4th c., *IG* ii² 1704. 8, hence Acharnai is somewhat more likely than Halai Aixonides; however, there is a Kleomedon of the right date in Anaphlystos, *Agora* XV 46. 61).

⁶⁸ *IG* xii 6. 262 (Philinos, n. 48 above); it seems likely to me that the list of Acharnians in col. VI continues at least to l. 13, where Athenogenes may well be the father of Pythokles son of [Athe]nogenes A., councillor c.320 (*Agora* XV 68. 19), epebe c.330 (Reinmuth 1971, no. 12 II 53; possibly the rule that councillors had to be over 30, P. J. Rhodes 1972 p. 1, had been relaxed when citizen numbers were reduced in 322?), and trierarch in the 320s (*APF* 12440). Although lists of kleruchs can be very irregular in the size of deme contingents, 8 seems a large number for Lakiadai, and since the names M[n]esith[e]jos (l. 16) and Theopompos (l. 18) are attested in Lakiadai it may be preferable to read a name beginning with Αλκ— in l. 11, where Hallof reads Λακ[ia]δα[i], and restore the demotic Lakiadai in l. 14 or 15. See also above, n. 44 Theo[ti]mos; Table 28.3 Glaukias; n. 65 Kallias; Table 28.11 Eukles. See also Culasso Gastaldi 2011, 241, for Ekphantos A, kleruch on Lemnos (*APF* p. 175).

Meixidamos of Myrrhinous from the poletai *c.*339, and proposed a decree of the tribe Oineis, perhaps posthumously honouring Lykourgos, in (?) 307/6.⁶⁹

A politically active contemporary of Telemachos II, Autokles II son of Autias II A., appears on a possibly ephebic list, and served as secretary in 327/6. His grandfather (FF) Autokles I son of Autias I had been councillor in 360/59; his son Autias III was one of the Athenian taxiarchs honoured for participating in the festival Basileia at Lebaeia in 281/0, and was made proxenos and euergetes at Oropos. Demostrate, daughter of Autokles I, was buried in the Paiania area and commemorated by a relief stele representing her with a maid, crowned by a siren and doves.⁷⁰

A Megakles (I) of Acharnai is named on ostraka, and may have been connected to the Alkmaionidai; Menippos I A. and his son Megakles III and grandson Menippos II were presumably descendants. Megakles III and Menippos II appear as guarantors for Philistides of Perithoidai's contract to rebuild part of the city wall in 307/6; Menippos II was commemorated not long afterwards by a stone found on the Akropolis.⁷¹

COASTAL TRITTYS

Oe

As we have seen, the eponymous heroine of the deme, Oie, is said by Philochoros to be the daughter of Kephalos, which might indicate a site near the sanctuary of

⁶⁹ Telemachos I, *SEG* 47. 232, see ch. 12 n. 75, 20 n. 95; *AAA* 15, 1982, 31–43; Clinton 1994*a*. Monument now in Akropolis Museum, cf. Eliakes 2003. Aleshire 1991, 13561 with p. 127, points out that the restoration Thea[ngelos] in *IG* ii² 4963. 1–2 as the name of the priest of Asklepios (no demotic) is highly speculative; cf. R. Parker 1996, 178, with the suggestion that Telemachos I might have been Epidaurian; Wickkiser 2011. The name Telemachos also occurs in Athens in the 4th c. in Aphidnai, Pallene, and Phlya; Telemachos of Phlya, buried in Piraeus *c.*365, *IG* ii² 7711, is an attractive candidate, but may be too young. Telemachos son of Theangelos A, *IG* ii³ 367, R/O 95, Schwenk 1985 no. 68. 28, 46 (*c.*329); *IG* ii³ 315 (339/8); ii³ 3207. 26 (307/6); *Agora* XIX P 26. 496; R. G. Osborne 1983 (Timokles F 23 *PCG*, the reference to Telemachos' chytra, seems to me merely to imply that he was skinny and mean). The Telemachos who 'sold' an ergasterion in Maroneia, subsequently acquired by Pantainetos (Dem. 37. 5–6; before 347/6) was perhaps—since he is given no demotic—a well-known man, but seems too early for T. son of Theangelos.

⁷⁰ Autokles I, *IG* ii³ 4. 56. 45; Demostrate *IG* ii² 5789 (*CAT* 1. 898 = *AD* 27 B 1, 1972, 696 no. 2); Autokles II, *IG* ii² 2408. 3 (see Appendix 1); *IG* ii³ 361, 420, 362; Autias III, *SEG* 25. 90. 23; *IG* vii 4266. 3 (= *Iorop* 5). The Autias of Acharnai who contributed 200 dr. to an epidosis in 248/7 (*IG* ii³ 1011 II 72) was perhaps either a son or a grandson of Autias III (the latter would have been in his 80s by this time).

⁷¹ *APF* 10037. Megakles I, Brenne 2001 no. 168; Megakles III and Menippos II, *SEG* 25. 123–4; Menippos II, *IG* ii² 5818 (dated *c.*300). For Philistides of Perithoidai see above, n. 23. The Megakles–Menippos line was presumably related somehow to Demokrates A., proxenos of Karthaia on Keos and councillor in 360/59 (*IG* xii 5. 542. 39, missed by *APF* 10037; *IG* ii³ 4. 56. 54), to his son Menippos, who performed the eutaxia liturgy for Oineis *c.*330 (*IG* ii³ 550. 23), and to his (?) grandsons Demokrates and —on sons of Demotion, named on a list of (?) *c.*323 found in Euboia (*IG* xii 9. 1242. 16), but it is not easy to see how.

the genos Kephhalidai at Dafni. The chorus in Sophokles' *Oidipous at Kolonos* (1059–64) imagines the Theban army fleeing westwards from Kolonos to the stony ridge of Mt Aigaleos, through (*ek*) the district of Oe, and the scholion to this passage says that Aigaleos was the boundary of the deme.⁷²

Oe has six attested liturgic families, plus two generals who do not figure in the liturgic record. The best known of the latter in modern times, thanks to Thucydides and Aristophanes, is Lamachos son of Xenophanes O., who is attested as general in 436/5, 425/4/3, and from 416/5 to 414/3; he was also a member of the commission that took the oath of peace and alliance with Sparta in 422/1. His son Tydeus I served as general in 405/4. A grandson, [La?]machos II, may possibly appear as lessee or guarantor in a record of leases of public land; a great-grandson, Tydeus II, freed a slave baker living in Alopeke in (?) the 320s. Kallistratos son of Empedoklos, who served as secretary in 429/8 and general in 418/7, and conceivably as hipparch in 413/2,⁷³ was presumably a kinsman (perhaps father) of the Empedoklos II O. who served as ambassador to Thebes in (?) the early 350s; however, if the ambassador was Kallistratos' son, the Empedoklos III O. who served as councillor in 328/7 must have been a younger man. Kallistratos II son of Kallistratos I O., buried in the Kerameikos before the middle of the fourth century, was presumably a second son of the general; his wife (or widow) seems to have made a dedication to Artemis Brauronia, before c.336. Philemon son of Kallistratos III O., who proposed a decree concerning ambassadors in 320/19 and was commemorated by a painted lekythos of the late fourth or early third century, may well belong to this family, but seems to have been born too late to be a son of Kallistratos II.⁷⁴

⁷² These passages are ignored by those who claim that Oe was near Koropi (ch. 25 s. 'Oa/Oai' with n. 39). See above, n. 22 with Table 28.2; ch. 20 n. 81 on the Kephhalidai. The Sophokles passage is problematic and some editors emend *ek nomou* (*Oiatidos*) to *eis nomon*; it is not certain that the scholiast had local knowledge. See Jebb 1907, 286–8; Kamerbeek 1984; Edmunds 1993. No reading of the text unambiguously locates Oe W of Aigaleos, where one would like to have it, but a location that includes the W slopes of the mountain may be acceptable. *AD* 49 B 1, 1999, 73–5 puts a cave at Kalisteri Phyles in Oe. Cf. Platonos-Giota 2004, 337–42. See however below, at nn. 80–2 on Thria. Clinton 1996, 118; 122 no. 8: no sanctuary of Demeter at Oe; ch. 22 n. 39, on forms of the demotic.

⁷³ For details of office dates see *AO* (note that Lamachos is Lamachippion in *Ar. Ach.* 1207, perhaps implying cavalry experience). Lamachos and Kallistratos will have been competing for office with each other and with Phaiax and Kleophon of Acharnai (Table 28.4; above, n. 48; ch. 16 at n. 43). The hipparch Kallistratos has no demotic and may well be K. son of Empedoklos of Aphidnai (ch. 31 n. 30). Note that while the rare name Empedoklos and the common K. are securely attested for Oe, *Καλλιστράτος* in *IG* i³ 370. 21 is far from certain. [La?]machos II, *IG* ii² 1593. 25, 27; Tydeus II, *SEG* 18. 36 B 5–7 (ii² 12833 may be his tomb stele, provenance unknown).

⁷⁴ Empedoklos II, *IG* ii² 175; Empedoklos III, *IG* ii³ 360; Kallistratos II, *IG* ii² 6923 (trapeza); wife of a Kallistratos O. (II or III), ii² 1524. 187; Philemon, son of Kallistratos III, ii² 381, 6965 (painted, according to *AEE* 923, and recorded in Kolokotronis' house in Plaka).

One would like to know more about Aristokles O., whose daughter Aristomache dedicated on the Akropolis in (or before) 402/1 a gold olive wreath weighing 36 + drachmas (originally awarded to her father?). Kallion, wife of Aristokles (no demotic), who dedicated a much smaller gold object to Artemis Brauronia on the Akropolis at the same date, may well have been her mother.⁷⁵ Aristokles was presumably the grandfather (FF or—if Aristomache was an epikleros, as the dedication might suggest, but there was no adoption—MF) of Aristokles son of Epainetos O., who became involved as a private arbitrator at some date after 355 in the dispute known from [Demosthenes] 33. The arbitrator was commemorated on *IG* ii² 6945a (no provenance) with Aristophon I son of Aristyllos O., perhaps the grandfather of Aristophon II son of Phokiades, councillor in 303/2 (*Agora* XV 62. 180).

The most important man in the deme in the late fourth century was presumably Nausikles son of Klearchos, who had been adopted into Aigilia but returned to Oe when he had fathered a son to take his place in his adoptive family. He served as general in 353/2 at Thermopylai, on the expedition to block Philip of Macedon from marching south into Greece; perhaps satisfied that the Macedonian problem had been solved, he was associated with his fellow-tribesman and contemporary Aischines in the peace negotiations of 346, and supported Aischines in court in 343. After the battle of Chaironeia he apparently changed his views, and became an associate of Demosthenes and (?) Hypereides. He held another generalship before 334, and died in or before 325/4. Goette (1989) suggested that a large naiskos-like monument set up in the Kerameikos, commemorating a man who during his lifetime had been awarded seventeen crowns, was commissioned in 325/4 by Nausikles' son Klearchos of Aigilia to commemorate his father. If so, there may have been some rivalry between Klearchos and the sons and supporters of Lykourgos IV of Boutadai, who died at about the same date.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Aristomache, D. Harris 1995, V no. 424; Kallion V no. 138. Wreaths were usually dedicated by men (ibid. p. 236); cf. ch. 24 n. 95 on the daughter of Nikeratos of Kydantidai.

⁷⁶ *APF* 10552 (contemporary of Aischines, 2. 184). On Nausikles after Chaironeia see E. M. Harris 1994; against his suggestion (1996) that it was Klearchos, not Nausikles, who was adopted see chs. 2, 32 n. 59. Monument, *IG* ii² 3206, *SEG* 39. 211; chs. 11 n. 62, 12 n. 25 (*APF* D 8; Wankel 1995 questions Goette's identification). The similar monument attributed to Lykourgos, ii² 3207, is thought to have been erected posthumously in 307/6 (cf. n. 53). The decrees of the boule and demos recorded on the latter stone were proposed by Theomenes O., who may perhaps have felt that Nausikles' achievements had been overrated (in any case his son's Macedonian associations, D. S. 18. 64–5, will have tarnished his memory). If Theomenes is the Th. of O. who served as amphiktyon on Delos in 346/5 (*ID* 104-24. 5), he will have been an elderly man in 307/6, but many elderly men re-emerged into public activity in that year (ch. 17 n. 15; *LGP*N Theomenes 5 dates ii² 3207 c.324, following M. H. Hansen 1983b, 163; this change of date has been missed at Epiktetos 46). It might allow us to identify Diophanes of Kephisia (crown V) with D. II whose father Diophanes I K. was councillor in 367/6, *IG* ii³ 4. 54. 23. Nausikles' son Klearchos (of Aigilia) served as hieropoios on the Pythais of (?) 326/5, (*FD* III (1) 511. 7, Jacquemin a. o. 2012 no. 54), presumably in place of his father because the latter by this time was dying or dead.

Kephisodoros of Oe, perhaps the [Kephiso?]doros son of Melesias O. who won a choregic victory in 375/4, contributed naval equipment in or before 366/5; he served as one of the parasites of Athena Pallenis, possibly in the 350s.⁷⁷

Polykrates son of Polyaratos O., commemorated on a stone found south of Athens with Xenokrite daughter of Ameinias of Piraeus, is probably the Polykrates O. who served as councillor in 360/59; his young son Polykrates II was commemorated by a relief found in the Kerameikos. A second son, Euphronios, perhaps served as councillor c.330 and appears in a list of (?) c.323 found in Euboia.⁷⁸ Some interest in Eleusis is perhaps shown, in this deme, by the appointment of Aristeides O. as one of the horistai responsible for surveying the sacred orgas in 352/1, and of Antigenes son of Xenokles as 'host' of Plouton (in the city), perhaps in the 320s.⁷⁹

Thria

It is generally located at Kalyvia Chassia or Chasiotika in the Thriasian plain; a sanctuary of Aphrodite Phile in its territory may be the one at the western end of the Dafni pass. A rubble fort of (?) the early third century BCE is described by McCredie (1966, 6–11) and Lauter (1992). It was perhaps a good deme for horse-raising, producing the hipparch Antidoros, and Pheidon, who served as hipparch to Lemnos and as phylarch, both probably in the Lykourgan period.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ APF9816 with p. 290; SEG 34. 157. 29 (ch. 20 n. 129). Both the name—though very common—and the office would prima facie suggest a location east of Aigaleos for the deme, but of course individual families could move. On families from Oe who appear in the Mesogeia see ch. 25 nn. 39, 60; add the votive capital dedicated at Brauron (with Philomelos of Marathon) by Xenokrateia daughter of Polyoros O. (Bouras 1967, 144 with fig. 104; missed by LGPN), possibly related to Xenokrateia daughter of Eukleides O., commemorated at Velanideza by IG ii² 6958 = CAT 172 (Eukl[eides] added) and perhaps named on 12250 = CAT 3. 341 (loutrophoros, commemorating Nikandros? mid 4th c.), and/or to Xenokrite daughter of Smikythos O., cursed on SEG 24. 262. 7 (ch. 14 s. 'Curse Tablets'. Kalliphon O., whose stele of the mid 4th c. was found at Koropi (IG ii² 6967 + SEG 13. 112; cf. ii² 6954, Kalliphantos O., also from Koropi), had a (?) grandson Kalliphon II, who served as ephebe c.330 (Reinmuth 1971, no 12 I 25). Also from the Koropi area, (1) SEMA 472, commemorating Menon II son of Menios O. with his son Menoitios; Menios (son of Menon I) was one of the treasurers of Athena and the other gods in 390/89 (IG ii² 1400. 4), and Menon II was a dockyard superintendent in 356/5 (ii² 1622. 479). (2) SEMA 471, for Lysistrate daughter of Lysistratos I O., perhaps sister of Lysistratos (Lysistratou) II, councillor in 303/2 (Agora XV 62. 178). Note also SEMA 875–7, a group of tombstones at Rhamnous (Bergemann 1997, peribolos Z 6) commemorating Pytharchos son of Python O. with two sons, a daughter Pythokrite (?) and his (?) wife Timokleia.

⁷⁸ Polykrates I Polyaratou, SEMA 473; Polykrates (I), IG ii³ 4. 56. 38; Polykrates II with Plathane daughter of Kallimachos of Melite (his mother?), anthemion stele with relief, CAT 2. 892 = SEMA 435; [Eu]phro[n]i[os]?, Agora XV 48. 17; E. Polykratous IG xii 9. 1242. 7. Xenokrite was perhaps the second wife of Polykrates I? her relationship, if any, to Xenokrite daughter of Smikythos O., SEG 24. 262. 7, is unclear.

⁷⁹ Aristeides, IG ii³ 292; Antigenes, ii² 1933. 7.

⁸⁰ Aphrodite, Athen.VI 255c. Dating of the remains at Dafni (Wide 1910; Travlos 1988, 177–85) is unclear, but the 'priest's house' seems to belong to the end of the 4th c. or later, PAAH 1937, 29. The kioniskos of Straton son of Smikros Th., IG ii² 6266, was found in the deme area. Antidoros and Pheidon,

Chionides Th., who served with Habron of Boutadai and others as one of the ephebic lochagoi of Oineis *c.*330, played a fairly prominent role at the time of the liberation of Athens by Demetrios Poliorketes in 307/6, again in conjunction with Habron; he travelled as ambassador to Antigonos with Xenokles of Sphettos, returning with a gift of money for the city, and also collected money from Lemnos and Imbros. He was probably the proposer of an honorary decree for Nikomedes son of Aristandros of Kos, a supporter of Antigones and Demetrios, passed between 306 and 303/2. His grandson Chionides II served as councillor *c.*260.⁸¹

Euboulos I, Telesiboulos, and Euboulos II Th., who served as ephebes in the same year *c.*330 (Reinmuth 1971 no. 12, I 31–3), look as if they should have been related to each other, but do not appear elsewhere.

Euthykles Th., trierarch in 359/8, was active in the city as a rhetor, prosecuting Kephisodotos of (?) Acharnai for his activities as general in 360/59, and later delivering Demosthenes 23. Archenomides son of Straton, who acted as witness *c.*351 in a lawsuit concerning maritime trade, presumably lived either in Piraeus or in the city.⁸²

Wünsch (1897, 7) suggested that the potters Nausias and Thrasykles to whom a Mnesiergos sent a letter belonged to Th., a Thrasykles son of Nausikrates Th. being known as proposer of *IG* ii² 450 in 314/3, and (since Wünsch) as anagrapheus in 321/0 (*SEG* 21. 303–4; cf. Paschidis 2008, A 18). This is not particularly likely; names in Nausi— are common in Athens, and both Nausias (*IG* ii² 6049) and Thrasykles (*APF* 7322, trierarch before 325/4) occur in Eleusis, while Mnesiergos may occur in Eitea (ch. 32 n. 37). It should be noted that, unless the cutter or his source made a mistake, two men called Nausikrates served as councillors from Thria in 360/59 (*IG* ii³ 4. 56. 28, 34; probably cousins, FBS, see ch. 17 s. ‘Councillors’). We do not know which of them was the father of Thrasykles’ son Kallidemios, *IG* ii² 6257. Thrasykles should not be restored in ii³ 466 (Lambert 2002*c*).

Note that *Agora* XIX P 7. 13 refers to the daughter of an [Aisch]ylos (the poletai do not use women’s names), while P 13. 14 has [land?] of Aischylos of Thria; perhaps P 13 should be earlier than P 7?

Phyle

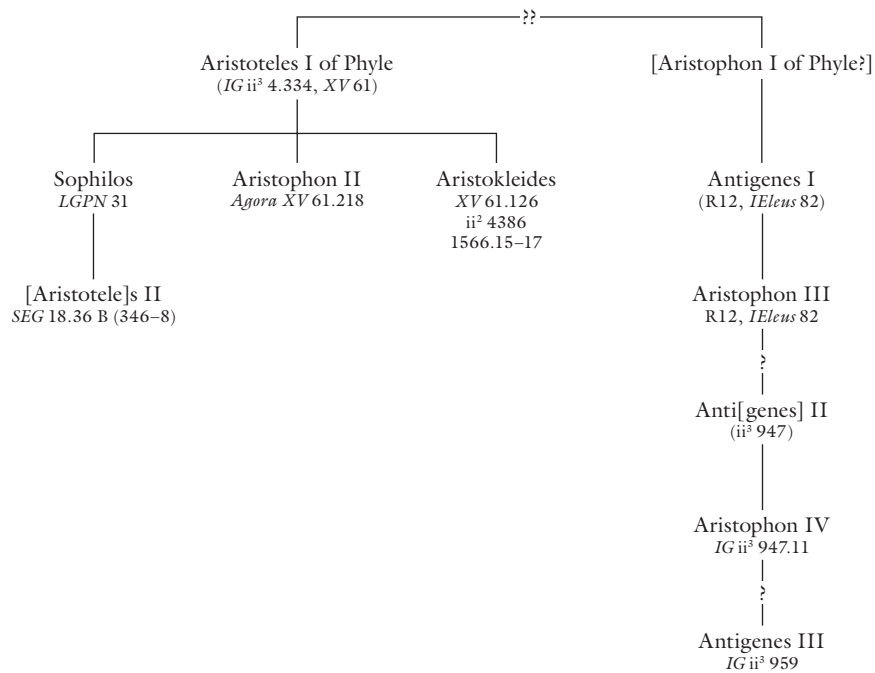
The deme was situated high up on Mt Parnes, and had a fortified centre, perhaps already walled at the time of the Peloponnesian War; it was a suitable place for Pan and misanthropes (Menander, *Dyskolos*). Panakton, close to the Boiotian

SEG 30. 114; Pheidon, Mnesimachos F 4. 7 *PCG* (7, 19–23; cf. Spence 1993, 306 no. 145). Stratokles of Oion (K.) owned an *agron* at Thria worth 2½ talents (15,000 dr.), Is. 11. 42.

⁸¹ Chionides I, Reinmuth 1971 no. 12 I 34, II 74; *IG* ii² 1492. 101, 132 (cf. *SEG* 34. 72 = ii² 675 + 525); M. J. Osborne 1981–3 D 51. [1], (Habicht 1982*a*, 198–9; references missed by Paschidis 2008 A 33). Chionides II, *IG* ii³ 1080. 17 (patronymic —I. iou).

⁸² Euthykles, *APF* 5581 (on *APF* 10423, the oddly-named Morychos Lachemoirou Th., listed as trierarch in (?) the late 5th c., see ch. 8). Archenomides, [Dem.] 35. 34.

TABLE 28.12.
Phyle: Aristoteles



border, was fortified in the early fourth century and became in the Lykourgan period the station of an ephebic garrison. Phyle passed a decree *c.* 330 honouring the ephebes of Pandionis; we have no other evidence of deme activity.⁸³

The most distinguished member of the deme known to us is Sophilos son of Aristoteles, who was general in (?) 334/3 and 333/2, and one of the epimeletai of the Amphiaraia in 329/8 (see Table 28.12). His son [Aristotele]s II, with the son of a fellow-demesman Pamphilos, freed a slave woolworker (or prostitute) in (?) the late 320s (*SEG* 18. 36 B 346-8). Sophilos probably had two brothers; Aristophon (II) and Aristokleides; the latter freed a slave askos-maker also in the late 320s, and made a dedication to the healing hero Amynos. Both of them

⁸³ See especially M. H. Munn 1989; M. H. and M. L. Z. Munn 1989, 1990. The Skourta plain area near the fort, occupied from the EBA to late PG periods, seems subsequently to have been deserted until the 5th c.; there is therefore some question as to when Ph. became a deme. The plain was held by Boiotia from *c.* 420-370, and then returned to Athenian control, whereupon the number of farms seems to have increased. Meritt's suggestion (*Hesp.* 1940, 72f. no. 10) that in 307/6 Phyle was divided between Oineis and Demetrias has been rejected, see M. J. Osborne 1981-3 (II) 139-41. Ph. was a 'stronghold' (*chôrion ischuron*) in 403 (Xen. *Hell.* 2. 4. 2); the fortifications now visible are dated *c.* 400-375 (Lauter 1992; Goette 2001, 268-9, plan and map; plans in *MDAI(A)* 49, 1924, pl. VI, whence Pouilloux 1954b pl. 32. 1; Travlos 1988, 319-28; see also *AD* 56-9 B 1, 428-9). We do not know whether Ph. was regularly garrisoned before the Lykourgan period. Ephebic texts, cf. *IG* ii³ 4. 342, Reinmuth 1971 no. 10; three decrees found by the Munns at Panakton, two Leontis and one Hippothontis, are not yet published (Humphreys 2009; ch. 26 n. 60).

seem to have served as councillors in 304/3, at an advanced age. Aristophon III son of Antigenes I Ph., who served as ephebe *c.*330, may have belonged to a related line; his homonymous grandson served as councillor *c.*260, and the latter's son Antigenes III served later in the third century.⁸⁴

The deme's two attested liturgists, Kallistratos and Spintharos (son of Mnesitheides), both active in the Lykourgan period, perhaps lived in the city; Kallistratos made a dedication to Asklepios.⁸⁵

Lysistratos Ph., who served on a board of magistrates at Eleusis (*IEleus* 77), appears as creditor on a Lemnian horos, Culasso Gastaldi 2006 no. 13.

Tyrmeidai

There is no evidence on location. The only traceable family is that of Tleson I and his son-in-law Kallistratos; Kallistratos' sons Tleson II and Kallistratos II served as councillors in 304/3 and 303/2, and [Tles?]on III son of Tleson II served in 281/0. Possibly Tleson I's daughter Glykera (wife of Kallistratos I) was an epikleros who married an agnate.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ See also Petrakos 2004 for Sophilos; Appendix 1 on *IEleus* 82.

⁸⁵ *APF* 8185 (dedication *IG* ii²1534. 66); *APF* 12858 (A 151 could be either man). Demosthenes Ph. freed a woolworker living in Kydathenaion, *SEG* 18. 36 A 154.

⁸⁶ *IG* ii² 7578 (no provenance), stele commemorating Glykera and naming her father and husband; *Agora* XV 61. 151 Tleson II, 62. 196 Kallistratos II, 72. 66 [Tles?]on III. Traill 1986, 142–4 attempts to link Tyrmeidai with part of Acharnai, but this depends on his hypothesis of a division in the latter deme, on which see n. 28 above.

VII Kekropis

The approximate location of the larger demes is known, but their council quotas are uncertain.¹

CITY TRITTYS

Melite (seven councillors?) lay within the walls, Xypete (also seven?) between Piraeus and the city. Daidalidai (one) may also have been a city deme; Epieikidai (one) is unlocatable. I argue here that Pithos (three or two) may also have belonged to the city trittys.

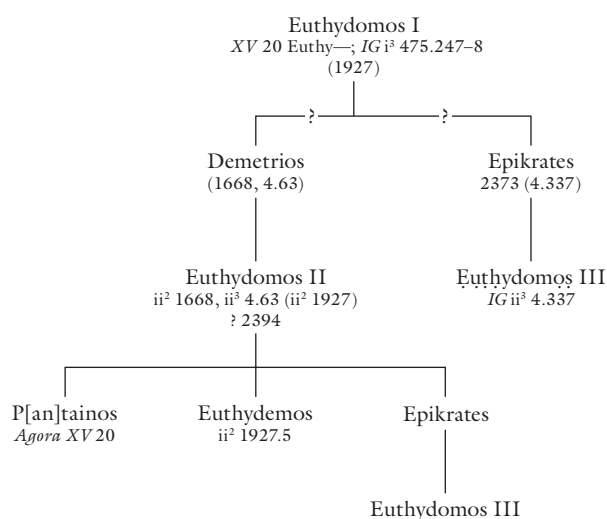
Melite

The deme lay west and south-west of the Agora and contained the Eurysakeion (used as a tribal sanctuary by Aiantis), sanctuaries of Herakles Alexikakos and Zeus Meilichios, and a small temple of Artemis Aristoboule, supposedly built by Themistokles (who presumably lived in the deme) and restored *c.*330 by Neoptolemos son of Antikles M. This lay beside a road leading to the Piraeus gate, between the Hill of the Nymphs and Kolonos Agoraios, and received dedications of krateriskoi, a characteristic offering for Artemis, from the early fifth century.²

Two deme decrees of the classical period are preserved: one of *c.*480–450, very fragmentary, possibly inscribed on the same stone as a decree of the state;

¹ Traill 1978*a* modifies Traill 1975*a*.

² On the topography see Lalonde 2006*a*, 2006*b*. For the Eurysakeion see ch. 20 n. 111. The sanctuary of Herakles Alexikakos (cf. also *Agora* XIX P 26. 453–4) may have been on a site excavated by Dörpfeld in the 1890s (see Tagalidou 1993; *IG* i³ 1058 = *Agora* XIX H 6, *c.*450). Herakles was perhaps here associated with the nymph Melite (Schol. Ar. *Frogs* 501, cf. E. B. Harrison 2002). In antiquity the sanctuary was associated with the plague, but the sculptor Hageladas of Argos who made the cult statue for it may have lived earlier (Tagalidou); it is possible that it was founded after the Persian wars, conceivably as a deme family's response to Themistokles' foundation. On the latter see Threpsiades and Vanderpool 1963, Amandry 1967, and ch. 20 p. 669 (Chr. Meier 1995, 323 suggests that it was founded as a counter-move to Kimon's Theseia). It is not clear whether Themistokles gave it to the deme from the outset, or it was taken over when he was exiled.

TABLE 29.1. Melite:
Euthydemos

the other of *c.*330, honouring Neoptolemos son of Antikles, possibly in association with honours granted by the state at the same time (Table 29.1).³

A list of names and patronymics, without demotics, dated by the archon Theophrastos (340/39 or 313/2) has been assigned to Melite on prosopographical grounds. Its demarch Euthydemos may have belonged to a well-known family of building contractors in Melite; possibly the stone lists contributors to the cost of a statue or a deme building project.⁴ The family begins with Euthydemos I, working as a carpenter on the Erechtheion in 409/8 (*IG* i³ 475. 247f.), probably father of Demetrios M., known as father of Euthydemos II, who appears in a list of tribally-appointed officials of (?) mid-century, *IG* ii³ 4. 63, and as one of the architects who produced specifications for the ‘arsenal of Philon’ (?) *c.*330 (*IG* ii² 1668, with Tracy 1995, 86). Euthydemos son of E. II is listed as (?) a kleruch in *IG* ii² 1927. 5 (Humphreys 2010*a*, 77–8); Euthydemos (III) son of Epikrates, ephebe in 333/2/1 (*IG* ii³ 4. 337) may be E. II’s grandson, and son of the Epikra[tes] M. attested in a list of (?) diaitetai, *IG* ii² 2373. 6. A later

³ *IG* i³ 243 D, F 10 = *Agora* XIX, L A 1, *SEG* 49. 56, has been thought to be a deme decree of Melite, but may not belong to the same stone as A–C (see Lalonde 1999; Papazarkadas 2011, 113 n. 57; the restoration [*ton dēmarchon ton Meli*]teōn in B 30–33 was very rash. Honours for Neoptolemos, *SEG* 22. 116 (cf. below, n. 14). *Agora* XVI 251, fragmentary deme decree of M. honouring a priest, 3rd–2nd c. *IG* ii² 4630 (M. Meyer 1989*a* A 94; Lawton 1995 no. 106) has a relief of [D]emos, Athena, and Herakles, and was found in the church of Ag. Demetrios Loumbadiaris, possibly in the Melite area, but this means little; in any case the decree over which the relief stood may well have been passed by the state (there will have been at least one lost figure to the left of Demos, towards whom Demos and the two deities face; Herakles is crowning Athena). Cf. Güntner 1994; Lalonde 2006*a*, 2006*b*.

⁴ *IG* ii² 2394. Lambert 1997*a*, 150 no. 3, suggests that the list might equally well be attributed to Oa (Klearistos, Hierokles) or Kydantidai (Euthydemos). It was found at Koropi (Koursala).

Euthydemos M. was a sitophylax in 239/8 (Athenodoros; *IG* ii³ 1023*ab*, Kritzas 2015).

Clinton 1996, 120–5, argues that *Agora* XVI 277, XXXI 35, a decree of [Melite] honouring the deme priestess of the Thesmophoroi c.200–180, refers to her activities in the City Eleusinion and not in a deme sanctuary. The association with Melite derives from her husband, Krateas son of Nikolaos M., commemorated on *IG* ii² 6860 (kioniskos, Kerameikos). Clinton's suggestion that the site of the City Eleusinion was once in the deme Melite seems to me problematical.

Several old, wealthy families belonged to Melite, as one might expect from its central location. The ancestry of Neoptolemos, the benefactor of the Lykourgan period, can probably be traced back to a Memnon (I) celebrated as kalos at the end of the sixth century; Antikles I, general in 440/39, may have been his son. A later Antikles (II), son of Memnon II, was perhaps the pupil of Isokrates, of that name, who had been crowned by the city. He had two or three sons: Memnon III, whose son Antikles III was honoured by the orgeones of (?) Amynos, Asklepios, and Dexion for acting as banquet host (*histiator*) in 313/2 (ch. 12 nn. 62–3); Neoptolemos, honoured by his deme and by the genos Eumolpidai; and possibly Antikles IV, whose son [-4–5-]es would have been councillor between 360 and 340. Neoptolemos served on the Pythais of (?) 326/5, and credited his epidosis to the corn-fund of the early 320s towards payment of the trierarchic debts of Euboios of Anagyrous, Philippides of Paiania, Phaiax (II) of Acharnai, his fellow-demesman Onetor (V) of Melite, and Konon III of Anaphlystos. In addition to restoring the temple of Artemis Aristoboule, he undertook to regild the statue of Apollo in the Agora, for which he was crowned by the demos on the proposal of Lykourgos, and dedicated a relief, probably in a cave on the north side of the Akropolis, to Pan, the Nymphs, Hermes, Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, and Demeter. He is probably the Neoptolemos who owned land in the mining area, in Anaphlystos, and he headed an eranos-group that made a loan of a talent (6000 dr.) secured on an ergasterion and slaves at Laureion. He freed a slave couple resident in Melite, perhaps in his household, and a slave carpenter.⁵

⁵ *APF* 10652 (with table); Memnon I (?), BArch 200531. Antikles II son of Memnon II is named on *IG* ii² 2383 (line 19), a list from (?) Eleusis which seems to contain at least 15 and perhaps more members of Melite (the heading *Meliteis* in l. 10 is restored, and there is no evidence that other demes of Kekropis were included; the right-hand side of the stone is preserved, but it had at least 2 columns of names; cf. Dow 1983). It is dated to mid-century (on prosopographical grounds one would say c.340) and resembles two Kekropis monuments from the Akropolis, *IG* ii² 1155 (Lambert 2015*b*), 339/8, dedication by soldiers (misdescribed by Tracy 1995, 99; according to the ii² description, though not the layout, fr. a was the base, not 'heading', of fr. b), and *IG* ii² 2385 (possibly colonists? Humphreys 2010*a*, 76; below, n. 41). Identification with the Antikles of Isokr. 15. 93 is based only on the grounds that the latter should have come from a prominent and wealthy family. Antikles III, *IG* ii² 1259 (Aleshire 1991, A 1, 313/2).

The family of Demosthenes' opponent Onetor may have been similar. The [O]neto[r] or [O]neto[r]ides who (perhaps) served as eponymous archon in 527/6 may have been an ancestor; the office would presumably indicate that Hippias and Hipparchos thought the family worth cultivating at a delicate time.⁶ An early Onetor (I) named as the dedicant or his father on a statue-base of c.500–480 from the Akropolis is likely to have belonged to the Melite family; his daughter Hippylla dedicated a mirror to Artemis Brauronia c.475, and the Onetor (II) who was kalos in the 470s may be her brother.⁷

Be all that as it may, Philonides I, father of Demosthenes' opponent Onetor III, was well known in town in the early decades of the fourth century for his wealth, his uncouthness, and his affair with the Corinthian hetaira Nais. His daughter was married first to a wealthy Timokrates, and subsequently to Demosthenes' cousin (FZS) and guardian Aphobos. Her brothers Onetor III and Philonides II were cited by Isokrates in 354/3 as pupils who had given generously to the city and had been honoured in return. Onetor III's three sons Philonides III, Onetor IV, and Philon are all recorded as liturgists; Philonides may have bought two eschatiai at Upper Lamptrai in the hekatomastai sales, one for at least 15,000 dr. Philonides III and Philon are named on a list of Melite demesmen found at Eleusis.⁸

Neoptolemos and the Eumolpidai (c.330 in Tracy 1995, 84), *IEleus* 93, cf. ch. 20 n. 139; statue of Apollo, [Plut.] *Mor.* 843f (reference to Delphi may mean only that N. had volunteered and Delphi had been consulted). Dedication to Pan, etc., *Hesp.* 42, 1973 (T. L. Shear), 168–70, *SEG* 58. 204; another dedication, found on the Akropolis, *IG* ii² 4901. Land at Anaphlystos (c.340), *Agora* XIX P 26. 289; eranos, *SEG* 32. 236; manumissions, *IG* ii² 1569 B I 53–60; *SEG* 18. 36 B 216–17. *FGE* 908–9, epigram from a statue of N., perhaps set up in or after 307/6. The restoration of the deme-heading *Meliteis* in *Agora* XV 20. 8 (followed by [–4–5–]es Antikleous in line 9) is quite uncertain. *Pace* Csapo 2004, Csapo and Wilson 2010, 2013, he cannot be the actor Neoptolemos of Skyros.

⁶ *APF* 11473; cf. Table 8.2; *IG* i³ 1031. 16 (it is conceivable that the elections for 527/6 were held before Peisistratos' death).

⁷ *IG* i³ 706 = *CEG* 233; i³ 984–5 Hippylla; kalos-names (Onetor, Onetorides), BArch 306453, 306454, Edinburgh Painter. *IG* i³ 21 does not accept the restoration of an [Onet]or as councillor and epistates in 450/49; i³ 1147 *bis*, a casualty list of (?) 460/59, has an Onetor (line 17), but there are some arguments for ascribing it to II Aigeis.

⁸ *APF* 11473, Table 8.2. Philonides I seems to have been born in the 420s, which is improbably late for a son of Onetor II; references Ar. *Plut.* 179; *PCG* 7, Nikochares F 4 (380s), Philyllios F 22, Plato F 65, Theopompos F 5. The syntrierarchs of *IG* ii² 1622. 656–662 (after 357? D. M. Lewis 1997, 218–21) may have been father and son, Onetor III with Philonides II, rather than brothers. Lambert 1997a F 2 A 10–11, 15–16, [–c.10–] Onetoros [Meli?] may be Philonides (Lambert suggests he is the Onetorides of *Agora* XV 492. 118, but it is not clear that this man belonged to Melite, and on the current dating c.370—but see Humphreys 2010a—he might be rather old for the hekatomastai sales; see Appendix 2). Philonides and Philon appear in *IG* ii² 2383 (ll. 11, 17; see n. 5 above); ii² 13003, a trapeza commemorating a Philon Oneto<r>os, found in the Agora, might belong to this Philon if it could be dated after 324/3.

The name Onetor occurs in other families of M.⁹ that have no obvious agnatic connection with that of Philonides and Onetor III, but may have been linked to it by marriages within the deme. It is tempting to suppose that one of these marriages linked a daughter of Philonides I to another prominent Melite family, descended from Kleidemides I, whose peribolos in the Kerameikos was still enough of a source of family pride and concern for its monuments to be restored after 338. Kleidemides' son Koroibos married a Hegeso daughter of Proxenos (of the Gephyraioi?), whose monument is one of the finest reliefs of the late fifth century. Her husband was apparently commemorated *c.*365 by a stele to which the names of his son Kleidemides II and grandson Koroibos II were added; the peribolos already contained, in addition to the stele of Hegeso, a stele with a relief Ioutrophoros and poem commemorating Kleidemos I son of Kleidemides I, possibly its earliest monument (ch. 11 n. 27). Aristomache, sister of Koroibos I and Kleidemos I, married a Philochoros son of Demonikos, perhaps of Konthyle, and was buried at Kokla between Paiania and Erchia, also in the early fourth century.

The Proxenos (I) of Melite whose sons Aischetades I and Onetor appear on the deme list *IG* ii² 2383 may have been a son of Hegeso, and hence a brother of Kleidemides II; he may have married a daughter of Philonides I and called one of his sons after the boy's maternal uncle (MB) Onetor III. The Aischetades who served as general in 317/6 may be Aischetades I, in his late fifties by that date; his (?) grandson Aischetades II son of Proxenos II served as ephebe in 267/6 (archon Menekles).

If, as Jacoby suggested, the historian Kleidemos belonged to Melite, he would have been a son of Koroibos I, brother of Kleidemides II and (?) Proxenos I.¹⁰

The name Onetor also occurs in the family of Kephisodoros I M. Onetor son of Kephisodoros I proposed a tribal decree of Kekropis in 376/5; he may have had a brother called Lysistratos, whose juror's ticket is preserved.¹¹

Another very wealthy family, rivalling those of Memnon and Philonides, was descended from Eurippides M. His son Xenophon served as hipparch, and is attested as general in 441/40, 439/8, and 430/29; he died on campaign in 429,

⁹ See discussion in *APF* 11473. The name Onetorides is not so far clearly attested in Melite; the archon of 527/6, if [O]neto[r]ides (n. 6 above), might be the man of that name who was kalos in the 530s; the O. who appears in a casualty list of VIII Hippothontis in 446/5, *IG* i³ 1163. 10, may have belonged to Eleusis (cf. *LGP*N Onetorides 7, 10; no. 9 is not certainly of Akamantis; Lambert, 1997*a*, 171 no. 82, questions the attribution of no. 6 to Acharnai).

¹⁰ See ch. 11 n. 27. We do not know the historian's deme; the name Kleidemos is also attested in Plotheia *c.*350–325, *IG* ii³ 4. 439 (*SEG* 59. 194).

¹¹ *APF* 11473 (p. 425, C); decree *IG* ii² 1141 = *CEG* 890, ch. 21 n. 93; dikast-ticket Kroll 1972 no. 68c, class IV, buried with its fourth user (Paramonos of Aithalidai, cf. ii² 5396) in the middle of the 4th c., issued after 378/7. The patronymic Kephisodorou was added, presumably (Kroll) to distinguish the owner from a homonym in the deme, possibly the (younger) Lysistratos M. who served on a board of 8 magistrates who perhaps made a dedication at Eleusis in (?) the 340s (*IEleus* 77. 11; Elpines of Probalinthos, l. 7, tombstone *SEG* 41. 200 = ii² 7292; Skaphon of Philaidai, l. 6., is mentioned in the hypothesis to [Dem.] 25). This Lysistratos is probably the father of Lysikrates Lysist[rat]ou, who served on a board of officials in 304/3 (ii² 488. 6) and proposed ii² 506 *c.*302/1. It is not clear where the Onetor M. who served (and misbehaved) as priest of Asklepios shortly before 274/3 belongs (Aleshire 1989, pp. 212, 222). See also below, n. 18, on Onetor son of Arkesilas M.

leaving a daughter who married money and became the mother of the speaker of Lysias 19. The latter married a granddaughter (SD) of Sokrates' rich friend Kriton of Alopeke; one of his sisters was married first to her cousin (FBS or FZS) Phaidros of Myrrhinous, and later to Konon II's assistant Aristophanes son of Nikophemos; a second sister married Philomelos of Paiania.¹²

Nikides son of Phoinikides M., condemned in 415 for parodying the Eleusinian Mysteries, seems to have belonged to the same social and intellectual milieu as Xenophon M. and his descendants. He owned land in Potamos, and at Diros in Euboea.¹³

The family that used the name Hegesippos can probably be traced back to the early fifth century (see Table 29.2). Hegesippos I may have had two sons, Hegesias I and

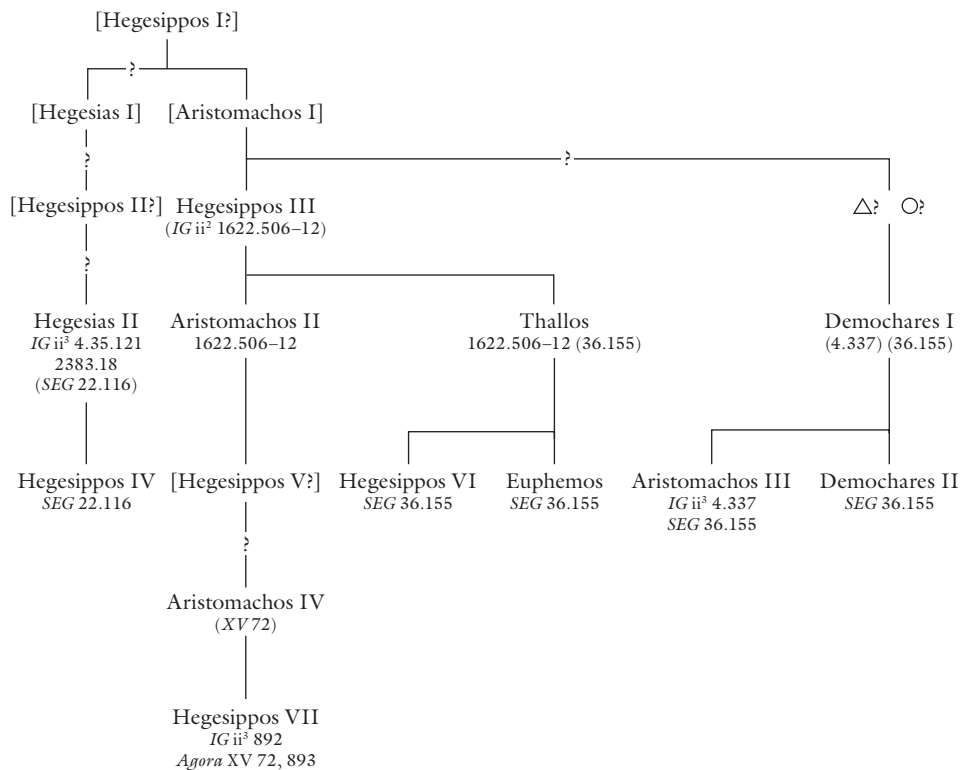


TABLE 29.2. Melite: Hegesippos

¹² APF 5951 Euripides, 1969 Kritodemos, 14670 Philomelos. The Xenophon of Melite attested in the cavalry in the mid 4th c. (Bugh 1988, II A 93) may be descended from the general through a posthumously adopted grandson (DS). (For the possibility that Phokion belonged to Melite see below, n. 41.) Aristophanes may have belonged to Rhamnous (ch. 31 n. 90).

¹³ IG i³ 422 col. III 212 (Potamos; leased); 424. 17-20, choria in Diros (location on the island unknown), and a house with doors.

Aristomachos I. Hegesias II son of Hegesippos II (and grandson of Hegesias I) served as *daietetes* in 325/4; his son Hegesippos IV proposed the deme decree in honour of Neoptolemos *c.*330 or later. Hegesippos III (son of Aristomachos I?) served as one of the curators of the dockyard in 366/5; a debt incurred in this year was paid between 345 and 341 by his sons Aristomachos II and Thallos. Thallos' sons Hegesippos VI and Euphemos I served as (?) *epilektoi* together in the late fourth century. Aristomachos III and his brother Demochares II, sons of Demochares I, served with them. Aristomachos is also listed as *ephebic lochagos* in 333/2/1; they presumably belonged to the same family. Hegesippos VII, great-grandson (?) of Aristomachos II, served as councillor in 281/0 and secretary in 276/5.¹⁴

This family's fondness for the name Hegesippos suggests a cavalry tradition, but none of them is so far attested in the cavalry records.¹⁵ Horsemen from M. are rather rare (see above at n. 12 for Xenophon son of Eurippides), but Philon son of Aristokles is represented as a cavalryman in combat on his *loutrophoros*, from a burial area close to the city on its north-eastern side. A stele from the same site commemorated his brothers Kleitophon and Hegestratos, with Kleitophon's wife and daughter. Eukles son of Lysias M. served in the cavalry on Salamis *c.*320.¹⁶

Xenokles M., who was the object of an *apographē* *c.*350, owned two properties, apparently in the deme, one next to a road and a plot owned by the deme, the other a house and (?) shed (*klision*). Apart from this, we have no direct evidence of residence in the deme, although it was well sited for the politically ambitious and those engaged in urban occupations, such as the family of Euthydemos.¹⁷

Meliteis also appear further afield. Neoptolemos, as we have seen, had mining interests, as did Onetor son of Arkesilas I. However, Onetor's grandson (SS) Diognetos son of Arkesilas II leased the sanctuary of the *orgeones* of Egretes, in or near the city, in 306/5; his son —es served as councillor in 304/3.¹⁸

¹⁴ Humphreys 2010*a*. Aristomachos: *IG* ii³ 4. 337. It seems to me likely that Hegesias II was dead before the decree for Neoptolemos (*SEG* 22. 116) was passed, leaving his son as the senior member of the family; this would lower the date of the decree to 324/3 or later. Pausanias son of Charidemos M., also listed as ? *epilektos* in the late 4th c. (*SEG* 36. 155. 99), may be a son or later descendant of the Charidemos of (?) M. commemorated on *IG* ii² 6879 in the early 4th c. with a Charopides, a Chariades, and (?) their father (no provenance, Ionic lettering, assigned to the end of the 5th c. by *IG* ii¹ and ii²).

¹⁵ A Demochares served in the cavalry in the mid 3rd c., Bugh 1988 II B 62, but he has no demotic and the name is common.

¹⁶ Philon *SEMA* 438, *CAT* 4. 432 (340s), Odos Nikes 27; Kleitophon a. o., *SEMA* 425 (*IG* ii² 5391, commemorating Kephisodotos I of Aithalidai, came from the same site, but seems unconnected). Eukles, ii³ 4. 323. 8.

¹⁷ Xenokles, *Agora* XIX P 17. 14–20 (*oikopedon Meliteôn*). *LGP*N Xenokles 66 should be deleted (*SEG* 58. 265). Euthydemos, Table 29.1. Nikeratos son of Nikeratos M. manumitted with Pheidippos son of Sosidemios of Xypete four slaves resident in Melite, *SEG* 18. 36 B 223–266. Nikeratos son of Nikomachos M. proposed a decree of initiates on Lemnos in the 330s–320s (?), Culasso Gastaldi 2011.

¹⁸ Onetor, *Agora* XIX P 26. 230, 236 (342/1?); Diognetos, *IG* ii² 2499 (cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 204); —es, *Agora* XV 61. 139; an Arkesilas M., son of either Onetor or Diognetos, is commemorated on the trapeza *SEMA* 424, with his (?) daughter Chrysothemis. The Diognetos *ho Ergotimou* (?) M. named on one ostrakon (see Brenne 2001, no. 59; *Agora* XXV no. 1084) is too remote for any secure connection.

Eudemides M., probably son of the Athenodoros who served as hellenotamias in 407/6, may be the E. named on a list dated c.350 from Piraeus of contributors to the cost of dedicating a statue and renovating a sanctuary; if so, he was perhaps resident in Piraeus. His son Theodoros I is attested as trierarch in (?) 365, and again at some date before 334/3; he had two sons, Athenodoros III and Theodoros II. The latter served as (?) *epilektos* in the late fourth century, and they jointly freed a female kithara-player living in Epikhephisia in (?) the 320s; Athenodoros may have been an actor. Athenodoros II son of De—, councillor in the first half of the fourth century, was presumably a grandson (SS) of Athenodoros I. Theodoros III son of Olympichos M., who leased mines at Besa in the 340s, might be an affine, but the name is extremely common.¹⁹

The only midwife known from Attika, Phanostrate, whose father may have belonged to M., was buried at Acharnai.²⁰ Philagros son of Alexis I M. made a dedication to Asklepios c.350, and acted as witness for Apollodoros of Acharnai in the Neaira case c.340. He was commemorated with his wife Hedyline daughter of Teisamenos of Oion and their son Alexis II on a naiskos (?) found at Goudi, north of Zographou, on the western slopes of Hymettos; another naiskos was set up for Kleagora, wife of Philagros' second (?) son Phileas, with a poem recording that she died in childbirth. Alexis II's son [Philagro?]s served as councillor in 304/3.²¹

A loutrophoros set up in the Kerameikos in the middle of the fourth century to commemorate Leophorbides son of Eunomos M., who is represented with his father, both armed, seems to have become the focus for a set of further monuments set up after Demetrios' legislation on funerals: a kioniskos for Eunomos himself (son of Eucharistos), another for a further son, Actor, another kioniskos for Eunomia daughter of Eunomos, and a base (?) with a poem recording that he died young, perhaps in battle, for Actor's son. [Euch?]aristos II M., who appears in a list of (?) 279/8, perhaps of picked troops (*epi]lektōi*), would also belong to this family if his name is correctly restored.²² Plathane

¹⁹ APF6882. Athenodoros I, *IG* i³ 377. 7f., 11; Eudemides (?), ii² 2329. 13 (the name occurs in other demes); Theodoros I, ii² 1609. 111, 1623. 50–9 (in the latter passage Theodoros II seems to be named as heir to his father's debt before he has come of age); Theodoros II, *SEG* 36. 155. 103 with Humphreys 2010a (he seems to be the older son); with Athenodoros III (named after an uncle, FB, who died childless?), *SEG* 18. 36 A 505–9; Athenodoros II, *Agora* XV 20. 10 (but see n. 5); Theodoros III son of Olympichos, *Agora* XIX P 13. 76–7 (? *SEG* 28. 121. 79–80), P 26. 266. Athenodoros the actor (suggested by D. M. Lewis, *per ep.*), Stephanes 1988 no. 75. It is not clear whether or where the architect Athenodoros M. who worked at Eleusis in (?) 336/5 (*IEleus* 159. 60, cf. *IEleus* 177. 11) fits into this family.

²⁰ *IG* ii² 6873 = *CAT* 2. 890 (perhaps not Melite, *SEG* 33. 214; 375–350). It is not clear whether she is represented in a birthing chair because (ironically) she died in childbirth, or because the family or sculptor chose this rather inept way of indicating her profession (no discussion of iconography in Laes 2011; see also Kennedy 2014).

²¹ Philagros I, *IG* ii² 4378, Aleshire 1991 no. 14212; [Dem.] 59. 32; *IG* ii² 6874 (Hedyline's name added). Kleagora (Phileas' name added), ii² 6858 = *CEG* 604. [Philagro?]s II, *Agora* XV 61. 138. Diphilos son of Satyros M., who also testified for Apollodoros (his sister had married Phrastor of Aigilia after the end of Ph.'s relationship with Neaira's daughter Phano, [Dem.] 59. 58), is named on the curse tablet Coll. Froehner (L. Robert 1936) 11. 14.

²² Bergemann 1997, peribolos AOa; stemma, Willemsen 1970. Leophorbides, *IG* ii² 6861 + *SEG* 16. 197 = *CAT* 2. 910 (c.345?); Eunomos, ii² 6849; Aktor, ii² 6824; Eunomia, Willemsen no. 6 (c.300);

daughter of Kallimachos M. was commemorated c.320 in the Kerameikos with her adolescent son Polykrates II son of Polykrates I of Oe. Her father Kallimachos son of Kallistratos was commemorated by a naiskos of unknown provenance that carried a poem praising his virtue and naming also his father (known as a witness for Euxitheos of Halimous c.345) and two women, Lysistrate and Nikostrate.²³

Two other men of Melite called as witnesses by Euxitheos (second cousins of Kallimachos) had a father or brother, another Euxitheos, who went to Samos as a kleruch.²⁴

Kleomenes M. appears on a list of (?) diaitetai of c.355; his son Kleainetos was diaitetes in 325/4 and proposed a decree of the orgeones of Amynos, perhaps somewhat earlier.²⁵

Xypete

The (probable) site of the Herakleion of the Tetrakomoi (Xypete, Phaleron, Peiraios, and Thymaitadai) was identified at Vari Kaminia, north of Piraeus, in the 1940s, but was never properly excavated. It would have lain in Xypete, but not necessarily at the deme centre.²⁶ The sanctuary of Hermes, Kephisos, and other deities at Echelidai, near the south side of the Long Walls, has also been attributed to Xypete. In addition, the deme may have contained a sanctuary of Kybele, at Moschato, apparently founded in the early fourth century. Pausanias mentions a temple of Hera that was not rebuilt after the Persian wars; the sanctuary however still had funds in the fifth century.²⁷ Phaleron and Peiraios lay south of the deme,

Aktor's son, ii² 10620a (p. 886), c.300; [Euch?]aristos II, *Hesperia* 9, 1940, 72–7f. no. 10 (epilektoi, 3rd c.; division of Phlya in 307/6 is unlikely). It is possible that Eunomos son of Eucharistos was a nephew (BS) and not the father of Leophorbides; for the genealogy suggested here, Leophorbides' loutrophoros should not be dated too early. In any case, this is an interesting example of the continuing use, after a gap of half a century and after Demetrios' legislation, of a peribolos initially created to commemorate a young man who died childless.

²³ Plathane, *CAT* 2. 892 = *SEMA* 435 (ch. 28 n. 78). Kallimachos, *IG* ii² 6857 (dated c.360, which prosopographically seems too early); Kallistratos, Dem. 57. 37 (*APF* 3126). Note also the more recent find from Odos Kerameikou 44 (near the Irian gate) of the relief stele of Philokrates son of Antikrates M. with Chrysilla daughter of Mikion of Anaphlystos, *SEMA* 437. *IG* ii² 6826/7 and 6835 seem to commemorate the same family, despite the differences in reported spelling of names.

²⁴ *IG* xii 6. 262 VII 22 (c.350) with Dem. 57. 39; as Habicht and Hallof 1995 point out, Euxitheos' instructions to call as witnesses the two sons who are in Athens suggests that the family's home was Samos.

²⁵ Kleomenes, *IG* ii² 2373. 5; Kleainetos, ii³ 4. 35. 122; ii² 1252 + 999. 1 (ch. 12 nn. 62–3).

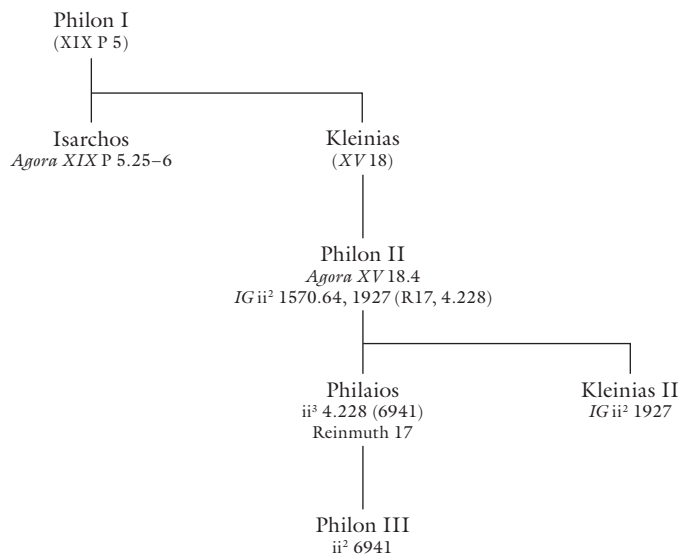
²⁶ Papagiannopoulos-Palaos 1929, Travlos 1988; a short distance SW of the church of Zoodochos Pege (*A to Z* 155 A 2). Burials were also found in this area. See now Conwell 1993, 2008 for a collection of excavation references; on more recent finds Rautopoulou 2013 (useless maps).

²⁷ Echelos, Travlos 1988, 288–90, identified from *IG* i³ 986–7 (ii² 4547; see ch. 12 n. 93); St. Byz. puts Echelidai in a marshy area between Piraeus and the Herakleion of the Tetrakomoi. It may have been in Phaleron. Kybele, Travlos, loc. cit. (I am not clear why he thinks it was the deme centre), near the church of the Metamorphosis (*A to Z* 156 B 3); *AGC* 21 X6/Y4 no. 53 (*AAA* 4, 1971, 140–3). Hera, Paus. 1. 1. 5 ('on the road to Phaleron', 10. 35. 2); *IG* i³ 383. 65. Possible shrine of Dionysos, Syropoulos 2013 (useless maps).

Thymaitadai to the west; it may perhaps have been contiguous with Daidalidai to the (north)-east (n. 39), while the city demes of Oineis lay to its north.

As far as we know, the only deme activity that produced records on stone was participation in the komos-competition at the Tetrakomoi's festival of Herakles. Whatever the origin of this cult, after Kleisthenes' reforms it seems de facto to have been run by the four contributing demes, each of which appointed an epimeletes and entered a team of komasts. Xypete won the competition in 330/29, and set up a tripod in the sanctuary to commemorate the victory.²⁸ The deme had four komarchoi, probably liturgists who organized and paid for team training: Peisidamas son of Peisides, Lykinos son of Lykon, and two brothers who also danced, Philton²⁹ and Pamphilos sons of Aischytos. Pamphilos possibly purchased land at Xypete in the hekatostai sales; he was made proxenos of Argos at some date between 330 and 300, and his son Prokleides served as secretary in 303/2.³⁰ The other two komasts were a Pythe[as], who cannot otherwise be traced, and Philaios son of Philon, who belonged to a well-attested family.

TABLE 29.3. Xypete: Philon
(other reconstructions in
IG ii² and Whitehead
1986*a*)



²⁸ *IG ii³* 4. 228 (227 was set up for a victory by Phaleron, ch. 31 n. 7). *ii³* 4. 225 is a dedication by epimeletai of the Tetrakomoi, but the name of Xypete's representative is lost. The statement of St. Byz. s.v. *Echelidai* that the athletic competitions of the Panathenaia were held at the Herakleion of the Tetrakomoi may perhaps rest on a misunderstanding.

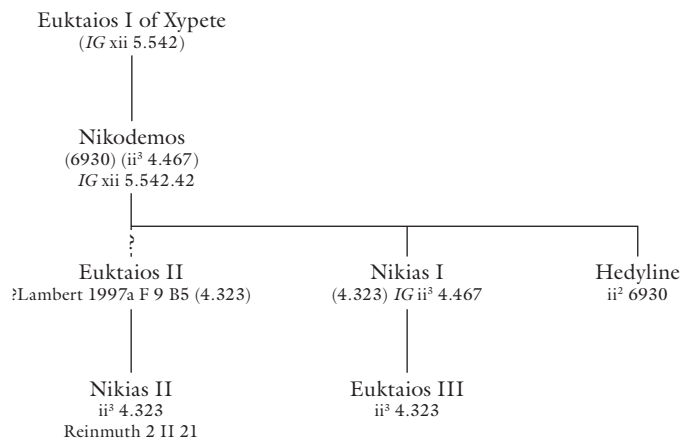
²⁹ A connection has been suggested between Philton's sons and the liturgist Philtades son of Ktesi[as] or [-kles], *APF* 14785 with p. 600, who might be the Philtiades [*sic*] X. who testified in [Dem.] 35. 20, 34 (351-340); note however Philtades Philiadou of Konthyle, *IG ii²* 10174. 4-6 with *SEG* 13. 173.

³⁰ See the discussion in R. Parker 1996, 328-9. Pamphilos: Lambert 1997*a* F 12 A 6, [-c.12-13-]ytou Xypet (no restoration suggested); proxeny, *SEG* 30. 355. 5; Prokleides, *Agora* XV 62. 350. Pamphilos son of Melesippos, whose name was added in (?) the late 4th c. to a stele found north of the Dipylon (*IG ii²* 7045. 13-14), might be a grandson, but the name is common (Bergemann 1997, 228 no. 10; see below, n. 105).

Reconstruction of this family runs into the problem of dating *IG* ii² 1927. Humphreys 2010*a* argues that it is not a list of diaitetai serving *c.*360, but perhaps of kleruchs, of (?) mid-century.³¹ Philon I, on this view, probably had two sons: Isarchos, who may have been serving as demarch when he buried his fellow-demesman Theophilos in 367/6,³² and Kleinias I, father of Philon II (see Table 29.3). The latter served as councillor in the middle of the century. He too may have had two sons, Kleinias II, who is recorded on ii² 1927 as (?) kleruch, and Philaios, who acted as komast in 330/29 and served as sophronistes for his tribe in 305/4. Philon III son of Philaios, commemorated by a kioniskos at the end of the century, should be the sophronistes' son.

Xypete contained an Alkmeonid family: Kallixenos son of Aristonymos X., his son Megakles, and his brother Alkmeon all appear on ostraka. Aristonymos would have been a brother of Kleisthenes; the names do not occur later in the deme.³³

Subsequently, the deme does not figure with distinction in the records of Athenian office-holders, having no attested generals, and one member of the Thirty, Theomenes, who owned a house on Salamis.³⁴



Note: *LGN* Euktaios 5 has E. II as son of E. I, but see Lambert p. 169.

TABLE 29.4. Xypete: Euktaios (*APF* 16814, modified)

³¹ The case for diaitetai *c.*360 was argued by Ruschenbusch 1982.

³² Whitehead 1986*a* is rightly sceptical; Isarchos may have been acting as a kinsman or friend.

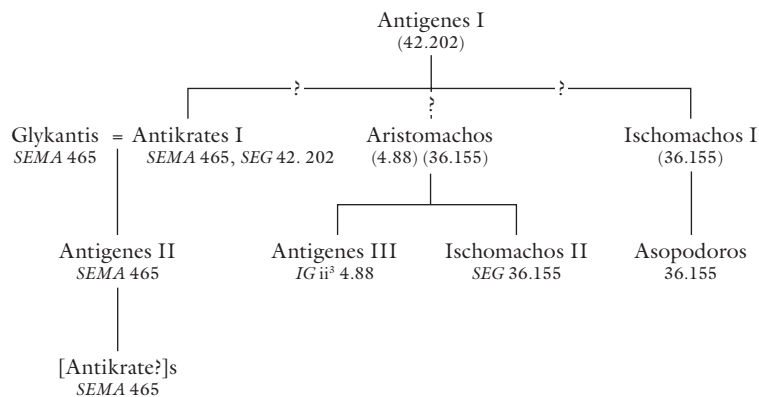
³³ *APF* 9688 VII (the case for placing Alkmeon in Agryle is not very strong); cf. Brenne 2001 no. 13 and Table 15.2.

³⁴ *Agora* XIX P 2 d 8–10, 16–19. Land sold by the poletai on this occasion had apparently been owned (not leased) by the Thirty before they came to power, since leased land was returned to its owners. Cf. Loening 1987; Lys. 12. 8, 19; Sakurai 1995 on the treatment of other forms of property. Walbank 1982*a* discusses the problems of identifying this member of the junta, elsewhere called Theogenes (Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 2) and said to be a tragic poet (cf. Suda s.v. *Theognis* 137). It is not certain that Theomenes X. was one of the Thirty, rather than a holder of some other office, but his deme fits Loeper's hypothesis. Cf. ch. 27 n. 39.

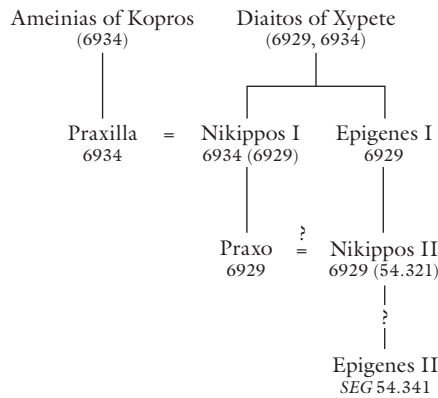
The best attested family in the deme is that of Euktaios I, perhaps the Euktaios X. who was made proxenos of Karthaia on the island of Keos at some date after 363/2, or his grandfather (see Table 29.4). His grandson (SS) Nikias I son of Nikodemos won a victory with a boys' choir at the Dionysia in 320/19, commemorated by an inscription over the doorway of what was evidently an impressive monument (*IG* ii³ 4. 467). Another son of Nikodemos, perhaps Euktaios II (whose son Nikias II served as ephebe in 334/3/2) bought property at Phaleron for (?) 150 dr. in the hekatostai sales. Nikias I's son Euktaios III and his cousin (FBS) Nikias II son of Euktaios II both served in the cavalry on Salamis c.320. Their aunt (FZ), Hedyline daughter of Nikodemos, was buried on Salamis.

Antigenes I X. may have had three sons: Antikrates I, Aristomachos, and Ischomachos I (see Table 29.5). Antikrates I was commemorated by a relief stele representing him with his (?) wife Glykantis [*sic*]; the names of his son Antigenes II and his (?) grandson (SS) [Antikrate]s II were (probably) added later (*SEMA* 465). Aristomachos had two sons, Antigenes III who served as poletes in 324/3 and Ischomachos II, epilektos (?) in the late fourth century. Either Antigenes II or Antigenes III may have been the Antigenes X. who visited his friend Leokrates (of Pallene?) in Megara in the late 330s. Ischomachos II served as (?) epilektos with Asopodoros son of Ischomachos (I), who was either his son or perhaps his cousin (FBS).

TABLE 29.5. Xypete:
Antigenes



Two marriages within the deme can be deduced. Nikippos II son of Epigenes seems to have married his cousin (FBD) Praxo daughter of Nikippos I, who was perhaps an epikleros; the stele commemorating Epigenes (son of Diaitos), Nikippos II, and Praxo, and the lekythos set up for Nikippos I son of Diaitos and his wife Praxi[ll]a, daughter of Ameinias of Kopros, both apparently found in the Piraeus area, may have come from a peribolos in deme territory (see Table 29.6). A loutrophoros-stele found on Salamis commemorated Nikippos (II?) with his (?) son Epigenes (II). Kephisophon son of Kephisodoros I X. married Aristodike daughter of Diokl[es] or [-eides] X.; a relief stele representing the couple with



Notes: Against the reading *Diaitos* on a Kerameikos curse tablet, SEG 40. 265, see SEG 42. 217. SEG 54. 341, Ioutrophoros-stele c.350, Nikippos Xypetaion, Epimenes Xypetaion, from Salamis, Piraeus Museum 4232; see Pologiorge 2009 (SEG 57. 218) with a different reconstruction of the family.

TABLE 29.6. Xypete: Diaitos (Bergemann 1997a, peribolos L 13 + Pologiorge, 2009, 231–5, revised)

their son Kephisogenes and their daughter Aristodike II seems to have been set up to commemorate Aristodike II. Kephisodoros II X., who appears in a list of soldiers of the second half of the fourth century, was presumably a grandson of Kephisodoros I, either a second son of Kephisophon or the child of a sibling.³⁵

Alkenor son of Melesias I X., possibly the comic poet of that name, commemorated with his wife (from Eleusis) by a relief stele to which the name of their son Melesias II was added, may also have been buried in the deme.³⁶

Thrasyphon son of Hierokleides X., whose son perhaps served as altar priest and daidouchos at Eleusis in the late third century, will have been a member of the genos Kerykes; he proposed two decrees on Eleusinian topics, and may have been treasurer of the stratiotic fund c.245.³⁷

³⁵ IG ii² 6932 = CAT 4. 468 (= SEG 13. 11, Peek 1954/AG I no. 38), mid 4th c., Kephisophon and family; all figures look towards the young woman seated at the (viewer's) left (CAT in my view misrepresents both the relationships and the occasion for the stele). The Kephiso-based names here suggest relations with the shrine at Echelidai (n. 27). Kephisodoros II, IG ii³ 4. 282. 30; Kephisodoros III, son of Aristodemos X., who in 229/8 proposed ii³ 1135 (M. J. Osborne 1981–3 D 90; SEG 34. 73) on behalf of Timosthenes II of Karystos (grandson of Timosthenes I of ii² 467), may have been a grandson (SS) of Kephisodoros II (doubts, Paschidis 2008 A 80, but see now Knoepfler 2015a). The choregos Diodoros son of Exekestides, who won a victory with a boys' chorus on Salamis in the early 4th c. (IG ii³ 4. 499, cf. M. C. Taylor 1997, 166–71), belonged to Kekropis; the name Exekestides is attested in Xypete and Aixone, with Salamis connections in Kothokidai (Table 28.1).

³⁶ IG ii² 6926 = CAT 271 (Bergemann 1997, 217 no. 77) mid 4th c., PCG 2 p. 16. Also from the deme area, CAT 2. 347a, commemorating Boiton son of Aortos X., with his wife Pansistrate [*sic*]. Note that ii² 7188, commemorating Archestrate daughter of Charidemos, is attributed by LGPN (Archestrate 11, Charidemos 13) to Acherdous and not (as in ii²) Xypete. On Selon X. see below, n. 105.

³⁷ See Dow 1979; G. J. Oliver 2007a, 225 with n. 186; ch. 20 n. 139. Theosebes X. belonged to the phratry Medontidai, see ch. 19 n. 127.

Demostratos X., who owned land adjoining that of Plato in Eiresidai, may be the D. son of Androstheneis, who served as councillor *c.*320, and conceivably a descendant of the Demostratos X. who served as secretary to the treasurers of Athena in 440/39; Androstheneis II son of Kallias X., ephebe in 250/49, may be a later member of the family.³⁸

Daidalidai

The house owned by Theosebes of Xypete in Alopeke lay south of the Daidaleion and the road leading to it, which suggests that Daidalidai adjoined Alopeke; one would like to place it west of Alopeke and next to Xypete, but it is not clear whether Xypete could have stretched so far east (Epieikidai and Pithos, see below, might also have lain in this area).³⁹

Kallikrates son of Satyros D., who was one of the guarantors of the ships sent to Chalkis in 341 and paid his debt in 325/4, is the deme's only liturgist. His father was presumably the Satyros D. who served as one of the treasurers of Athena in 389/8.⁴⁰

Parpakides son of Menekrates I D., named on *IG* ii² 2385 with his brother Ariston, also appears on a curse tablet from the Kerameikos; Menekrates II son of P[arpakides], possibly a kleruch or colonist in the mid or late fourth century (Humphreys 2010*a*), should be his father or son. Ergokrat[es] son of Ergomenes, also named on ii² 2385, may be the Ergokrates named with Phokion, and with several men who may possibly have belonged to VII Kekropis, on another curse tablet.⁴¹

E[-5-]os son of Euthydemos freed a slave resident in Oropos in the 320s; possibly he had a lease or contract to work land assigned to his tribe.⁴²

³⁸ D. L. 3. 42; *IG* ii² 1927. 14 with Humphreys 2010*a*. Demostratos I, *IG* i³ 458. 6–8, cf. 363. 13; Androstheneis II, ii³ 1008. 15 (arch. Polyeuktos). Pheidippos son of Sosidemos X., *APF* 14160, freed with Nikeratos of Melite a slave craftsman and family living in that deme, *SEG* 18. 36 B 223–266 (n. 17 above).

³⁹ *Agora XIX* P 5. 9–12. Traill 1986 puts Daidalidai NE of Alopeke. On Daidalos see Kearns 1989.

⁴⁰ *APF* 7959; long generations, ch. 5 pp. 158–61.

⁴¹ *IG* ii² 2385 (Daidalidai, ll. 75–9) is a list of members of VII Kekropis with a very large contingent from Athmonon (n. 65), possibly colonists sent to the Adriatic in 325 (Humphreys 2010*a*). Curse tablet, *SEG* 40. 269 (42. 218). For the possibility that [Par]pakide[s] was commemorated on *IG* ii² 11720 see ch. 28 n. 57; for the riddling tombstone of Sostratos and Eratokles D. see ch. 4 n. 32. Menekrates II, ii² 1927. 45–6. Ergokrates, Wunsch 1897, 24; Wilhelm 1904 assigned this tablet to the 370s (see Table 29.12; below, n. 135), but there may be a case for attributing it to troubles in Kekropis in the Lykourgan period, in which case the arguments for assigning Phokion to Melite (on the basis of Plut. *Phok.* 18. 8) may need reconsidering.

⁴² *SEG* 25. 180. 44; this dates face A of the stele reconstructed in D. M. Lewis 1959 between *c.*330 and 322.

Epieikidai

There is no evidence on location. The only member of the deme about whose family we have any information is Kleonymos son of Kleemporos, one of the thesmothetai of 329/8, who probably also appears on *IG* ii² 2385 (81). He was crowned by the demos, the Council (twice), his tribe, his deme, and his colleagues. The Kleemporos whose tombstone of the mid fourth century is known may well be his father. The name suggests a location not too far from Piraeus, so perhaps near Xypete, but of course there is no guarantee that the family was living in or near the deme when Kleemporos was named.⁴³

Pithos

The appearance of Perikles son of Perikleides P. (who served as sophronistes in 333/2/1) as one of the parasites of Athena Pallenis, in (?) 343/2 or 336/5, does not prove that Pithos belonged to the inland trittys.⁴⁴ Kiron, whose estate was the subject of the dispute for which Isaios 8 was written, owned land at Phlya, but he also had city property, and in any case it is not certain that he belonged to Pithos.⁴⁵ Other evidence, such as it is, points rather to the Piraeus region, and it seems possible that Pithos (like Daidalidai?) was a smallish settlement on the fringe of the Xypete area that opted for independent deme status. The relief stele commemorating Chairestrate daughter of Philon of Phaleron with her father, her husband Kephisodotos of Pithos, and their (?) daughter Aristylla, was recorded in the Piraeus museum.⁴⁶

⁴³ Kleonymos *IG* ii³ 4. 85; Kleemporos *CAT* 2. 363a.

⁴⁴ Perikles *IG* ii³ 4. 337. 6; Polemon F 78 Preller 1838 = Athen. 234d. This text gives Pythodoros as archon, but should probably be emended to Pythodotos (343/2) or Pythodelos (336/5), since there are strong prosopographical arguments for a 4th c. date (ch. 20 n. 139). For the range of demes supplying parasites see *ibid.*

⁴⁵ *APF* 8443. Kiron lived in the city (Is. 8. 35), and it is not certain that the Rural Dionysia to which he took his grandsons (§ 15) were at Phlya (where a theatre is not otherwise attested), or that the festival was in Kiron's deme rather than one in which he had property. A Kiron Pitheus is now attested in *SEG* 58. 265 A 6, (c.340?), with Eunomos and Aristogeiton P. (ll. 2–3), perhaps brothers (Jordan and Curbera 2008, 139); this Kiron may be Isaios' client, Humphreys 2010b (the name is also attested in Phaleron and Prasiai). Kiron (II) P., probably the creditor whose loan of 600 dr. is recorded on *Agora* XIX H 87, and his sons O . . . ainos(?) and Mnesikles (*IG* ii² 2385. 96, 101) may (also?) have been related to Pataikos P., tamias in 390/89, his sons Teisamenos I (ii² 2385. 102) and Kiros I, and the latter's son Teisamenos, ephebe in 334/3/2 (Reinmuth 1971 no. 2, R/O 89, II 24). On Kiro- names see Curbera 2013, 129–30.

⁴⁶ *IG* ii² 7230 = *CAT* 4. 330, c.390–365; *CAT* thinks Aristylla is the deceased, but Chairestrate seems to me more likely. ii² 7227 was also found in Piraeus but commemorates a married woman. Chairippos and Autokles P., *APF* 2731, were perhaps city residents. Chairippos (II?) served in the council in 335/4, *Agora* XV 43. 171; his son Autokles II was ephebe in 334/3/2, Reinmuth 1971 no. 2 II 25, and is attested as syntrierarch in 322 (*APF* 2731). Lambert (1997a, 177) suggests that the [–c.7–]es son of

The two richest men in the deme both seem to have made their money in the mining district, which tells us nothing about the location of Pithos. Diokles I son of Diochares P. dedicated a tithe (*aparchē*) from his mining activities in the 380s; he owned land in Nape (the Agrileza valley) near that of Timesios, and served on a commission charged with making gold processional vessels in 375/4 or 374/3. He may be named on a curse tablet of the 350s. His wife served as one of the *archousai* of the Thesmophoria in Pithos at some date between 383 and 363; his son Diochares II appears in the mining records as a landowner at Sounion and Thorikos and as registering and leasing a mine in the 340s, and may be the Diochares who gave his name to a gate in the city wall near the Lykeion, and to a bath-house, perhaps in the same area.⁴⁷

The second mining family was that of Pheidippos son of Phayllos I. He owned land at Sounion and Thorikos, had at least one ergasterion at Thorikos, and is also recorded as registrant and lessee. His sons Phayllos II and Diphilos also appear in the mining records, during their father's lifetime; Diphilos owns land and an ergasterion in 342/1, although his father lived until at least 334/3. However, the son of a Phayllos P. who handed over trireme equipment c.324 was perhaps a son of Phayllos II.⁴⁸

An A[ph]ar[eus] (?) P. served as tamias in 384/3; since the only other bearer of the name is Isokrates' stepson and adopted son (adult by 369/8), it is conceivable that either the father of Isokrates' wife Plathane or her first husband Hippias came from Pithos.⁴⁹ The tragic poets Meletos I and his son Meletos II, one of whom was perhaps the Meletos who accused Sokrates, also belonged to P.⁵⁰

INLAND TRITTYS

The demes that can be fairly securely attributed to this trittys are Sypalettos, Trinemeia, Athmonon, and Phlya; in that order, they seem to have occupied a

Chairippos who bought land at (?) Teithras in the hekatostai sales (F 3. 6) was Autokles I (Autokles II would be more likely, but in any case the name Chairippos is attested in several other demes at this date).

⁴⁷ APF 4048; dedication IG ii² 4320 + SEG 17. 79 = CEG 756; land *Agora* XIX P 5. 48–9, 58; commission SEG 39. 171. 5, see AO; curse tablet SEG 40. 265/42. 217, found next to a burial dated in the 350s (ch. 14 n. 83). Wife, Is. 8. 19–20. Diochares II, *Agora* XIX P 24. 18, c.345/4 (owns land at Sounion); P 25. 25 (owns land); P 27. 91, c.341/0 (owns at Thorikos). Gates, Strabo 9. 1. 19/C 397; bath-house, ii² 2495. 6 = *Agora* XIX L 10. 41–2 (c.333?).

⁴⁸ APF 14164; possibly Pheidippos married a daughter of Diphilos of Sounion, APF 4487, although of course there are other possibilities (Diphilos son of Pheidippos being presumably named after his MF).

⁴⁹ IG ii² 1407. 5; APF 7716. Since Isokrates' stepson was Hippias' third son, and called his own sons Alexandros and Lysikles, the probability of a connection with P. is rather slim.

⁵⁰ TGF I 186–7 no. 47–8; on Sokrates' accuser see MacDowell 1962, 208–10; ch. 13 n. 30.

crescent of territory running from the upper Kephisos across the northern end of the Attic plain to the north-western slopes of Hymettos.

Sypalettos

The deme decree *IG* i³ 245 was found at Koukouvaones. It was set up c.470–460 and seems to regulate the loan of deme funds against security, but is too fragmentary to provide much information.⁵¹ Two demesmen, Ktemon and another man whose name is not preserved, owned land in the deme area in the path of the ‘Acharnian’ aqueduct, constructed probably in the Lykourgan period to bring water to the city from the upper Kephisos. Ktesos S., secretary of the epistatai for Eleusis in 409/8, may be an earlier member of Ktemon’s family.⁵²

Other evidence for demesmen takes us outside the deme. Stratokles son of Isandros and Isandros son of Stratokles both appear in the mining records of the late 340s, and Isandros may be the son of Stratokles S. who bought land at Phaleron for 1000 dr. in the hekatomai sales.⁵³ Lysikles II son of Zelarchos S. leased a mine in 341/0; his (?) cousin (FBS) Lysikles III son of Antipatros I is named on the Kekropis list *IG* ii² 2385 (92), and had a homonymous grandson who served as priest of Asklepios in or before 257/6 and instructed the ephebes in javelin-throwing in the middle of the third century.⁵⁴

Autosophos (I) son of Autoboulos I S. was commemorated by a relief stele found in Piraeus; he seems to have died as a baby, and is represented with his father, who served as councillor perhaps twice in the second quarter of the fourth century and apparently had a later son, also called Autosophos (II), whose son Autoboulos II was councillor in 335/4 and in an earlier year (Table 29.7). Automedes, listed among the casualties of Kekropis in (?) 409/8, may have been an earlier member of the family.⁵⁵

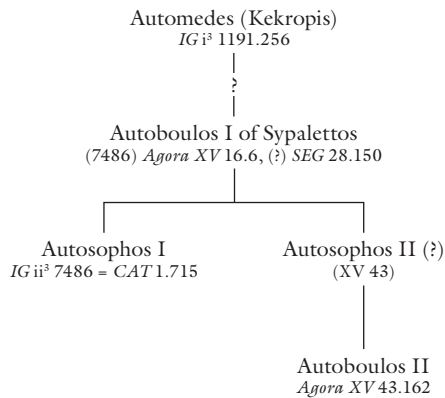
⁵¹ Ll. 7–8 *ana [pa|n et]os? ana[neō|se]ōs?* There is a fine of 1000 dr. for anyone who proposes a *ddōsis* or *lélxis*, which might be a partial distribution (a sort of theorikon?) or a general share-out, i.e. the deme may be making arrangements to invest surplus revenue instead of distributing it? (cf. Hdt. 7. 144. 1–2; 3. 57. 2). Cf. also ch. 24 n. 89 on i³ 247, which may contain similar provisions.

⁵² *IG* ii² 2502 (erroneously classed as a deme decree in Stanton 1984*a*); *SEG* 19. 181; Vanderpool 1965*b*; Matthaiou 2009*b*. Ktesos, *IG* i³ 386. 5.

⁵³ *Agora* XIX P 26. 281–2, a Stratokles owns land at Anaphlystos; P 27. 17, Stratokles S. leases; P 26. 259–60, 266, Isandros registers a mine and leases it. Lambert (1997*a*, F 9 B 22, p. 163 no. 50) thinks that Isandros is the father, Stratokles (II) the son, but if the landowner Stratokles of P 26. 281–2 is of Sypalettos he is more likely to be the father. Note also Sandros [*sic*] son of Phrynyon in the Sypalettos section of *IG* ii² 2385 + 2431. 91.

⁵⁴ Lysikles II (I assume a grandfather Lysikles I), *Agora* XIX P 27. 37; Lysikles IV (son of Antipatros II) Aleshire 1989, Stele V 79, 83, and *IG* ii³ 986. 28–9, 1026. 3.

⁵⁵ *IG* ii² 7486 = CAT 1. 715, found near the railway station at Piraeus harbour, first quarter of the 4th c. For cases where the name of a dead child is given to a later-born sibling see ch. 8 nn. 32–3. Automedes, *IG* i³ 1191. 256 (= *Agora* XVII 23); there is an Autosthenes in Xypete, but the semantic link is closer for Sypalettos. See also Appendix 1.



Note: CAT and LGPN assume that CAT 1.715 commemorates the adult, but there is no other example of this iconography (dead man with infant), and it seems to me more likely (though still unusual) that it commemorates the child.

TABLE 29.7. Sypalettos: Automedes

Aristarchos I S. married the daughter of Xenainetos of Acharnai and had two sons and two daughters; one of the sons, Kyronides, married his cousin (FBD), the daughter of Aristarchos' brother Aristomenes, and had two sons, Aristarchos II and Xenainetos II. The latter's claim to the estate of Aristarchos I was the subject of Isaios 10. Aristomenes, who acted as guardian to the children of Aristarchos I, had a son called Apollodoros who may be represented on a relief lekythos commemorating Aristarchos II, with a woman called Kallistomache, perhaps Apollodoros' sister and Aristarchos II's mother. Apollodoros' son Antidotos served as councillor in 333/2 and proposed a council decree approving the petition of traders from Kition in Cyprus to found a sanctuary of Aphrodite. A descendent, Apollodoros II son of Aristomenes II, made a dedication to Asklepios in the late third century.⁵⁶

Since the name is rare (though perhaps commoner in the archaic period than later) it seems quite possible that the Myrmex S. listed as member of a trireme crew on *IG* i³ 1032. 187 is the M. whose death is hoped for in Aristophanes *Frogs* 1506 and the father of Euphanes son of Myrmex, commemorated with his son Antiphon (who has an epigram praising his *dikaio synē*), on *SEMA* 1543 and 1880 (*CEG* 559) from Peiraios St. In this case Antiphon may be the syntrierarch Antiphon S. of *IG* ii² 1622. 139 (before 342/1; *APF* 1305). *IG* ii² 11500, Euphanes Myr—, came from the Agora and may be unconnected.

⁵⁶ See ch. 7 with Table 7.5. Lekythos, *IG* ii² 10754 = CAT 3. 351c (no provenance, no demotics or patronymics). Antidotos, ii³ 337; Apollodoros II, ii² 4442, Aleshire 1991 p. 88 (with Lysandrides son of Lysanias Pelex, their names added to a stone already bearing a dedicatory inscription of Kallias son of Kallias of Euonymon).

Trinemeia

Milchhöfer, followed by Traill and Goette, located T. at a site on the southwest slope of Mt Pentelikon, at Pendeli-Kokkinaras, where there are three farms, a classical village, a small temple near a spring, late antique and medieval remains, and a road (modern and probably also ancient) leading to a marble quarry. It is not entirely clear, however, that the site is large enough for a deme site, although the possibility that the deme's population was mainly scattered has to be considered. Horoi may have marked its territory. Strabo (C 399/9. 1. 24) places T. at the source of the river Kephisos, which fits this area.⁵⁷

The best-known member of the deme is Aristokrates I son of Skellias, if his demotic is correctly assigned; he served as general in 413/2, as taxiarch in 411 under the Four Hundred (supporting Theramenes), and as general again in 410/9, 407/6, and 406/5; he may already have been a member of the commission of oath-takers who made peace and alliance with Sparta in 422/1. He either won a choregic victory in the 430s or restored a monument set up by a homonymous grandfather. A nephew (BS or ZS) Epichares I won a victory at Olympia in the boys' stadion race, perhaps in 396. The victor's grandson, Epichares II, was the speaker of [Demosthenes] 58, and was supported by his brother Aristokrates.⁵⁸

Charmylos son of Kallisthenes I T. served as councillor in the middle of the fourth century and is attested as a lessee or guarantor on Delos at about the same date. His son Kallisthenes II in 328/7 proposed a Council decree honouring the epimeletai responsible for a dedication at the Amphiarion; Kallisthenes' son Theoteles was councillor in 303/2.⁵⁹

A prominent family of heralds, presumably resident in the city, who received citizenship at some date between 358/7 and 333, for some reason chose to register in T. Thougenes son of Philokles T., ephebe in 333/2/1, may be a son of Philokles II, probably the first member of the family to have citizen rights; the Philokles (III) T. who served as phylarch in 282/1 was presumably a son of Thougenes or of another son of Philokles II.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Milchhöfer 1892, 413; Traill 1986; Goette 2002*b*, 2010, with new archaeological data.

⁵⁸ *APF* 1904. The choregic dedication *IG* i³ 964, known from reports by Pittakes and Rangaves, was rediscovered in 1970 (T. L. Shear 1971). It is dated to the 430s (*IG*) or 420s (Shear), but inscribed in archaizing lettering; Raubitschek 1982 suggested that Aristokrates was imitating a monument set up by a homonymous grandfather (cf. also R. Thomas 1989, 133 n. 115).

⁵⁹ Charmylos, *Agora* XV 18 + *SEG* 28. 150. 15; *IG* ii² 1641. 17, 23 (*ID* 104–26 A 19, 24 + *SEG* 28. 141); Kallisthenes II, *IG* ii³ 360. 41; Theoteles, *Agora* XV 62. 225.

⁶⁰ *IG* ii² 145 + *SEG* 14. 56 (M. J. Osborne 1981–3 T 20a), which records honours to Eukles I and Philokles II, does not seem to me (*pace* Osborne) to imply that by the time of the second text they already had citizenship. The stele contains two decrees, the first proposed c.401 by Eurippides of Melite (literary texts, followed by *LGN*, correct the spelling to match that of the tragedian), the second (before 358/7)

Athmonon

The deme clearly lay in the area of modern Marousi, which has produced two deme texts and a number of tombstones. It had a well-known temple of Artemis Amarysia (Pausanias I. 31. 4–5), presumably connected with the cult on Euboia, and hence perhaps going back to an early date.⁶¹ The festival Amarousia at A. seems to have been under deme management by 324/3, since a deme decree of that date (*IG* ii² 1203) specifies that the honorands, deme merarchoi, are to have their crowns proclaimed at the festival (*agôn*); the hieron in which the stele is to be set up is probably that of Artemis. The ephebes of 334/3/2, perhaps the first of the new system, who were honoured by Athmonon, may have taken part in the festival; their tribal sophronistes Adeistos son of Antimachos belonged to the deme. The proposer of the deme decree, Euphronios, may be named in the list of (?) epilektoi *SEG* 36. 155. 64 (Humphreys 2010*a*, 79).⁶² Athmonon may also have had a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, since in 341/0 the deme was engaged in a diadikasia concerning ‘myrrh and smilax’, used in the cult of the Eleusinian goddesses, by whom the deme’s opponent (perhaps representing a *genos*?) swears.⁶³

The earliest text from the deme is a list of over thirty-six names, apparently of liturgists, which can be dated prosopographically to the early fourth century (*SEG* 24. 197). It may have been produced in the course of a dispute over liability for deme liturgies that had arisen in the years immediately following the Peloponnesian War; dispersal of demesmen during the war years, changes for better or worse in the economic situation of families about which fellow-demesmen were poorly informed, and hostility to wealthy families who had supported the oligarchic regimes of 411 and 404, or were suspected of sympathizing with them, all made this a period when resentment and conflict were likely to

by Melanopos of Aixone; I do not know whether the connection with Kekropis is significant. Thougenes, *IG* ii³ 4. 337. 40; Philokles III, Wolicki 1996 (ii³ 983). Phile[a]s son of [Philok]les T. was councillor in 281/0, *Agora* XV 72. 98 + *SEG* 36. 217. See ch. 6 n. 9.

⁶¹ Location: Pikoulas 1998, Skilardi 2009, 2013; *Marousi* 2004. Deme decrees: *SEG* 24. 197 (cf. 47. 189), *IG* ii² 1203. The horoi *IG* i² 865 are excluded from i³, as archaizing texts of the Roman period. The choregic fragment ii³ 4. 509 (cf. *SEG* 51. 193, P. Wilson 2010*a*) was also found at Marousi. On the Euboian Amarysia, which in the Hellenistic period had a gymnastic competition (*IG* xii 9. 234) see Knoepfler 1972; 1988*b*, 391 on Athmonon; S. Huber 2003, 167–8. See also R. Parker 2005*a*, 457; ch. 18 n. 7; if the Athmonon cult was early, it may have been taken over by the deme from a phratry or *genos*.

⁶² *IG* ii² 1156 = Reinmuth 1971 no. 2, R/O 89, an ephebic dedication to which decrees of Kekropis, the Council, Eleusis, and Athmonon are appended; see Humphreys 1985*a* on cultic innovations associated with the ephebate (conceivably the programme of the Amarousia was expanded at this time; cf. ch. 28 n. 36 on the Areia at Acharnai). Adeistos may be attested in the cavalry c.350, Kroll 1972 no. 16; Aixone (cf. *IG* ii³ 550. 26) is also possible.

⁶³ [Dein.] F XXXIV Conomis 1975. Palles 2003 restored *IG* ii³ 4. 509 as a choregic dedication from Marousi naming Meidogenes as demarch. His homonymous grandson was archon’s paredros in 283/2; [Meid?]Jonides son of Meidon, councillor in the mid 4th c., *SEG* 28. 150. 11, may be his brother.

arise.⁶⁴ There is no trace in this list of the financial system that had been adopted by 324/3, in which the deme's liturgists were divided into sections (*merê*; see below). We also have a long list of Athmoneis (at least seventy) on a stone that perhaps formed part of a tribal dedication set up in the sanctuary of Kekrops on the Akropolis, probably in the Lykourgan period.⁶⁵ The two lists together make Athmonon an unusually well-documented deme from the prosopographical point of view.

The deme decree of 323/2 praises the six merarchoi of the previous year for their management of sacrifices and deme funds, and awards each of them a gold crown of 500 dr. Possibly each *meros* was responsible for funds or property producing a revenue of c.500 dr. to be spent on sacrifices, for which the merarchoi, i.e. the liturgists appointed by the *merê* for 324/3, had paid out of their own pockets; in this case the situation would be similar to that in Erchia (ch. 24), where however there were only five sections instead of six. The demarch Po—is to make arrangements for publication.⁶⁶ Athmonon did not as a deme sell property in the hekatomtai sales, but a group with two archons, apparently based in the deme, sold at least three plots (*chôria*) in the deme, one for 625 dr.⁶⁷

The family with the best claim to antiquity in the deme was perhaps that of Thrasippos I, born in the late fifth century, and his descendants Phrynaios (son) and Thrasippos II (grandson, SS). The name Phrynaios, though a nickname-form derived from *phrynê*, toad or 'brownskin', is attested only in Athmonon and Hybadai, so this family may well descend from either or both of the Phrynaioi

⁶⁴ Cf. the diadikasia lists of the state (Gabrielsen 1987b); ch. 19 n. 92.

⁶⁵ IG ii² 2385 + 2431 + 2431a (SEG 33. 160; Dow promised a re-edition, but there is nothing in the Nachlass beyond the comments in Dow 1983). The only problem for a date in the Lykourgan period is Aristokleides son of Aristomenes (2385. 15), whose (?) son Aristotimos Aristokleidous was trierarch before 330 (APF p. 62, ii² 1624. 57–8 + SEG 13. 48); however, there are other cases in which a son is trierarch during his father's lifetime (ch. 5 n. 47). On Nikostratos (II) A., ii² 1927. 38, whom I take to be the father or son of Nikochares son of Nikostratos I, ii² 2385. 48, see Humphreys 2010a. [Eub]ios son of Oinobios, 2385. 65, can hardly be the Eubios who served as diaitetes in 325/4, ii³ 4. 35. 119.

⁶⁶ IG ii² 1203 = Schwenk 1985 no. 70 (not discussed by Papazarkadas 2011); on liturgic 'sections' see also ch. 22 n. 102. Possible names for the demarch, attested in the deme, are Po[lemon] (CAT 190, lekythos, 2 armed men, undated), Po[lyzelos] (son of Stratonides, ii² 2385. 62), or Po[lykles] or Po[lykrates], the two latter names both used by a family buried in the deme area. IG ii² 5349, a stele with anthemion and rosettes recorded by Rangaves north of Marousi, names Polykles (I) A. with Sostrate daughter of Morsimos of Alopeke (probably his wife and, since the name is rare, perhaps descended from the Morsimos of the late 5th c. who was a bad playwright but a good eye-doctor, TGF 2nd ed. no. 29, below n. 142, ch. 32 n. 24), and a Polykrates, perhaps their son; we do not know whether the names were inscribed successively, but the practice is fairly common on such stelai. ii² 5348, recorded by Fourmont in Kephisia, possibly came from the same peribolos, and commemorated the son of a Polykles A. Eukrates son of Polykrates A. is recorded as (?) kleruch in the mid 4th c. (ii² 1927. 40–1; see Humphreys 2010a). The demarch might be either Polykrates or an otherwise unattested son, Polykles II.

⁶⁷ Lambert 1997a, F 12 A 5–13; perhaps a genos. (It does not seem particularly likely that liturgic *merê* would act independently in such a context, nor that they had archons.)

who served as eponymous archons in (?) 536/5 and *c.*500. Phrynaios served as trierarch in the 350s and perhaps the early 340s, and is probably the Phrynaios [Thras]ippou who was responsible as principal trierarch or syntrierarch for three triakontors in 325/4; Thrasippos II served as ephebic lochagos in 333/2/1 and as principal trierarch before 323/2, and probably purchased (with the son of a Chaireleides) a chorion and house at Prasiai in the hekatostai sales for at least 2375 dr.⁶⁸

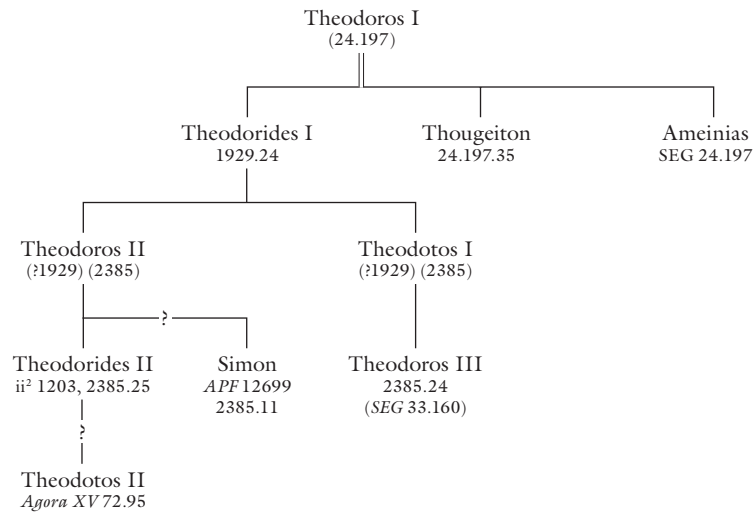
Theozotides I, who can fairly safely be ascribed to A. on the basis of the combination of family names in *IG* ii² 1927. 38–9, was evidently relatively prominent as a politician at the end of the fifth century. His proposal, *c.*409 or in 403/2, that benefits given to the orphans of men who had died in war should be restricted to the legitimate sons of Athenian citizens (attacked by Lysias, F LXIV Carey 2007) suggests a relatively right-wing position, as does the association of his younger son Theodotos with Sokrates. Theodotos' elder brother Nikostratos I appeared in court to support Sokrates at his trial. He perhaps had two sons: Theozotides II, choregos before 348, who was appointed proxenos by Karthaia on the island of Keos, and Nikochares. Nikostratos II son of Theozotides II would, on my interpretation of *IG* ii² 1927, have been a kleruch.⁶⁹

The name of Theozotides I's younger son Theodotos, though admittedly very common and not dissimilar to that of his father, may suggest a link with another prosperous family in Athmonon (see Table 29.8). Theodorides I (perhaps son of Theodoros I) probably had two sons: Theodotos I, whose son Theodoros III is named in *IG* ii² 2385. 24, and Theodoros II, whose son Theodorides II is named in the following line. Theodorides II proposed the deme decree ii² 1203 in 323/2; his brother Simon is also named in ii² 2385 (11). Either Theodotos I or Theodoros II probably appears as relieved from a liturgic obligation in the (?) 380s. Thougeiton and Ameinias, sons of a Theodoros (I?), named on the deme liturgy list *SEG* 24. 197, may belong to another branch of the same family; it is possible that Thougeiton is named twice because he was acting as guardian for his nephews (BS) Theodotos I and Theodoros II.

Theokles A., listed in *IG* ii² 2385. 69, is probably the man of that name who with Philoktemon A. lent 2000 dr. secured on a house and chorion in the deme;

⁶⁸ *APF* 7297 + 14996. Phrynaios, *Hesp.* 1995, 206 (*SEG* 45. 147), trierarch 355/4 or 354/3; *IG* ii² 1622. 635, between 356 and 346; ii² 1629. 93–4, 111–12, 131–4. Thrasippos II, *IEleus* 86. 7, 20, ii² 1631. 533; Lambert 1997*a*, F 4. 5, [Thrasipp]os (ii² 1580). Co-purchase of land is not common; possibly the buyers were guardians converting an orphan's inheritance into real estate. The name Chaireleides/Chareleides occurs in Steiria and Angele, both relatively close to Prasiai, in the 4th c.

⁶⁹ *APF* 6915. Theozotides I: Lysias F VI Gernet and Bizos 1926, LXIV Carey 2007, with Stroud 1971 (*SEG* 28. 46; date, Matthaiou 2011*a*, 73, cf. *BE* 2012, 158; chs. 1 n. 102, 2 n. 75, 22 n. 16). He also proposed the proxyeny decree *IG* ii² 5 = *SEG* 14. 36, *c.*400. Nikostratos I and Theodotos, Plat. *Apol.* 33c; Theozotides II, Dem. 21. 59, *IG* xii 5. 542. 35–6; Nikochares, ii² 2385. 48; Nikostratos II, ii² 1927. 38–9 with Humphreys 2010*a*.



Note: Whitehead (1986*a*) distinguishes the Thougeiton of SEG 24. 197. 6 from the homonym in line 45, but it would be surprising to find grandfather and adult grandson in the same list.

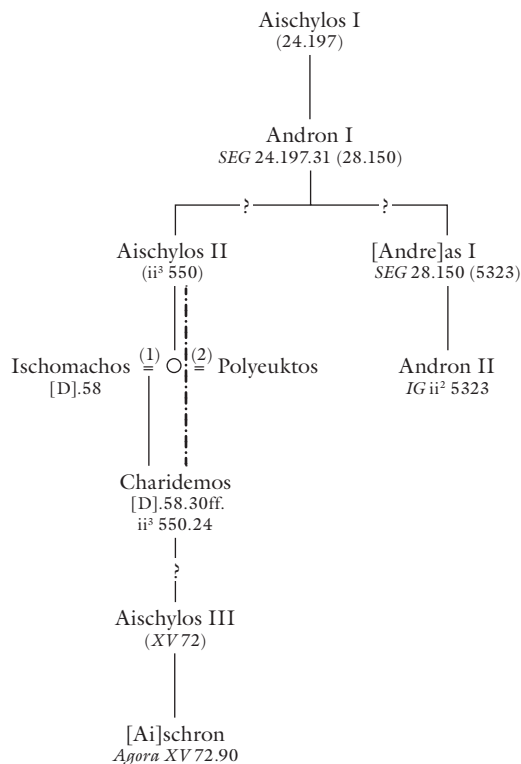
TABLE 29.8. Athmonon: Theodoros, APF 12699

he may be the banker Theokles. His son Simon served as ephebic lochagos in 333/2/1, and may be the Simon A. who paid a naval debt in 323/2.⁷⁰

Andron I son of Aischylos I A., who appears in the deme liturgy list of *c.*400, may have been the father of the Aischylos (II) whose estate gave rise to controversy in (probably) the late 340s (see Table 29.9). This Aischylos' daughter, who seems to have had no brothers, married an Ischomachos, and had a son called Charidemos who was adopted after his father's death by his maternal grandfather. Ischomachos' widow (the boy's mother) was remarried, to a Polyeuktos. After Aischylos II had died, the father of the speaker of [Demosthenes] 58 proposed a decree by which Charidemos was to receive state support *qua* son of Ischomachos. The decree was attacked as illegal, on the grounds that it was a manoeuvre designed to bring Aischylos II's estate into the hands of Polyeuktos, whose wife might have been considered to have recovered the status of epikleros if her son had returned to the oikos of her first husband. Although the legal implications of the decree were far from clear, the attack was successful, and Charidemos remained in Aischylos' oikos, from which he performed the eutaxia liturgy *c.*330. Aischron son of Aischylos III A., councillor in 281/0, may be Charidemos' grandson (SS).⁷¹

⁷⁰ Finley 1952, no. 22, horos dated *c.*350–325, found at Marousi; [Dem.] 53. 9; Simon, *IEleus* 86. 10, IG ii² 1631. 662 (cf. APF 12699). Philoktemon's son served as one of the dockyard superintendents in 334/3, ii² 1623. 2.

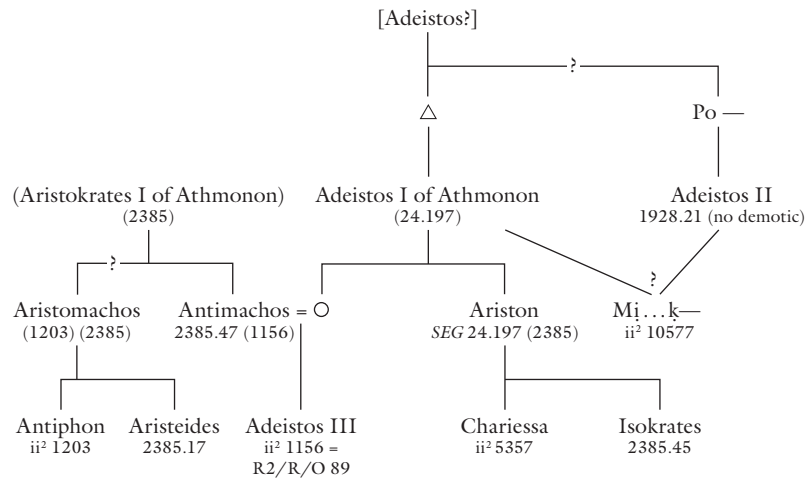
⁷¹ Andron I, SEG 24. 197. 31; [Andre]as son of Andron A., councillor in the mid 4th c. (*Agora XV* 18 = SEG 28. 150. 10) should be his son and a brother of Aischylos II; the councillor's son Andron II was commemorated by a kioniskos of the early 3rd c. found in Athens, IG ii² 5323. On the Charidemos affair see ch. 2 n. 30; the account in APF 436 is unsatisfactory (add to the list of Ischomachoi in APF

TABLE 29.9. Athmonon:
Aischylos

Adeistos A., whose son Ariston is also named on the deme liturgy list, may—since his name is rare—be the Adeistos represented with a son (or brother), Mi...k—, on a relief stele from the Kerameikos, *IG* ii² 10577 = *CAT* 2. 425*b* (see Table 29.10). Isokrates son of Ariston, *IG* ii² 2385. 45, is probably the liturgist's son and Chariessa daughter of Ariston A., commemorated by a stone also found in the city, may be his daughter. Adeistos son of Antimachos A., who was elected sophronistes of his tribe for 334/3/2, probably the first year of the ephebate, should be descended in some way from Adeistos I, perhaps matrilaterally; Antimachos son of Aristokrates, named on *IG* ii² 2385 (47), may be either his father or a nephew (BS). Antiphon son of Aristomachos, one of the merarchoi of 324/3, may have been related to them.⁷²

7826 XIII, I. son of Hippomachos of Lamptrai, buried as an Athenian kleruch at Potidaia, *IG* i³ 1511). Note the dedication by a Phileia daughter of a Charidemos A. of a bronze statue on the Akropolis as *dekatê* of her estate at Athmonon, *IG* i³ 800 (480s?). *IG* ii² 10613 = *CAT* 2. 383e, a lekythos found at Marousi representing a seated woman, Timagora, and a standing bearded man, Aischylos, may commemorate Aischylos II or his wife. Eutaxia, *IG* ii³ 550. 25. Aischraios son of Ch— A., epilektos (?) in the late 4th c., *SEG* 36. 155. 67 with Humphreys 2010*a*, seems too old to be Charidemos' son, and it is also difficult to reconstruct the relationship between Aischron, son of Aischylos III (*Agora* XV 72. 90 with *SEG* 36. 217) and Aischron son of Athenodoros, XV 72. 91; cf. Aischron son of Glaukippos A., ii² 2385. 49, Athen— A., l. 22, and — [Aischr]onos, l. 21.

⁷² Persons who appear on the liturgy list *SEG* 24. 197 are discussed by Whitehead 1986*a*, 421–5; comments that follow here mostly diverge from and/or supplement his reconstructions.



Notes: Adeistos III may be the cavalryman of *Hesp.* 46, 1977, 111 no. 16, c.360–340. *IG* ii² 5357 is known only from a record by Spon, and undateable. The suggestion of Lambert 1997*a*, 151 no. 5, is rash.

TABLE 29.10. Athmonon: Adeistos

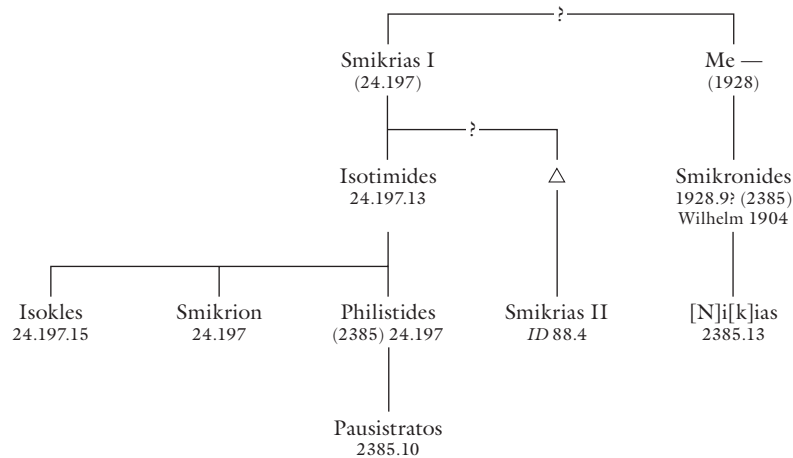


TABLE 29.11. Athmonon: Smikrias, *APF* 12762

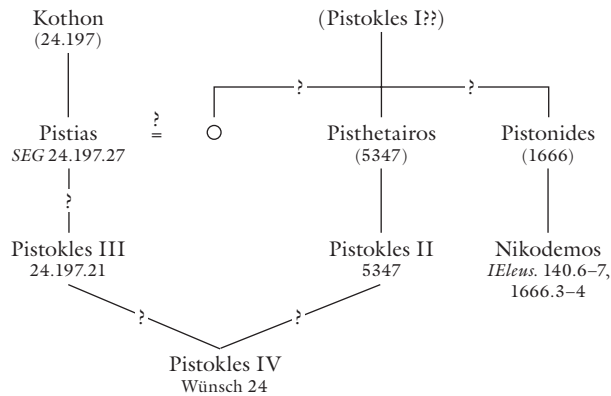
Isotimides son of Smikrias I, whose (?) sons Isokles, Smikrion, and Philistides were registered as liturgists in his place, takes us to a group of families in A. using names based on the root Smik- (see Table 29.11). Philistides is probably the father of Pausistratos Philistidou, listed on *IG* ii² 2385 (10); Smikrias II, councilor and epistates in 369/8, is probably the son of a brother of Isotimides. The latter had proposed a decree in 415/4 excluding men who had committed impiety from sacred areas. Smikronides son of Me—, named (without demotic) on a diadikasia list of c.380, may be the father of [N]i[k]ias Smikronidou (A.) of *IG* ii² 2385. 13, may be named on a curse tablet, and may be related to the Isotimides

line. Affinal links are also possible with Phalanthos son of Demetrios A., named on the liturgy list, and his son Smikythion who was one of the merarchs of 324/3; they may in turn be linked to Phalanthides son of Pheidestratos (ii² 2385. 16) and to the Phalanthos A. whose son served as ephebe c.236/5 (arch. Kimon). Smikyliion A., whose son Lykiskos manumitted three slaves living in Piraeus in the 320s, and whose grandson Lykophron son of Lykiskos was one of the merarchs of 324/3 (a younger brother? was ephebe in 333/2/1) bears another related name.⁷³

The deme liturgist Kallias son of Apollodoros may be a son or kinsman of the Apollodoros A. who appears on a crew list of (?) c.400; it is not clear whether Euxitheos and Lysimachides, sons of Kallias, who also figure in the deme liturgy list, are related to him. A Kallias son of Lysimachides of Athens is named in an inscription set up in Piraeus at the end of the third century to record honours granted to him by Delphi; he was perhaps a descendant of the Kallias son of Lysimachides who set up a conspicuous statue of a horse seen at Delphi by Pausanias, with an inscription saying that it was dedicated from Persian spoils. However, the names in question are rather common, and Lysimachides of Keiriadai, whose son Aristoteles was made a proxenos at Delphi c.227, may have been the father of the third-century dedicant.⁷⁴

⁷³ SEG 24. 197. 13–15; either Isotimides had recently died or he was alive but had divided his property among his sons. Euthydikos son of Akesandros and Thrasykles son of Thrasylos are also assessed in place of someone else (name lost); they may be guardians paying for the orphan children of a dead liturgist or brothers-in-law (WZH) assessed in place of their wives' father. Euthykles had a brother, Euthydemos, also listed (l. 16); their father might have been related to the Akesandros commemorated on SEMA 2216 (c.400, no provenance) with his wife Myrte and his daughters Kallistarete and Kallithaleia (the name Akesandros is also attested, later, in Anaphlystos; the daughters' names do not encourage identification of their father with the father of Euthykles and Euthydemos). LGPN Pausistratos 1–2 suggests that Pausistratos son of Philistides may be the P. who appears in *Agora* XIX P 24. 14 as leasing a mine, but the name is of a common type and the case for identification is weak. Smikrias II, ID 88. 4; Whitehead thinks he should be a son of Isotimides, but his absence from SEG 24. 197 would in that case be odd unless he was a younger member of the family named for a firstborn who had died (ch. 8 nn. 32–3). Isotimides' decree (no demotic, but the name is not attested elsewhere) Andok. 1. 71, cf. 8; Lys. 6. 9, 24. Smikronides, IG ii² 1928. 9, APF 12762; curse tablet Wilhelm 1904, 121; the name, though only attested in the three texts discussed here, is not rare in type. Phalanthos Demetriou, SEG 24. 197. 10; Smikythion, ii² 1203. 13, 22; father of ephebe —ion, ii³ 1027. 58. Lykiskos son of Smikyliion, ii² 1564. 1–14 (the case for identifying him with the eponymous archon L. of 344/3 is thin); [— c. 9 —] son of Lykiskos, ephebe, IG ii³ 4. 337. 23; Lykophron ii² 1203. 10, 23.

⁷⁴ Kallias Apollodorou SEG 24. 197. 22; if the Apollodoros A. of IG i³ 1032. 145–6 was indeed his father, and i³ 1032 is not a casualty list (ch. 21 n. 41), why did he not appear on the list? (not yet back in Athens? still presumed missing?). It is unlikely, if this Apollodoros was his father, that Euxitheos and Lysimachides (ll. 25, 29) were Kallias' sons. LGPN (Kallias 56, Lysimachides 5, following Kirchner) identifies the 3rd c. Kallias honoured in IG ii² 2799 with the dedicant of Paus. 10. 18. 1, but Pausanias clearly understood the monument he saw to belong to the 5th c., and one does not see why a 3rd c. monument should refer to Persians. Aristoteles of Keiriadai, FD III (2) 79. Cf. also Aristophilos Lysim—A., councillor in 281/0, *Agora* XV 72. 88 with SEG 36. 217.



Notes: IG ii² 5347 = 5349 (Peck 1942, no. 145) Wilhelm 1904 dates Wünsch 24 c.350, but the prominence of Phokion may suggest a later date.

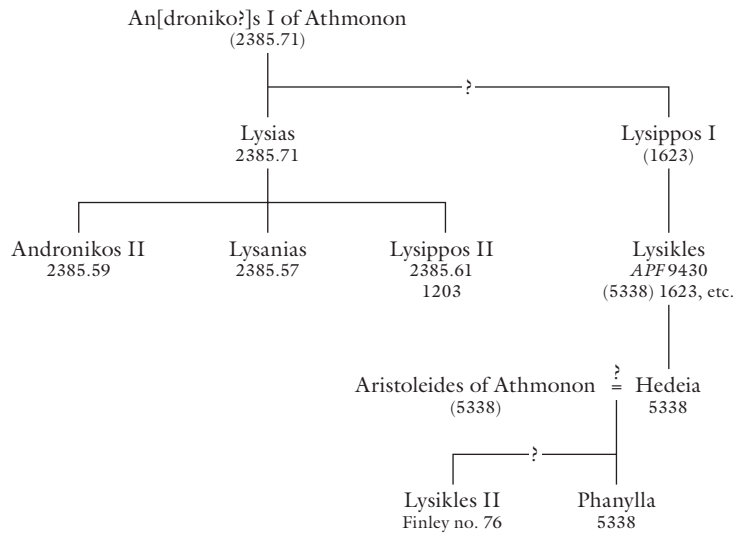
TABLE 29.12. Athmonon: Pistokles

Pistias son of Kothon, another deme liturgist, perhaps came from a family with Spartan ties or sympathies (see Table 29.12). He and his son (or nephew?) Pistokles, also named on the liturgy list, were probably related to Pistokles son of Pisthetairos, whose tombstone of the mid-fourth century was found in the Marousi area. The Pistokles, perhaps of Kekropis, named on a curse tablet may belong to a younger generation. Pistonides A., whose son Nikodemos served as one of the epistatai for the Eleusinion in 356/5–353/2, may also belong to this group.⁷⁵

The liturgist Sosibios son of Sosimenes I was probably the father of Sosimenes II and Sokrates A., who died young c.390–365, and were commemorated by a stele perhaps found in Piraeus with a relief of a chous standing on a loutrophoros. The family survived; a [Sosimen?]es son of Sosibios served as councillor in 281/0.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Kothon would have been named c.460 or earlier.

⁷⁶ SEG 24. 197. 37; IG ii² 5352 (Piraeus museum 2158; no attested provenance). Cf. Petrocheilos 2003. Both boys have demotics, although Sokrates, if represented by the chous, cannot yet have been admitted to the deme (Whitehead 1986a, 425 no. 145, thinks that the stone commemorated the liturgist's father and ? uncle, FB; see however ch. 11 at nn. 35–43 on the significance of loutrophoroi). [Sosimen?]es III, *Agora* XV 72 + SEG 36. 217. 87. On the other liturgists of SEG 24. 197: Kollytides Mnesimachou (18) has a notable name; was he born in the Archidamian War, when the family had moved to Kollytos? Kteson son of Eutychides (28) has a son or later descendant (SSS?) Theophilos, whose kioniskos AEE² no. 14 was found in 1888 north of Piraeus; cf. Theophilos Tr—A., *APF* 7119, choregos for boys' dithyramb in 331/0, and his (?) son Peithias, councillor in 271/0, IG ii³ 908. 6 (arch. Pytharatos). Mnesimachos son of Salaipon (20) should be an ancestor (if father, the generations are long) of —ratos Mnesimachou, ephebe in 333/2/1, IG 4. 337. 22; Mne—? epilektos in the late 4th c. (if he is correctly ascribed to A.), SEG 36. 155. 63 with Humphreys 2010a, may be another member of the family; cf. Mnesiphilos, IG ii² 2385. 70, Mnesiergos I, secretary of the treasurers of Athena in 398/7 (LGPN no. 1; perhaps the Mnesiergos of the letter IG III p. 7b, found at Chaidari east of Dafni), and Mnesiergos II son of Mnesias, who proposed a decree honouring the astynomoi for their role in the festival of Asklepios, and perhaps another honouring theoroi, in the early 3rd c. (LGPN no. 2). If Hierokles son of Archestratos (30) was paredros of the hellenotamiai in 418/7, IG i³ 370, the Archestratos (II) A. who served as proedros



Notes: *IG* ii² 5338 = *CAT* 2. 426b, Phanylla's name perhaps added. The Lysikles of *SEG* 58. 265 A4 belonged to Acharnai, not (as *APF*) Athmonon. The creditor on Finley 76 may be L. I. or a (hypothetical) L. II.

TABLE 29.13. Athmonon: Lysias *APF* 9430

The next generation of Athmoneis is represented by the tribal dedication (?) *IG* ii² 2385, on which Athmonon seems to occupy at least ll. 4–74, with much smaller contingents (ranging from one, Epieikidai, to at least seventeen from Pithos) from other demes. [Tle?]son son of Tlesimenes (l. 8) now has a kinsman (brother?) Tlesias, who served as a councillor in the kleruchy on Samos c.350.⁷⁷ Lysias An[–]o(u), 71, may be the father of Lysanias, Andronikos, and Lysippos (II), sons of Lysias (57, 59, 61), or the son of Andronikos (see Table 29.13). Lysippos II served as merarch in 324/3; the Lysippos (I) whose son Lysikles served as syntrierarch shortly after 341/0 should be an older man, perhaps an uncle (FB) of Lysippos II. Lysikles' daughter Hedeia was commemorated by a relief stele of the second half of the fourth century; she probably married Aristoleides A., whose daughter Phanylla is named on the same stone. The Lysikles A. who appears as creditor for 700 dr. on a horos of 315/4 found near the Akropolis may be a son of Hedeia and Aristoleides.

Speusandrides (II) and Thymades, sons of Demades (2385. 50, 53), may be cousins (FBS) of Speusandrides I son of Philodemos A., who died as a young hoplite early in the fourth century; part of the base of a dedication set up on the

in 325/4 (*IG* ii² 361 = ii³ 368, not ii² 363 as *LGN* Archestratos 46, Schwenk 1985 no. 69. 6) cannot have been his son, but must be a later member of the family. Antidoros son of Ergoteles (12) may be, or be related to, the Antidoros of ii² 2385. 56; cf. Ergophilos son of Chairephilos, *ibid.* 9.

⁷⁷ Lambert 2004c suggests [Kte]son. Brother, *IG* xii 6. 262 col. VII 16.

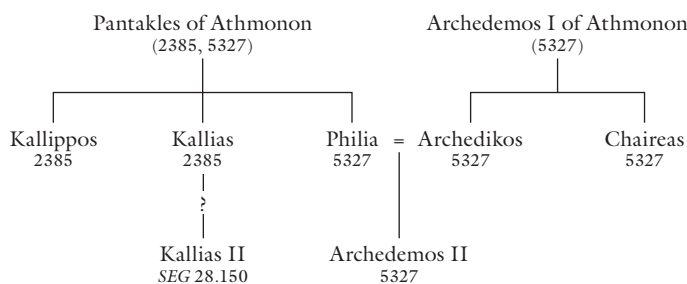
Akropolis by Speusandrides (II) survives. Thymades freed a female woolworker, whose place of residence is unfortunately lost, in the 320s. Philodemos son of Philokrates (63), and his brothers Epameinon (43) and Epikrates (52) may belong to the same lineage; Epameinon II son of Epichares served in the council in 281/0.⁷⁸

Four sons of Oinobios appear on the list: Nikon (40), Phytaios (41), Oinokles (46), and Eubios (65). Eubios served as diaitetes in 325/4. Oinokles' name can be restored in the records of manumission phialai as freeing a *stypopólês* resident in Peiraios; he apparently did not follow in the agricultural tradition suggested by the names given to his father and by the latter to his sons (with the exception of Nikon).⁷⁹

Pantakles, whose sons Kallippos (14) and Kallias (51) appear on the list, also had a daughter, Philia, who married an Athmoneus, Archedikos son of Archedemos I; they are commemorated with their son Archedemos II and with Archedikos' brother Chaireas on a stele found in Piraeus, with a relief of a loutrophoros on which Archedemos II is represented with his father (see Table 29.14). Kallias son of Pantakles might be the father of Kallias II son of Kallias, councillor in the middle of the fourth century.⁸⁰

Archedikos' family may have been linked (affinally?) to a group of demesmen using names based on the root Chair- (see Table 29.15). Chairias son of Pyrrhias is named on the deme liturgy list. Chairephanes I son of Chairokles was com-

TABLE 29.14.
Athmonon: Pantakles
and Archedemos



⁷⁸ Speusandrides I, *IG* ii² 12640 = *CAT* 2. 248, no provenance; dedication of Speusandrides II, mid 4th c., ii² 4903; Thymades, *SEG* 18. 36 B 57; Epameinon II, *Agora* XV 72 + *SEG* 36. 217. 94.

⁷⁹ Eubios, *IG* ii³ 4. 35. 119; [Oinokl]es, ii² 1570, = *SEG* 18. 44. 24–6 (*SEG* 44. 67); eranistai were involved, so it is not certain that Oinokles was the owner.

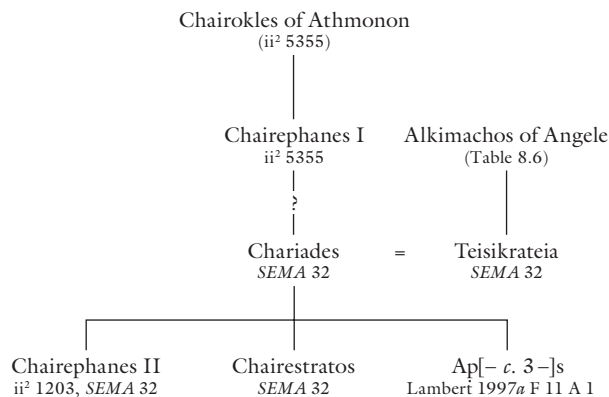
⁸⁰ Archedikos a.o., *IG* ii² 5327 = *CAT* 3. 213 = Hamiaux 1992 no. 183. Kirchner, following Koumanoudes (*AEE* 73), gives the provenance as Piraeus; Hamiaux says that Fauvel claimed to have acquired it from Marousi, but possibly this provenance derives from the demotics. The order of inscription of the names is probably (1) Archedemos II, (2) Philia, (3) Chaireas, (4) Archedemos I (deeper-cut than the rest). *SEG* 35. 163 and Bergemann (1996) interpret Chaireas as the deceased, in my view mistakenly. (Note that on another Athmonon stone in the Louvre, *CAT* 1. 931, the inscription should be read as Philit[ia] (or [-ion], *LGNP* Philitia 2) not Philip— as Hamiaux no. 203.) Kallias Kalliou, *SEG* 28. 150. 12.

memorated in the middle of the fourth century by a stele with anthemion and rosettes. His son Chariades married Teisikrateia daughter of Alkimachos of Angele, and perhaps moved to his wife's deme, since their tombstone, which also names two sons, Chairephanes II and Chairestratos, was found at Prasiai. Nevertheless, Chairephanes II served as one of Athmonon's merarchs in 324/3. Ap[-c. 3-]s son of Chariades A., who sold an eschatia at Phlya for 1875 dr. with a fellow-official in the hekatostai sales, possibly on behalf of the orgeones of Zeus Epakrios, may have been a third son of this pair.⁸¹

The merarchoi of 324/3, Antiphon son of Aristomachos, Chairephanes II son of Chariades, Dionysophanes son of Dionysodoros I, Lykophron son of Lykiskos, Lysippos II son of Lysias, and Smikythion son of Phalanthos, have all been discussed above with the exception of Dionysophanes, who may have had a descendant in the third or second century, Polykrateia daughter of Dionysodoros II A., whose son became basileus (*IG* ii² 3863).

One of the main interests of these three lists, spanning the period c.400–324, is that they provide a good picture of the way in which demesmen were loosely

TABLE 29.15. Athmonon:
Chairokles



⁸¹ *SEMA* 32 (*SEG* 56. 253); Lambert 1997*a*, 151–2 no. 7. Cf. also Ergophilos son of Chairephilos, 2385. 9; the son of [Char]etades (27), the son of Chairimenes (31), and Charines, who served in the council in 378/7, *IG* ii² 43. 6. Note further: Platon son of Sosistratos (44) and Platon son of Kallistratos (66; his brother P[ythe]rmos, 12) should be cousins (FBS); the son of Prokles (35) may have been related to Patrokleia daughter of Prokleides A., commemorated perhaps shortly before the legislation of Demetrios of Phaleron (surely not after, as *LGPV* Patrokleia 3, Prokleides 13?) by a relief stele found near Marousi, representing her as a seated (so married?) woman with her (?) husband, *IG* ii² 5346 = *CAT* 2. 462a; Polyzelos son of Stratonides (62) and Strato[n] or [-nides] (72) may have been connected with Straton and Blepios A., commemorated by a relief stele of uncertain date (4th c. in any case) and unknown provenance, ii² 5329; [M]e[id]ias son of Meidias (7), Meidokles son of Phanokles (58) and Meidippides son of Phainippides (60) were probably related to each other and to [Meid?]onides son of Meidon, who served as councillor in the mid-4th c., *SEG* 28. 150. 11 (the latter's ? grandson, Meidogenes son of Meidon II, served as archon's paredros in 282/1, *IG* ii³ 881. 33).

grouped into kindreds based on descent and, in some cases, intermarriage, identifiable both to themselves and to us by the use of related names.⁸²

Phlya

The deme-site lay in the area of Chalandri; see Skilardi 2009, 161 (burials, Pologiorge 2012). It was the home of a group of cults managed by the *genos* Lykomidai, and their control may have inhibited deme activities. The deme lent money, in association with the *genos* and the tribe, Kekropis, in (?) the 360s, and may have sold two properties with houses on them in the *hekatostai* sales, one for two and a half talents (15,000 dr.).⁸³

The Lykomidai family descended from Aischraios was evidently dominant in the deme in the later fifth century, holding generalships in 433/2, 417/6, and perhaps 411/0; Pythodoros son of Isolochos, elected for 426/5 and 425/4, may have been a rival, but his tribe and deme are far from certain.⁸⁴

The poet Euripides belonged to the deme, but biographical information about him and his family is probably unreliable (Lefkowitz 1981).

⁸² It is of course possible in any single instance that a name characteristic of a deme lineage has been acquired by another family through marriage with a family in another deme; however, except perhaps in the case of the commonest names, such a coincidence is not likely to happen repeatedly in a deme within a few generations. There is perhaps somewhat more danger that one may conflate homonymous cousins, if their patronymics are not known. There is not much to say about demesmen of A. who do not figure on one of these lists; Exekestos son of Aristogenes A., who proposed honours for the local polemarch and his *paredroi* on Imbros at (?) a date when Imbros was independent, between 318 and 307 (*IG* xii 8. 47. 5), may have been a descendant of the Exekestos A. who was secretary to the treasurers of Athena in 446/5 (*LGN* Exek[estos] 15).

⁸³ See ch. 20 p. 669; also for the possibility that Myron of Phlya (Plut. *Sol.* 12. 3–4) and the 5th c. general Myronides belonged to this *genos*. There was also a prominent family of the *genos* Pyrrhakidai in Phlya in the second century BCE. A 2nd c. horos of a hieron of the Mother was published in *AD* 42 B 1, 1987 (1992) 107. Loan, *IG* ii² 2670 = Finley 1952 no. 146. *Hekatostai*, Lambert 1997a F 10 A 5–12. Note also a [*chôr*]ion at Ph. sold by two *epimeletai* of the *Dipoliastai* (ch. 20 n. 126), Xenotimos son of Timotheos Ph. and a member of a deme beginning with L (or A[thmonon?]), F 11 A 5–9; an *eschatia* at Ph. sold perhaps by *orgeones* of Zeus Epakrios, F 11 A 1–4 (see Table 29.16; ch. 19 n. 167).

⁸⁴ Cf. ch. 20 n. 39; Kleomedes son of Lykomedes may have been general also in 418/7 (*AO*, 144–5); cf. *APF* 9238. There could be a case for ascribing to this family the [L]ykomedes of *IG* ii² 1173. 7–8, if it really belongs to the early 4th c., but it may be dated too early (cf. ch. 28 n. 32). Pythodoros son of Isolochos, Thuc. 3. 86. 1, is usually attributed to VII Kekropis, although this is not certain, and Laches (Aixone) also represented the tribe in 426/5; VIII Hippothontis does not so far have a representative in either 426/5 or 425/4. The attribution to Phlya seems to be based only on the occurrence of the name Pythodoros in the deme *c.* 445 (*LGN* no. 83), which means very little with such a common name. Isol[ochos] son of [Ph]il[ode]mos, named on the curse tablet Wünsch 1897, 136, if it has been correctly read, may be a descendant (the presence of Philo[d]emos son of Nikomachos, *ephebe* in 333/2/1, in Phlya, *IG* ii³ 4. 337. 45, does not alter matters much). On Myron and Myronides Ph. see also ch. 30 n. 37. Conceivably Nikostratos son of Gniphon, cursed on *Agora XXVIII* pp. 55–7 (*SEG* 44. 226) belonged to the Phlya family of *APF* 3057 (ch. 32 n. 64).

A relief monument of *c.*400, representing [-7-10-]ulos Ph. as a horseman trampling on a fallen enemy, must have been set up by a prominent family, perhaps one anxious to re-establish credit after the restoration of democracy in 403. The horseman may perhaps have been a kinsman of Aristoboulos son of Boularchos I, who served on a board of epistatai, probably connected with the cult of Apollo, in the early fourth century. Aristoboulos' son Boularchos II served as taxiarch of his tribe in 339/8, and *his* son, Boularchos III son of Boularchos II, served as host of Plouton in (?) the 320s; Kallitheos son of Boularchos III was one of the epimeletai responsible for the procession at the Dionysia in 266/5. Euboulos I and his descendants, prominent in the 330s, may belong to the same family. Euboulos II son of Euboulos I was ephebic taxiarch, and his brother Synboulos one of the lochagoi, in 333/2/1; their brother Nikeratos was (?) epilektos in the late fourth century, and a later Nikeratos (III, son of N. II) was ephebe in 267/6 and contributed to an epidosis in 248/7; he may be the Nikeratos attested as hippeus in the middle of the third century.⁸⁵

Philinos son of Gniphon I Ph., treasurer of Athena in 377/6 and trierarch at about the same date, may be a brother of the Prokles son of Gniphon (demotic lost) who dedicated a relief stele showing three riders found on the Akropolis, perhaps as hipparch or phylarch. Prokles' son Gniphon II appears in the poletai lease records as guarantor for Arrheneides of Paiania (ch. 25 n. 29) and perhaps as a lessee (Papazarkadas 2011, 303–4 nos. 17–18). Proxenos son of Prokles Ph., phylarch in 282/1, *SEG* 46. 167. 26, may be Gniphon II's grandson.⁸⁶

A rather impressive group of monuments found in (north)-west Piraeus commemorated a woman named Melite, wife of Spoudokrates Ph., their son Telemachos, and Telemachos' son Spoudokrates II. Spoudias Ph., hellenotamias in 410/9, may be an earlier member of the family.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ —ulos, *IG* ii² 7716 = *CAT* 2. 130, *CEG* 99 (making the point that one would expect -oulos for names ending in -oulos at this period, but such variations do occur: Threatte 1980, 238–41). *CAT* dates this stone between 420 and 410; Ensoli 1987 considers the Dexileos monument (395; see ch. 27 n. 78) a little later. Aristoboulos, *IG* ii³ 4. 66, *SEG* 32. 241 (*c.*350); Boularchos II, ii² 1155. 2 (Lambert 2015*b*); Boularchos III, ii² 1933. 9 (320s?); Kallitheos, ii³ 920. 25–6, arch. Nikias of Otryne. Euboulos II and Synboulos, ii³ 4. 337. 42–3; Nikeratos I, *SEG*. 36. 155. 75 (Humphreys 2010*a*); Nikeratos III, *IG* ii³ 917 (Nikias Otryne) col. III 43; ii³ 1011 I 78 (arch. Diomedon); Bugh 1988 II B 175.

⁸⁶ Philinos: *IG* ii² 1410, 1411, 1604. 29–30. Prokles' dedication ii² 12523 (with Peek 1942, 131 no. 292) has been attributed to Thorai on the strength of ii² 6214 = *CEG* 601, a monument to Kydimachos son of [G]ni[pho]n of Thorai, but see Habicht 1997. The connection, if any, between the phylarch Proxenos of *SEG* 21. 525/46. 167, and Proxenos son of Athenades Ph., commemorated with his wife Lysistrate and his son Eudemos on *IG* ii² 7704 = 7237a (p. 882; Hildebrandt 2006 no. 129 '*c.*340') cannot be reconstructed.

⁸⁷ Bergemann 1997, peribolos L 9b. Melite, *IG* ii² 7695 = *CAT* 1. 315 (dated early 4th c. by Kirchner, shortly after 375 by *CAT*, suggesting influence of the Eirene of Kephisodotos, *c.*360 by Bergemann). Telemachos, with Hierokleia daughter of Opsiadēs of Oion, presumably his wife (added), ii² 7711 = *CEG* 512 (dated *c.*390–65); the epitaph refers to burial next to his mother. Spoudokrates II, ii² 7708, second

Another Ph. family resident in Piraeus was commemorated on *IG* ii² 7702, naming Polykles Ph., his wife Themisto daughter of Apollodoros of Teithras, their daughter Glyke, and her husband Kalliades son of Kallias of Erchia. The dikast-tickets of Polykles and of Polymnestos son (?) of Ari— Ph. are said to have come from the same site. The restoration of Polymnestos' patronymic as Ari[mnestos] is supported by the appearance of [Ari?] or [Poly?]mnestos son of Arim[nestos] Ph. as (?) epilektos in the late fourth century; the dikast's father may have been the Arimnestos attested as a councillor of Kekropis in the early fourth century.⁸⁸

Kiron, whose estate was the subject of dispute in the case for which Isaïos 8 was written, owned a country estate at Phlya worth one talent (6000 dr.); he lived in the city and we do not know his deme.⁸⁹

Archedikos II son of Archedikos I Ph. served as one of the ephebic lochagoi of Kekropis in 333/2/1; the Archedikos son of Arche— recorded as (?) epilektos in the late fourth century is perhaps best regarded as a cousin (FBS), possibly son of the Archenomo[s] of Kekropis who proposed a tribal decree in honour of a demesman of Phlya.⁹⁰

Kometides son of Antigenides Ph., his brother Antigenes, and Antigenes' son Charisandros, all appear in *IG* ii² 1927 (+ *SEG* 32. 170), perhaps a list of kleruchs (Humphreys 2010*a*, 77-8).

half of 4th c. (Kirchner thought this was Spoudokrates I, which seems to me less likely). Hierokleia's brother (or father) Opsades son of Opsades of Oion, was commemorated by a relief stele dated c.400–375, *SEG* 26. 296 (no provenance); for confusion in *LGP*N Opsades see ch. 26 n. 114. For the possibility that Telemachos or a grandfather (FF) was responsible for introducing the cult of Asklepios to Athens cf. ch. 28 n. 69.

⁸⁸ On *IG* ii² 7702 see Bergemann 1997, 218 no. 118; Kroll 1972, fig. 231. Kirchner thought all the names were inscribed by the same hand, but both on the photograph in Kroll and on the squeeze the name of Kalliades looks to me like a later addition. Dikast-tickets, Kroll no. 29 Polymnestos, class III (360s); no. 124b, Polykles, class VI; 125b, Polymnestos Ari— class VI (after c.350). *SEG* 36. 155. 73, [Ari] or [Poly]mnestos Arim[nestou] (Humphreys 2010*a*; it is doubtful whether there is room on the stone for [Poly]mnestos.) Arimnestos (I?), *Agora* XV 16. 3. Also Piraeus, ii² 7680, Eukoline daughter of Demetrios I Ph., mid 4th c.; she seems to have had two brothers, Sotion, whose son Demetrios II was commemorated after Demetrios of Phaleron's legislation by a kioniskos with a relief loutrophoros, ii² 7673, and Dorotheos, whose son Demetrios III was also commemorated by a kioniskos (ii² 7672); the latter was probably the father of Demostratos son of Demetrios Ph., perhaps the Demostratos Ph. who served as thesmothetes in 227/6 (ii² 1706. 29) and as general of the coast in 229 and another year (*SEG* 15. 111. 10; *SEG* 41. 248*a*; *IRB* 22–3).

⁸⁹ *APF* 8443; see ch. 7; n. 45 above. See also ch. 12 p. 413 for Autophilos Ph. and family, city residents (*IG* ii² 4327). On Diokles Ph., who also appears in Is. 8, see ch. 7 Case 3; Papazarkadas 2011, 313 no. 68 (son rents a house in Kydathenaion).

⁹⁰ See Humphreys 2010*a* on *SEG* 36. 155. Archenomos, *IG* ii² 1145. 2 (the suggested reference in l. 7 to the eponymous archon of 353/2 is quite uncertain). Apemantos I Ph., whose son Apemantos II served as (?) epilektos in the late 4th c., *SEG* 36. 155. 76, is probably the Apemantos (no demotic) who served as hieromnemon to Delphi in the archonships of Theolytos and Kaphis (328/7/6; *CID* II 71. 43–4, 72. 6, 94. 4, 96. 6). He may be related to Apemon Ph., one of the dockyard superintendants in 360/59 (*IG* ii² 1622. 520–3). The name Apemantos is also attested now in Eroiadai (*IG* xii 6. 262) and Kollytos (*SEG* 56. 262). Another demesman, Panaitos son of Pantakles, naopoios c.300 (*CID* II 119. 30) was crowned in Athens with others (names lost), *IG* ii² 3855.

COASTAL TRITTYS

Aixone

The deme site lay in the Glyphada area, although the epigraphic evidence mainly comes from re-use in churches, accumulation of material on the Louriotis estate at Trachones, and excavations of the early nineteenth century; the reported theatre may have been an illusion. However, the deme did have a theatre, in which the Rural Dionysia were celebrated, with dramatic performances, and decrees were set up; it also had a sanctuary of Herakles, Hebe, and Alkmene, and one of Demeter.⁹¹

The name Aixone means ‘Goatland’, and deme documents show that pastures on Hymettos were exploited. *IG* ii² 1196, passed when a Dor— was demarch (possibly the Dorotheos of ii² 1198, dated 326/5), directs the demarch to institute proceedings against debtors, and perhaps also a delinquent tax-farmer, in connection (in part at least) with the *ennomion*, probably pasture-dues paid by owners of flocks that grazed on deme land. The deme had also, at the end of 346/5, granted a lease for 40 years of a plot called the Phelleis—stony or rocky ground—at a rent of 152 dr. per year; the lessees, Autokles I son of Auteas I and his son Auteas II, were to grow new olive trees from the stumps of those currently

⁹¹ See Eliot 1962, 8, A. P. Matthaiou 1999*a*; and Goette 2004 on finds in this area, and the early excavations (1819) of Fauvel, Gropius, and Rottiers (cf. biographical notes in Bracken 1975; Beschi 1975; Callipolitis-Feytmans 1953 on Rottiers); Giannakopoulou-Konsolake 1990. The farm reported on Od. Glenou by Kouragios 2013, 70–1, should be in Aixone. The deme decrees *IG* ii² 1196–1198, 1200, and 1202 were all recorded at Trachones, but said to come from the area of the church of Ag. Nikolaos at Pirnari (*A to Z* 199 Γ 4), which is also the provenance of *SEG* 54. 214 (= *IG* ii² 1356+), and perhaps of ii² 1199 and 2492, said to have been excavated together, and 1201. The ‘theatre’ (*Polemon* 1, 1929, 163) was also supposed to be in this area; however, the choregic monument ii³ 4. 498, ascribed to Aixone by Papagiannopoulos-Palaios (1929*c*) seems to have been found at Ag. Nikolaos in Voula–Vouliagmeni (*A to Z* 206 D 3) and probably belongs to Halai, see below n. 131. On the Louriotis estate see also Geroulanos 1973 and ch. 23 n. 5. Giannopoulou-Konsolake 1990 contains a deme prosopography. The list of priests’ perquisites *SEG* 54. 214/57. 119/61. 141 (cf. Ackermann 2007, 2011; Scullion 2009; Parker 2010*a*) attests cults of the Eleusinian goddesses (in a thesmophorion? cf. *IG* ii³ 4. 229), Dionysos An[thios], a heroine, Paralos, and Archegetes (possibly father of Alkmene: Kearns 1989, 143). The *pentēkostyes* who sacrificed in the deme’s heroa have been taken to be subdivisions of the deme based on the organization of pre-Themistoklean galley crews (Steinhauer 2004) or on the pre-Kleisthenic army (Ackermann 2011); Parker 2010*a* suggested subdivisions of a *genos*. A connection with ships seems plausible, but since a 6th c. pentekontor was probably a bireme with (about) 50 oars per bank (Humphreys 1978, 300 n. 10), and a trireme was similarly organized ([Dem.] 50. 25), we do not have to imagine survivals from early times. Possibly the pentekostyes were subdivisions of the ‘sacred’ trireme *Paralos*, even though they do not restrict themselves to the cult of its eponymous hero; cf. perhaps sacrifice by subdivisions of warship crews in Hellenistic Kos, (*SEG* 50. 766. 5–9). In that case they would not be subdivisions of the deme; the Paraloi of *SEG* 46. 162 (= *IG* ii² 1254) and 46. 163 honour men from Cholleidai and Athmonon (ch. 18 n. 101). Those stones (or parts of them) were found in a wreck at Mahdia; the Paraloi were perhaps based in Piraeus even if their shrine was in Aixone.

on the property, which were to be cut down. These texts suggest an attempt by the deme to appropriate and exploit marginal (and in the case of the Phelleis, abandoned?) land as a source of revenue, an enterprise that seems to have had its problems.⁹² It seems possible that the unusual level of attendance at deme meetings (and acrimony) generated by the diapsephisis of 346/5 had prompted attention to other matters, and it had been reported that the Phelleis needed attention and (probably) was no longer bringing in rent. The plot seems to have been in a terraced area, since it was to be marked with two horoi on each of two sides; in addition to olives, it grew grain and vines.⁹³

As was normal, the lessees came from the deme elite; Auteas II, the son, served as choregos at the Rural Dionysia in 313/2. His father, Autokles I son of Auteas I, was probably a cousin (FBS?) of Autokles son of Timeas A., who was one of the treasurers of Athena in 350/49.⁹⁴ The demarch of the year was Demosthenes (who may have had a son Archedemos, buried at Rhamnous in the third century)⁹⁵ and the deme also had two (or more) treasurers. A rider to the decree, proposed by Eteokles II son of Skaon, deals with the procedure for cutting down the old olive trees on the plot and selling the wood: a commission of three men, Eteokles himself with Nauson and Hagnotheos, is appointed to deal with this.

Eteokles' father Skaon, son of Eteokles I, served as diaitetes (?) c.370, *IG* ii³ 4. 24; Skaon's father may be the Eteokles against whom a lost speech of Lysias was directed. Since the name Eteokles is attested earlier in Aixone than in Aithalidai, and in a family with a taste for heroic names, it is possible that the mother of Eteokles I son of Chremonides I of Aithalidai was a daughter of Eteokles II of

⁹² ii² 1196, see Whitehead 1982 for date; cut by same hand as 1198, Tracy 1995 (cutter of ii² 354); Papazarkadas 2007*a*, *SEG* 57. 120. There seem to be two categories of debtors (l. 6–8), (1) a group of non-payers who in some cases have guaranteed their obligations with property that turned out to be subject to other claims (14–15), who may be lessees of deme land, and (2) the man who has not paid the price of the *enno[m]ion*, who I take to be either a flock-owner who has leased pasture-rights from the deme or a tax-farmer who has undertaken to collect dues from shepherds (B 8–11); cf. Chandezon 2003, 22–4. *IG* ii² 2492 (with Papazarkadas 2007*a* = *SEG* 57. 120, cf. Papazarkadas 2011) end of 346/5 (the year of the diapsephisis) or beginning of 345/4: Behrend 1970 no. 25, *SEG* 24. 202; Moreno 2007, 51–3, 64–5. On *phelleus* see Krasilnikoff 2008 with *BE* 2009, 173; Krasilnikoff 2010.

⁹³ Cf. the complaint of Euxitheos, Dem. 57. 9, that his opponent Euboulides had wasted time in the meeting at which the diapsephisis vote was held, making speeches on other topics (ch. 26 n. 15). Horoi, ii² 2492. 23–4; this disproves Krasilnikoff's view (2010) that terraced land was called *eschatia*, not *phelleus*. Cf. ch. 22 n. 52 on the use of horoi to mark deme territory. If provisions for exploiting the *phelleus* were 'the final stage of a long process of land improvement' (Papazarkadas 2011, 127) that does not preclude some interruptions in the process.

⁹⁴ Auteas II, *SEG* 36. 186, arch. Theophrastos; on the arguments for attributing the text to 313/2 rather than 340/39 see below, n. 114 (Lawton 1995, no. 154 considers the style of the relief closer to the later date).

⁹⁵ *SEMA* 813, kioniskos, Archedemos son of Demosthenes of Aixone (possibly a later descendant).

Aixone.⁹⁶ Nauson's sons Kallisthenes and Anticharmos appear in 320/19 as archon and hieropoios for the festival of Hebe; a son of Antichar[mos?] may have been associated with the syndikoi honoured by the deme *c.*325.⁹⁷

Syndikoi were to be appointed according to the provisions of *IG* ii² 1196 to assist the demarch in taking delinquent debtors to court, if they failed either to pay up or to take advantage of the decree's offer of a hearing at a deme meeting. *IG* ii² 1197 perhaps honours syndikoi who served on this occasion; if so, the syndikoi who served with Laches son of Melanopos, whose honours were cited as a precedent, must have served earlier, perhaps at appeal cases associated with the diapsephsis of 346/5.⁹⁸

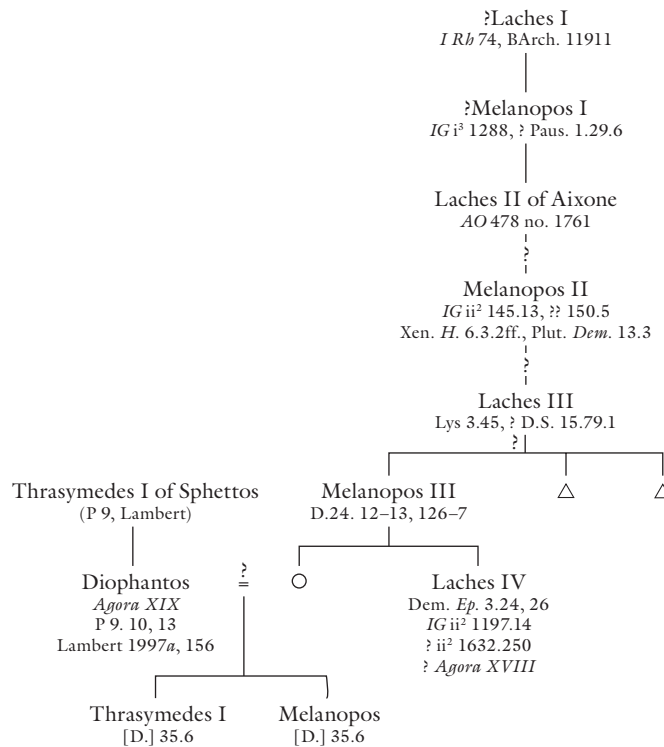
This Laches (IV) belonged to a family with a long tradition of prominence in the city (Table 29.16).⁹⁹ Laches II served as general in various years between 427 and 418, when he died in action at the battle of Mantinea. Melanopos II was

⁹⁶ Skaon, *IG* ii³ 4. 24. Lambert 2004*b*, n. 5; Eteokles I (?) Lys. F XLVI Thalheim 1913, LI Carey 2007; an earlier Eteokles, *kalos* in the last quarter of the 6th c. (BArch 201566, Stephanes 1988 no. 914a), may also belong to the Aixone family (for the family in Aithalidai see ch. 26 n. 66; the Eteokles who freed a slave living in Kollytos in the 320s, *IG* ii² 1553. 2–3, the latest stele in the series, presumably belonged to Aithalidai, unless he was the Eteokles who perhaps served as ephebe in III Pandionis in 333/2/1 (*IG* ii³ 4. 334. 16; see however Appendix 1 on the character of this list).

⁹⁷ Kallisthenes and Anticharmos, *IG* ii² 1199. 25–6, 8–9; —tes Antich[a —], 1197. 7 (*SEG* 25. 144, *c.*330; the name Antichares is also attested in the deme at this period, ii² 5407).

⁹⁸ *IG* ii² 1196. 17–19; 1197. The latter text is dated *c.*330 by Kirchner, who may have been influenced by the appearance of one (actually two) of the honorands in ii² 1927 (which he regarded as a list of diaitetai of *c.*325). The reference in ll. 14–15 to restriction of honours by law might, however, suggest a later date (see Humphreys 2010*a* for the interpretation of ii² 1927 as a list of kleruchs, ? mid 4th c.). In this case Laches and his colleagues may have served on the board for which ii² 1196 makes provision. Laches was condemned for financial corruption in a state office in 331 (Dem. *Ep.* 3. 24, 26; Clavaud 1987); although he got off, at Alexander's request, his service to the deme should probably have predated this affair (his name should not be read in *Hesp.* 1947, 152 no. 144, see *Agora XVIII* V 644). It is also possible that the proceedings resulting from ii² 1196 lasted more than one year and involved more than one panel of syndikoi.

⁹⁹ Laches IV may be the syntrierarch of *IG* ii² 1632. 250 (322), *APF* p. 339, but Hekale is also a possibility (*APF* 7564). There is now a herm of the second half of the 6th c. at Rhamnous dedicated by a Laches, *IRB* 74; cf. *SEG* 41. 30, Laches on a vase of the early 5th c., BArch 11911. Laches I, *LGN* 2. Melanopos I: Pausanias (1. 29. 6) saw a monument in the Kerameikos commemorating two horsemen, Melanopos and Makartatos, who died in a battle at Tanagra, against Lakedaimonians and Boiotians. It was assumed that this was the battle of 458 until the discovery of *IG* i³ 1288, a stele fragment of *c.*410 with an epigram commemorating a Melanopos and another man, who died in battle (*CEG* 90 + II p. 301; Clairmont 1983 I, 140–1, no. 21e). There are three possibilities: (1) i³ 1288 is the stele seen by Pausanias (or his source; see Knoepfler 1996 on Pausanias' methods), and commemorated men who died in an otherwise unattested battle *c.*410; (2) this is not Pausanias' monument, we do not know the name of the second man whom it commemorated, nor where the two men died, and the Melanopos named is unlikely to be the father of Laches II; (3) this is not Pausanias' monument, but was set up (after 411?) by Melanopos II to commemorate his father Laches II and his grandfather Melanopos I, possibly near an earlier monument commemorating the latter (cf. Clairmont). In favour of (1) it must be admitted that an individual monument of the type described by Pausanias would be surprising in 458, and that the name Melanopos is not uncommon.



Notes: The account in D. 24. 126–7 makes it very unlikely that the Melanopos of this text was son of Laches II; however, there seems to be no reason why the taxiarch of 394/3 (Lys. 3. 45) should not be the general of 364/3 (D. S.), whose patronymic is unknown.

TABLE 29.16. Aixone: Laches

appointed ambassador to Sparta in 372/1; either he or Melanopos III served as councillor in (?) 364/3. Diophantos of Sphettos was his *kêdestês*, probably son-in-law, since one of Diophantos' sons was called Melanopos.¹⁰⁰ Laches IV, the syndikos, who was probably also the Laches who (?) made a dedication *c.*330 (IG ii² 2400), was the son of Melanopos III. Laches III served as taxiarch in 394/3, and probably as general in 364/3. The rhetor Melanopos (III), an opponent of Demosthenes, was probably one of his sons, and was probably also the Melanopos who went as ambassador to Mausolos in 355.¹⁰¹

The identifiable (?) syndikoi honoured in IG ii² 1197 were: (1) a son of the current demarch Philotheros (Philotheros was probably buried in the deme with his wife Chairippe) and (2) [Euxen?]ides son of Ka[llippos], whose father may have died in Sicily *c.*350 (see immediately below), and who may appear as

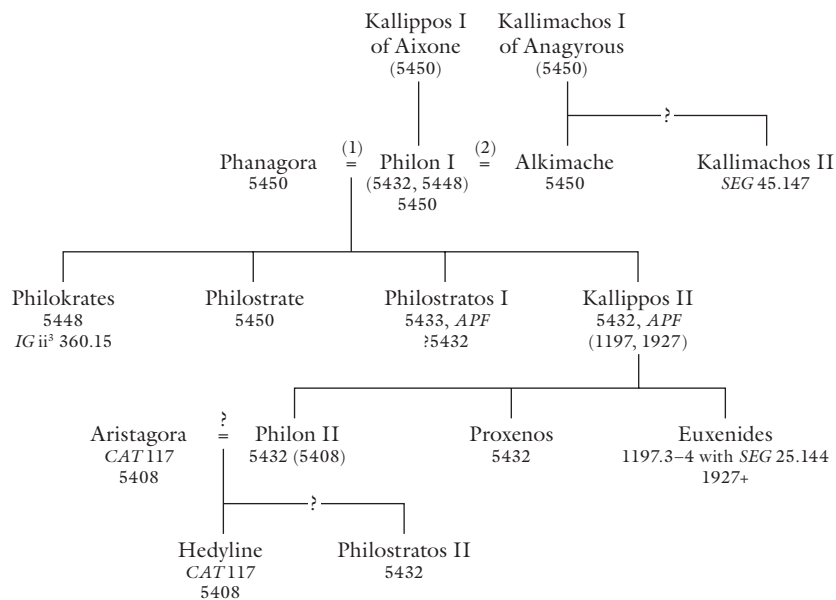
¹⁰⁰ Harp. s.v. *Melanopos*, ch. 27 at n. 36. Cf. [Dem.] 35. 6 (*c.*350).

¹⁰¹ LGPN has a different reconstruction of the family. It is fairly clear from Dem. 24. 127 that the rhetor Melanopos was not the son of the general Laches II; §§ 126–7 also show that the rhetor had *adelphoi*. Cf. also Ar. *Rhet.* 1374b; Plut. *Dem.* 13.

[Eu]xeni[des] | [Kalli]ppo[u] on *IG* ii² 1927. 48–9. Among their associates was Leophilos son of [Eud]ikos, also named on ii² 1927; other associates (*synako[louthountes?*) were the son of Antich[armos] or [-ares], discussed above at n. 97, and the son of a Kallias, possibly the priest of the Herakleidai named in *IG* ii² 1199. 24.¹⁰²

Kallippos' family (see Table 29.17) is known from a group of tombstones found in Piraeus (Marchiandi 2007). Kallippos (II) and his brother Philostratos (sons of Philon I) left Athens for Sicily with Dion in 357, at a time when Kallippos was perhaps in political difficulties as a result of his cooperation with Timomachos of Acharnai while serving as trierarch in 361/0. Dion had stayed, while in Attika, at Kallippos' house, which was perhaps in Piraeus rather than in the city itself.¹⁰³ Kallippos died in Sicily; after his death one or more of his sons may have returned to Athens and set up a stele to commemorate him (*IG* ii² 5432). The (assumed) family peribolos would also have held (1) an anthe-mion stele set up c.390–365 to honour Phanagora, probably the mother of Kallippos and his siblings, to which the names of her (?) daughter Philostrate daughter of Philon A., her husband Philon I son of Kallippos (I), and Alkimache daughter of Kallimachos of

TABLE 29.17.
Aixone: Kallippos
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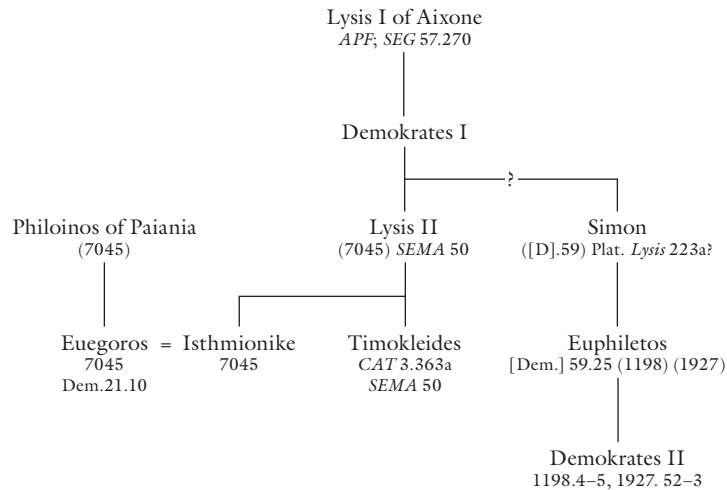


¹⁰² Philotheros and Chairippe, *IG* ii² 13042/3 = *CAT* 2. 816, relief stele representing a seated woman with a child and a standing young man, found at Glyphada; possibly Chairippe died before her husband. Euxenides, ii² 1927. 48–9; Leophilos, 50–1; the third representative of Aixone on this list, Demokrates son of Euphiletos (52–3), is named as a choregos in 326/5 on ii² 1198. 4–5.

¹⁰³ This is suggested by the provenance of the tombstones, but Plut. *Dion* 17. 2 says 'Athens'. For another reference to Aixoneans living in Piraeus (perhaps temporarily), note Xen. *Hell.* 2. 4. 26, where cavalry of the oligarchs in the city in 403 attacked Aixoneans who were going out to their fields to collect food. The Philon who was general in (?) the 360s has been thought to be Kallippos' father, but the name is very common.

Anagyrus, perhaps the second wife of Philon I, were added; (2) a stele (known only from a copy by Ross) naming Kallippos II, his sons Proxenos and Philon II, and his brother or grandson (SS) Philostratos son of Philon; (3) a painted stele of the second half of the fourth century naming an Aristagora with Hedyline daughter of Philon (II?) of Aixone, *IG* ii² 5408, *CAT* 117, Posamentir 2006 no. 131, Piraeus Museum 1367 (probably mother and daughter). Philokrates son of Philon (I?) was commemorated in the deme by a monument (known only from a report by Milchhöfer) naming him with perhaps the name of a sibling (— [Phil?]onos) added. Possibly he stayed in the deme when his brothers left Attika.

IG ii² 1198, a deme decree dated 326/5, honours two choregoi, who receive gold crowns and 10 dr. for sacrifice;¹⁰⁴ the decree is to be set up in the deme theatre. The proposer was Philoktemon son of Chremes, whose father held the post of eponymous archon of the city in this year, evidently a source of some pride for his family; another son, Philaios, proposed the deme decree ii² 1199 in (?) 320/19, and Philoktemon also proposed ii² 1200 in 317/6. One of the choregoi was Demokrates II son of Euphiletos, who appears on ii² 1927 (52–3), perhaps as a kleruch in ? mid-century. His name (though a common one) may imply a connection with the family of Lysis II son of Demokrates I, eponym of



Notes. *APF* and *LGP*N Demokrates 24 report that Demokrates II was named on Ziebarth 1934 no. 1, but there is no trace of him in Jordan and Curbera 2008 (*SEG* 58. 265).

TABLE 29.18. Aixone: Lysis *APF* 9574

¹⁰⁴ The value of the crowns is unclear; Kirchner read Π†††//, i.e. 8+ dr., Tracy 1995 reads:[A]Y: and interprets this as 1400 dr. Neither sum is at all probable; the usual sum is 500 dr. (cf. ii² 1200. 9; Takeuchi 2013, 89–90); 10 dr. would buy a sheep or, perhaps more probably, a goat. Another deme decree of (?) the 320s, *SEG* 46. 154. Leaios, the father of one of the honorands, is attested as a (??) councillor in mid-century, *Agora* XV 16.

Plato's dialogue *Lysis* (see Table 29.18). Euphiletos, father of Demokrates II, may be the Euphiletos son of Simon A. who testified for Apollodoros of Acharnai in the late 340s about the visit of Neaira and Nikarete to the Panathenaia of 378/7. Lysis I, the first known member of the family, may be the *kalos* Lysis of the 470s–460s; his victories are perhaps listed on *SEG* 57. 270. His son Demokrates I, evidently a well-known man, may be the Demokrates known in the 430s as a lover of Alkibiades. His son Lysis II should have been born c.425. Lysis II had a younger brother (perhaps the Simon whose son was called Euphiletos), a son called Timokleides, commemorated with him on a loutrophoros of c.350 from the area of Moschato (ancient Xypete), and a daughter, Isthmionike, who married Euegoros son of Philoinos of Paiania and was commemorated with her husband on a rosette stele of the middle of the fourth century found in the Dipylon area.¹⁰⁵

The other choregos honoured in 326/5 was Hegesias II son of Lysistratos. Nakion daughter of Hegesias I, who married within the deme and was commemorated before mid-century with her husband Chairion son of Mikylion A., who lived to be ninety, and their daughter Euxitheia, was probably the choregos' aunt (FZ).¹⁰⁶

The date of the deme decree *IG* ii² 1199 is controversial, but Whitehead's argument that the Neaichmos currently in office is the eponymous archon of 320/19 is strengthened by the possible appearance of this rare name in a list of epheboi from Halai Aixonides of 333/2/1.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ At some date three names were added to *IG* ii² 7045, the stele of Euegoros and Isthmionike (Bergemann 1997, 228 no. 10), those of Satyra daughter of Aischron of Koile, wife of Selon, Demophile daughter of Amphikedes of Aphidnai, and Pamphilos son of Melesippos of Xypete. Satyra's husband was probably Selon II of Xypete, commemorated on ii² 6940 (no provenance; names said to be all in one hand) with his father Philyllos son of Selon I and with Aristokl[es?] son of —phon (*AEE* 905 in l. 8 reads . . . ὄντ[ος]; I could see nothing on the squeeze). ii² 12597, a rosette stele with a relief of a myrtle crown below the rosettes, found at Aixone, commemorated —kles son of Selon; it may be the same stone as ii² 11159, reported from Vari, on which Pittakes read *Diokles Silonos*. Aristokles son of Kalliphon A. was one of the hieropoioi honoured in the deme decree ii² 1199 in (?) 320/19. On Lysis see chs. 11 n. 40, 13 n. 23, 20 n. 89; D. Schmidt 1999; *SEG* 61. 199.

¹⁰⁶ *IG* ii² 5452 = *CAT* 3. 453a, *CEG* 531, from Piraeus. Chairion is represented with a book-roll in his hand, standing by a chest containing other rolls, so he was perhaps an author (a philosopher, since he practised sophrosyne?). Nakion is represented as a woman in her prime, Euxitheia as a young woman, which can hardly be realistic if the stone commemorates Chairion, unless Nakion was his second wife or his sophrosyne led him to marry extremely late. On references to old age on tomb monuments see Humphreys 1983a/1993, 114; M. Meyer 1989b. It is possible that the Mikylion named on a list of ships' crews, *IG* i³ 1032. 239, was Chairion's father.

¹⁰⁷ Whitehead 1982; *IEleus* 86. 65, N[e]aich[m]os son of Hierophon (cf. *SEG* 53. 147, 57. 121). *LGP*N attributes the Neaichmos of ii² 1199 to Aixone and dates the decree 325/4. On the view taken here, *LGP*N's Neaichmos 1, 2, and 3 are all one person. The phrase 'the demarch in office after Neaichmos' in 1199. 15–16 (*ton dēmarchon ton met[a Neaichmon archonta*) is elliptical but would have been perfectly comprehensible at the time. The decree was presumably passed just after the festival of

The proposer, as already noted, was Philaios son of Chremes, brother of the proposer of ii² 1198. The decree praises the four hieropoioi of the sanctuary of Hebe for taking care of the sacrifices to Hebe and the other gods, and for presenting their accounts and passing scrutiny; a second decree on the same stone praises two sophronistai and a herald for their philotimia concerning the all-night festival (*panmychis*), and commends the priest of the Herakleidai, the priestess of Hebe and Alkmene, and the archon (of the festival?). All are to receive olive crowns, and the decrees (evidently passed on the same occasion and apparently proposed by the same man) are to be set up in the sanctuary of Hebe. If these decrees were indeed passed in 320/19, they belong to a year in which the ephebate was not functioning; the deme's sophronistai, a title associated with the ephebate, had perhaps taken it upon themselves to continue a programme that had been developed in the Lykourgan period, despite the changed circumstances.¹⁰⁸

The hieropoioi were: (1) Anticharmos son of Nauson, brother of the festival archon Kallisthenes and son of the Nauson who served on a deme committee in 345; (2) Nearchos son of Chairigenes, whose father is perhaps attested as councillor in the early fourth century; (3) Theodotos son of Aischron, ephebe in 334/3/2, whose father was one of the dockyard superintendents in 362/1, and paid a debt arising from this service in the late 340s; (4) Aristokles son of Kalliphon, whose father Kalliphon and (?) uncle (FB) Aristokleides were members of a commission (two per tribe) concerned with *dikaïosynê* on Imbros in (?) 352/1.¹⁰⁹

The sophronistai were apparently appointed by the deme. Kimon is otherwise unknown. Metalexis had a son, E— [Metal]exidos, who had been ephebe in 332/1/0; their colleague Pythodoros son of Pytheas may be the Pythodoros A.

Hebe, at a date when the hieropoioi for the festival had presented their accounts, but the demarch for the coming year had not yet been elected.

¹⁰⁸ If the ephebate functioned at all during the period 322–307 it must have been much curtailed in numbers and apparently was not given the prominence it had had during the Lykourgan period; we have no ephebic monuments certainly attributable to these years. See chs. 27 n. 42, 30 n. 75, on IG ii² 1187. Polyperchon's proclamation of freedom for the Greek cities was not made until autumn 319/8, and it is doubtful whether the festival of Hebe in Aixone could have been influenced even by the death of Antipatros in the summer of 319 (Erchia and Thorikos both sacrificed to the Herakleidai in Elaphebolion). Matthaïou 1999, 144–6, questionably restored [*sôphronistai*] in an early 4th c. text from Aixone (SEG 46. 149); Makres 2003, following him, suggests that the Aixone sophronistai were pre-Lykourgan, which I doubt (cf. Humphreys 2004, 192 n. 160).

¹⁰⁹ Anticharmos: see also n. 97 above. [Ch]airigenes, *Agora* XV 16. 11 (perhaps not council, P. J. Rhodes 1980); *LGN* Nearchos 3–4 perhaps belong to Lakiadai, cf. ii² 6624. Theodotos: ii² 1156 = Reinmuth 1971 no. 2, R/O 89. 18; Aischron ii² 1622. 502. Kalliphon and Aristokleides, IG xii 8. 63. 6–8 (if the spaces are correctly recorded, it is necessary to assume haplography, *ep' Aristodemou archontos <teph>*). Despite Cargill's doubts (1995, 101–2) they were perhaps members of a kleruchs' council, for which IG xii 6. 262 provides some parallel. See also n. 105 above on Aristokles son of Kalliphon.

whose sons Thrasyllus and Kriton supplied Herakleides Pontikos with an anecdote about pleasure. Thrasyllus' delusions of grandeur—he thought that every ship he saw entering Piraeus belonged to him—seem to imply residence in the port, and shipping interests; Kriton's journey to Sicily was perhaps a trading voyage.¹¹⁰

The herald Charikles is otherwise unknown. The priest of the Herakleidai, Kallias, might be K. son of Deinokrates (II?), ephebe in 333/2/1, or the Kallias who served as (?) epilektos later in the century, but is more likely to be an older man. Deinokrates I son of Kalliades was buried in the Acharnai area, his son Deinokrates II at Thria, both in mid-century. Kallias son of Kalliades, perhaps the brother of Deinokrates I, was buried 'on the road to Aixone'. The son of a Kallias who assisted the (?) syndikoi of ii² 1197. 8 might be the priest's son; so possibly might Euxenos son of Kallias, secretary to the council in 281/0.¹¹¹

IG ii² 1200, proposed by Philoktemon son of Chremes (who had proposed ii² 1198 in 326/5) was passed in 317/6, probably just after the Rural Dionysia. Each of the two choregoi of the year—Leontios son of Dion and Glaukon (II) son of Kallikrates—is to receive a gold crown of 500 dr. This probably implies that they had covered out of their own resources some of the expenses for which the deme was responsible. Leontios may have been the brother of Diodoros son of Dion, commemorated by an anthemion stele dated c.340–317, found on the road to Kephisia; Glaukon's father Kallikrates I proposed the tribal decree honouring the ephebes of 334/3/2, and the Kallikrates son of Glaukon honoured by the deme in (?) 313/2 (see below at n. 115) may be the choregos' son.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ ii² 1199. 19–20 reads *Mega* vvvv|*léxin* (?); the correct reading *Meta* was reported by Koumanoudes in *REG* 73, 1960, 92 (cf. Traill 1986, 9). Kimon may have been related to Kimortion A., named on a curse tablet (Wünsch 1897, 100b 11; dated c.360–330 by Wünsch, 3rd c. by *LGPN*; Philokles of Lamprai, b 10–11, may appear also on ii² 2703 = Finley 1952 no. 47, dated 4th–3rd c.). E— son of [Meta]lexis, *SEG* 36. 155. 35. Thrasyllus and Kriton sons of Pythodoros A. (born c.380?), Wehrli 1953 (*Schule des Aristoteles* vii, Herakleides) F 56, Schütrumpf 2008 no. 40 = Athen. XII 554 e (cf. also Bosworth 1994).

¹¹¹ Kallias is a very common name and identifications are problematic. The priesthood was perhaps the *genos* priesthood referred to in Plat. *Lysis* 205c–d, and the absence of a patronymic for the priest—certainly not the only Kallias in the deme at this time—may suggest that it was still a *genos* appointment and held for life. This does not of course imply that Kallias was related to Lysis (identifications are discussed in *APF* 9574). Kallias son of Deinokrates, IG ii³ 4. 337 col. II 27; Deinokrates I, ii² 5414, Deinokrates II 5413, Kallias son of Kalliades 5430 (undated, known only from Ross); cf. also *CAT* 2. 349c = *SEMA* 726, from Glyphada (350s?), Sostrate daughter of Amphi[ke?]des of [Aix?]one with Kalliades son of Deinias (*Deinios* *CAT*) of [Aix?]one or Oa, see ch. 25 n. 39 (*CAT* attributes Amphikedes and Sostrate to Oinoe); Apollodoros son of Kalliades, deme epimeletes (?) in the 320s (*SEG* 46. 154); Kallias, *SEG* 36. 155. 28 with Humphreys 2010a (it is not entirely certain that this part of the list belongs to Aixone).

¹¹² The recipient of a gold crown was expected to dedicate it in an appropriate sanctuary (D. M. Lewis 1988, cf. P. Wilson 2010a, 48), which meant that the money expended by the deme on crowns might have been available for some purposes at a later date (in the city, old gold and silver dedications were eventually melted down to make ritual vessels; it is doubtful, however, whether the metal could have been

IG ii² 1201 is a decree passed by Aixone to honour Demetrios (I) of Phaleron. The proposer, [Aristok]rates son of Aristophanes, was honoured in 313/2 with Kallikrates II son of Glaukon. The decree refers to the peace negotiated in 317 by Demetrios and to other benefactions, possibly including Demetrios' legislation (ll. 11–13). Interpretation is affected by the date to which the decree is assigned. If it belongs to the period between Demetrios' assumption of power in 317 and Antigonos' proclamation of freedom for the Greeks in (?) 315, it would be an example of Athenian adulation of the 'philosopher-king'; a feeling that Demetrios' rule was preferable to the experiences of 322–317 may have persisted for the first two years, and Kassander's decision to rebuild Thebes in (?) 315 produced a positive reaction in Athens. On the other hand, between Antigonos' proclamation and the peace agreement made with him by Demetrios of Phaleron in winter 313/2, enthusiasm may have been aroused by the dispatch of twenty Athenian ships to Lemnos in (?) autumn 313, or possibly by an attempt to recover Samos. This would put ii² 1201 in the same year as ii² 1202 and *SEG* 36. 186.¹¹³

ii² 1202 is dated by the eponymous archon Theophrastos which puts it either in 340/39 or in 313/2; prosopography favours the later date.¹¹⁴ The decree was passed at the (or an) *agora kyria* of the deme, at the end of the year (crowns were to be funded out of the deme's surplus for the year); this was perhaps the meeting at which euthynai were conducted, and possibly also the assembly at which new candidates for admission were scrutinized. Crowns of 500 dr. each are awarded to two men who had evidently been concerned with the Rural Dionysia, since the text is headed by a relief showing Papposilenos, dressed in a goatskin, passing a kantharos of wine across an altar to Dionysos, who holds a

used for making new crowns, even in a smaller organization); even so, funds were taken out of circulation for some time, and it seems unlikely that a deme could afford this unless some of the year's budget had not been spent. Diodoros son of Dion, ii² 5418; Kallikrates I, ii² 1156. 26 (Reinmuth 1971 no. 2, R/O 89); Kallikrates II, ii² 1202). Gold crowns awarded to two or more officials (*epimeletai*?) in the 320s, *SEG* 46. 154.

¹¹³ In 1201. 11 one should perhaps read *nomothetês* or *stratêgos* (Habicht 1995, 64 n. 48), rather than Wilhelm's *epimelêtês*, which is one letter too long (*epistatês* and *prostatês* are also possible. See however Kirchner's note ad loc. Tracy 1995, 43–6 and A. J. Bayliss 2011, 78–9 accept *epimelêtês*). On the events of these years see Billows 1990; Habicht, op. cit. 70–73; Wheatley 1998; Lambert 2000c on *IG* ii² 450; Paschidis 2008, 507–9. Thymochares of Sphettos was one of those who favoured assisting Kassander, see ii³ 985. 9–18 (the question of the date of honours awarded to Demetrios of Phaleron arises also in the case of Sphettos, ch. 27 n. 23; cf. ch. 31 n. 11). Gauthier 1979 dates our text in 317. See also n. 117 below.

¹¹⁴ M. Meyer 1989a, A 140, and Lawton 1995, no. 155 also favour the later date, but see *BE* 2011, 240. *SEG* 36. 186 (Meyer A 141, Lawton no. 154; cf. P. Wilson 2000; 2010, 47), also dated in Theophrastos' archonship, is similar in style but not by the same carver. Tracy 1995, 99–100, attributes ii² 1202 to the cutter of *IG* ii² 244, who he thinks did not work after c.320, and therefore prefers the earlier date; however, some of his cutters have a longer working life than the c.28 years that would result from dating *IG* ii² 1202 in 313/2, and there are arguments for dating ii³ 485 in 315/4 (see however Lambert 2007a, no. 99, suggesting the Lamian War; Walbank 1997 on Tracy's methods).

scroll; however, the honorands are not choregoi, since the choregoi of the same year were honoured in another decree (*SEG* 36. 186), and received crowns of only 100 dr. The honorands of ii² 1202 are not designated as holding any official position, and may have stepped in to avert a financial crisis. One was Kallikrates (II) son of Glaukon, whose father had served as choregos in 326/5 (ii² 1200), and the other Aristokrates son of Aristophanes, who proposed the decree in honour of Demetrios of Phaleron (1201), possibly in this year.¹¹⁵

ii² 1202 and *SEG* 36.186 were both proposed by the same man, Glaukides II son of Sosippos. His father Sosippos son of Glaukides I was commemorated by an anthemion stele found in the deme; his brother Smikythos served in the cavalry on Salamis c.320.¹¹⁶ The choregoi honoured in this decree are Auteas son of Autokles, the son of the tenant to whom the lease ii² 2492 was awarded in 345, and Philoxenides son of Philippos. The latter's father was probably the Philippos A. who made a loan of a talent (6000 dr.) secured on an oikia and stone-working establishment in the Dipylon area, and whose daughter Kallistomache married Lykophron III of Boutadai, son of the statesman Lykourgos (Table 4.6). This affinal link should probably place Philoxenides in the camp of those who were eager to free Athens from Macedonian domination, which may support the view that there had been something of a reconciliation in the early part of 313/2 between this group and the supporters of Demetrios of Phaleron.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ On the dates of deme meetings see ch. 22 n. 109. M. Meyer (1989*a*, A 140) suggests that Papposilenos' goatskin is an allusion to the name of the deme. Whitehead 1986*a*, followed by P. Wilson 2010*a*, 47, suggested that the honorands were the losing choregoi (all the evidence seems to be against this); Steinhauer 1992 that they were choregoi at the City Dionysia. They do not seem to be the deme's tamiai (cf. ll. 14, 20), and there does not seem to be any way of connecting them with the obligation to present accounts and dedicate a phiale attested for Acharnai in 315/4 (*SEG* 43. 26); if they had done this, why should the decree not say so? For honours to benefactors who rescue a deme from a financial crisis see *SEG* 2. 7 (ch. 26 n. 21). Giannakopoulou-Konsolake 1990, 28 no. 26 publishes a stele from the Aixone area found in 1972 commemorating an Aristokrates who might just possibly be the grandfather (FF?) of the honorand (Piraeus Museum 3629 = *SEMA* 1580, [Ari]stokrates/[Aristoph]an[ous], Odos Metaxa 32).

¹¹⁶ Sosippos, *SEMA* 52, Hildebrandt 2006 no. 91 (cf. Giannakopoulou-Konsolake 1990, 125 no. 22), found about 200 m south of the church of Ag. Nikolaos at Pirnari; Smikythos, *IG* ii³ 4. 323. 18. Either Sosippos or Philippos could be the Aixone trierarch of *IG* ii² 1604. 87 (the names Thrasippos and Lysippos are also attested in the deme).

¹¹⁷ Philippos' loan, ii² 2752 = Finley 1952, no. 87; Kallistomache, ch. 20 n. 132 (*APF* 9251). Her marriage is likely to have taken place after Lykourgos' death (Lykophron's younger brother Habron was ephebe c.330), and should therefore imply a distinct commitment on her father's part to 'Lykourgan' patriotism, including support for democracy and, no doubt, the Lamian War. This must have been one of the wealthiest families in the deme, and while it is conceivable that Philippos was dead by 317 and his son took a different line, one should perhaps hesitate before ascribing ii² 1201 to mindless adulation of Demetrios of Phaleron (n. 113). Ischyrias A. (*APF* 7730), who served as councillor in 306/5, proposing one or two decrees concerning sacred funds (ii² 1492. 108, 114), and may have been trierarch in the following year, seems to be another 'Lykourgan' in Aixone.

Like other demes, Aixone contained prominent families that appear in the records of the city but not in those of the deme. Proteas son of Epikles held office as general in several years in the period c.435–430, before the emergence of Laches; his daughter Rhode perhaps married a fellow-tribesman (a demesman of Melite), and was buried north of Patesia, between Athens and Acharnai.¹¹⁸ Chabrias (son of Ktesippos I?) must have been one of the deme's most conspicuous members in the fourth century. He was already elected general for 390/89, and held the office repeatedly thereafter until 357/6, by which time he would have been over sixty; he died on active service in that year. He had a town house; the party he gave at Cape Kolias to celebrate his victory at Naxos in 374 was perhaps held in the sanctuary of Aphrodite rather than on a private estate. His son Ktesippos may have served as trierarch before 334, and won a victory as choregos with a boys' choir, perhaps in the 320s; he was attacked by comic poets as effeminate, greedy, and extravagant.¹¹⁹

Chares A. (*APF* 15294) was syntrierarch in (?) the 340s (*IG* ii² 1622. 751) and perhaps trierarch again later (*IG* ii³ 418, with Lambert 2007*a* no. 77); he performed the eutaxia liturgy c.330, *IG* ii³ 550; Lambert 2001, 55 n. 27, suggests that his patronymic was *Ad[ei]stou*.

Aixoneans may figure prominently in the curse tablet Wunsch 1897, 30, which begins with the names of seven men who may well be citizens, two of whom might belong to Aixone, continues with references to *kapéloi*, probably tavern-keepers, and concludes with a woman (?) from A. and the son of Eupolis A. The father is presumably Eupolis son of Pronapes A., attested as trierarch before 334; his daughter Demainete, although she seems to have married a demesman of Phegaia, was buried in Aixone. This Eupolis was a grandson (DS) of Eupolis of Leukonoion, one of whose daughters married a Pronapes, perhaps the [Prona?]pes son of —mos A. of whose tombstone, set up in the deme, we have a fragment.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ *AO* s.v.; Rhode, *IG* i² 1077 (not in i³), *EAA* 862, Peek 1942, 100 no. 175 (from Plakakia, 'beyond Patessia': in modern Nea Chalkedon?). Alternatively, it may have been Proteas who married into Melite. The family of Leon and Kichesias A. (Habicht 1982*a*, 194–7) became very prominent from the 3rd c. on but is not so far attested earlier.

¹¹⁹ *APF* 15086. The restoration of [Kte]sippos (Chabrias' father?) in ii² 1604. 87 as trierarch in 377/6 seems to me unwarranted. It is not entirely certain that Chabrias' father was called Ktesippos, since many of the stones in the collection to which *IG* xiv 1222 belongs are clearly post-classical (Visconti 1782, 13–14), and the patronymic may have been deduced from the name of the general's son Ktesippos; in any case the general's father would have been over 70 by 377/6, while his son Ktesippos (II?) was not yet 18 in 355 (Dem. 20. 82). Chabrias' town house, Hyp. F 137, cf. LSJ s.v. *amphodon*. Cape Kolias was in Halimous; on the cult of Aphrodite see R. Parker 1996, 304–5 and ch. 20 n. 45. Ktesikles (II?), see *APF* loc. cit. Since Iphikrates died between 354 and 350, and the story of the cheeky youngster who asked him what kind of soldier he was should refer to his early commands over peltasts, Plutarch's attribution of the anecdote (*Mor.* 440b) to a Kallias son of Chabrias can hardly be historically accurate. The story circulated in various versions (cf. *Mor.* 187b) and is perhaps hardly worth emending; Schwartz's *ton Chabriou tamian* is not implausible.

¹²⁰ Curse tablet, see also Wilhelm 1904, 111, and ch. 14 pp. 471–2 on upper- and underclass names in such texts. The names Aristokles, Poseidippos, and Lysistratos (ll. 4–6) are all attested in A. (Poseidippos not until c.200); l. 12 ... *a Aixon[éthen?]*, followed by another name? l. 13 [Eup]olios Aixoneus. This section of the text is however very faintly written. Eupolis, *APF* 1395; his daughter Demainete, *SEMA*

We now know that Diphilos son of Nausichares A. served as ephebe in 333/2/1, which means that he can hardly be the demesman of Aixone attested as general in Samos *c.*326. He belonged to a family whose grave monuments were set up in the city area, with the exception of one relief lekythos. The lekythos *IG* ii² 6166, from the Dipylon area, represented Diphilos' parents, Diphile daughter of Timokleides of Euonymon and Nausichares II son of Nausikrates A., one of whom seems to have died shortly after Diphilos' birth. A large stele from the city area, known only from early copies (ii² 5440), commemorated Nausikrates son of Nausichares I, presumably the father of Nausichares II, while a lekythos recorded at Chasani, set up for —on son of Nausikrates (ii² 12235), may in view of its provenance have commemorated an uncle (FB) of Diphilos, brother of Nausichares II.¹²¹

Polykrates II son of Phantias (II), who also served as ephebe in 333/2/1, was presumably a grandson or great-nephew (BSS) of Polystratos son of Phantias I, commemorated before mid-century in Piraeus by a stele also naming his sons Polykrates I and [Phantias II?], and his daughter (or wife) [Phain?]ippe.¹²² Aischytes son of Aischines A., who married Philte, daughter of Philonides of Peiraia, was also buried in Piraeus.¹²³

The Thalinos A. commemorated with his daughter Mnesikleia and his son Thaliarchos on a stele found in Piraeus may—since the stele was set up originally to commemorate Mnesikleia—be the Thalinos who registered a mine in Nape *c.*340; Thaliarchos may be named also with a Philippos and a Thalippos on a stele recorded at Chasani, perhaps from the deme area.¹²⁴ Philistides II son of Philistides I A., who farmed the metoikion and five-drachma tax *en tois ergois*, was presumably also operating in the mining region.¹²⁵

45; [Prona?]pes, ii² 5454 (*SEG* 44. 181). For the 5th c. hipparch Pronapes, perhaps of Prasiai, see *APF* 12250; Spence 1993, 308, no. 167.

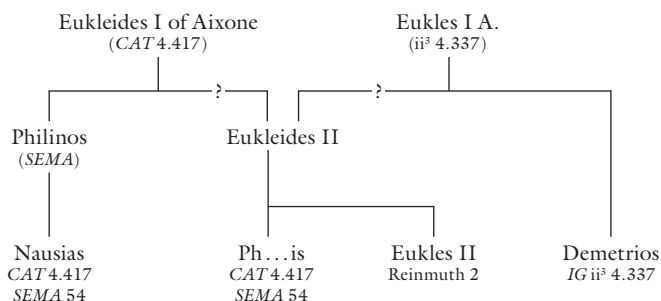
¹²¹ Diphilos, *IG* ii³ 4. 337. 31 (he evidently got his name from his mother rather than her father, which is unusual, see ch. 8 n. 58, but cf. perhaps Diodoros son of Diphilos of Euonymon, councillor in the 250s, *IG* ii³ 922. 37). It had previously been assumed (still in *AO* p. 400, Shipley 1987 p. 160) that the general of ii² 1628a 120 was the Athenian general on Samos [Di?]philos named in *I Priene* 5. 18 (shortly before 326/5); in any case, however, there seems from the photograph to be space for 3–4 letters rather than 2 in the Priene text.

¹²² Polykrates II, *IG* ii³ 4. 337. 28; Polystratos and family, ii² 5442 (*SEG* 40. 239 = *CAT* 3. 364c, found in 'Attika', representing an old man, Polystratos, with a warrior, Polykrates, could belong to this family, but the names are common, and attested in this combination also in Deiradiotai; ch. 26 n. 110). The names of [Eu]ktemonides son of [Te]lesandros A., commemorated by a stone of the mid 4th c. from 'Athens' (ii² 5425), both occur in ii² 2329 (15, 14), a list of contributors to a statue and sanctuary repairs from Piraeus of (?) *c.*320. Antikrates Eukt[emonidou?] A., whose dikast-ticket Kroll 1972 no. 72 (class IV, 350s?) is said to have come from Aixone, may be Euktemonides' son and may be the Antikrates A. of *Agora* XV 16. 14.

¹²³ ii² 5404; ch. 30 n. 24.

¹²⁴ Mnesikleia, Thalinos, Thaliarchos, names inscribed successively on ii² 5439, dated before mid-century (Bergemann 1997, 214 no. 61); Thalinos (no demotic, but the name is very rare), *Agora* XIX P 29. 6–13; Philippos, Thalippos, Thaliarchos, ii² 12936, dated 365–340.

¹²⁵ *Agora* XIX P 26. 470; his guarantor Meixidemos of Myrrhinous lived in Piraeus. *Pace* R. G. Osborne 1985a, 3, there is no agnatic connection with Pausistratos son of Philistides, ii² 2385. 10, who belonged to Athmonon. The exotically-named Atarbion son of Tynnias, ephebe in 333/2/1, *IG* ii³ 4. 337. 26, may have owed his name to a connection with the family of Thorikos that used the name Atarbos (Table 27.6B; but the name is also attested, 5th c., in Euonymon).



Notes: LGPN Eukles 27 misreports SEMA 54 = CAT 4. 417. Ph . . . is may be the daughter of Eukleides I

TABLE 29.19. Aixone: Eukleides

Amphistratos A., attested as a kleruch on Samos *c.* 350, had a grandson, Amphistratos II son of Philemonides, who served as ephebe in 334/3/2, with Eukles son of Eukleides (see Table 29.19), perhaps the brother of Ph...is Eukleidous, whose name was (?) added to a relief stele representing Nausias son of Philinos A. with his father Philinos son of Eukleides and his wife or mother (SEMA 54).¹²⁶

Halai Aixonides

The name does not seem to imply any conceptual subordination to Aixone, since the demes were of comparable size (Halai had six councillors, Aixone perhaps eight); the qualification may belong to the Roman period, added to distinguish the Halai near Aixone from the settlement of the same name near Araphen (on salt see Langdon 2010). Halai A. was always well attested epigraphically and prosopographically (despite some difficulties in distinguishing members of homonymous demes), and has become much better known archaeologically as a result of a number of excavations in the Voula area. Its religious centre, the sanctuary of Apollo Zoster on the neck of the Megalo Kavouri peninsula (the

¹²⁶ IG xii 6. 262 VII 32; ii² 1156 = Reinmuth 1971, no. 2, II 16, 13, R/O 89. Amphiteles son of Amphistratos, whose 4th c. stele ii² 10654 was seen by Peek at Vari, may have been the son of Amphistratos I. Demetrios (Eukleous), who served as ephebe in 333/2/1, IG ii³ 4. 337. 29, may have belonged to Eukles' family. Demokleides son of Demeas, ephebe in 334/3/2 (Reinmuth no. 2 II 17), had a brother Demonstratos who died as a child and was buried in the deme (ii² 5417, mid 4th c.; since a demotic is given, possibly the ephebe's grandfather, FF, or FFB, great uncle, but it is not unknown for demotics to be given to children, cf. n. 76 above). Chorokles A. (wife and daughter ii² 5416, CAT 2. 376d; Pleket 1958 no. 72 says from Glyphada, not Sacred Way), may have been a descendant of the actor Phrynichos son of Chorokles (Schol. Ar. *Birds* 750; Stephanes 1988, 2586, late 5th c.). On the problematic stone ii² 5421a (p. 879) = CAT 5. 450, see now CEG 521; it seems to have been set up for Phanistrate, wife or daughter of Exekestos A. (CEG rejects reference to grandsons, *huiónoi*), and represents her (seated) with a standing elderly man, a young woman, another woman, and a seated old man (which perhaps implies that she had a daughter, or daughters, but no sons); the name of Exekestides son of Proteon A. was added, followed by another name possibly starting in Xan- (ZAN).

western side of Vouliagmeni harbour) was explored in the 1920s. Activity on the site in the archaic period is so far documented only by one Corinthian vase, but there was a temple from c.500, with additions made in the (?) second half of the fourth century. Three bases of c.475 held dedications made by the deme; there was also another dedication of c.500–480, probably private. Athena, Artemis, and Leto were worshipped in addition to Apollo; Leto had allegedly stopped at Cape Zoster, on her way to Delos, to give birth to Apollo and Artemis, because her labour pains had started. This story may be associated with the interest in Delos shown by Athens at the time of the Peisistratidai. The funds of the temple were in the hands of the Treasurers of the Other Gods during the Peloponnesian War, but deme decrees were published in the sanctuary; if it had ever been in any sense ‘under state control’ (which is doubtful), it had perhaps been returned to deme management after 403. A text of c.440 from the sanctuary records a transfer of 1088½ dr. from one board of (state?) treasurers to another, and names the secretary of the incoming board.¹²⁷

A number of habitation sites and cemeteries are now known, plus a line of horoi along the Kaminia hill, separating Halai from (?) Anagyrus, of uncertain date.¹²⁸ The settlements of Ano Voula and Kalaboka (between 400 and 700 m apart) are generally agreed to belong to Halai. There was also settlement on the akropolis, Kastraki, from the beginning of the fourth century, and smaller areas at Nea Kalymnos (a farm hamlet?), Pighadakia, and the Megalo Kavouri peninsula; a classical agora near Leophoros Vares was excavated in 2007. A fort on the Megalo Kavouri peninsula perhaps belongs to the period of the Chremonidean War. The principal burial area seems to have been in Pighadakia, between the main settlements and the sanctuary on Cape Zoster, but graves have been found in other areas also. The boundary between Halai and Aixone should have lain in the area of the Punta promontory, which shelters the south side of the harbour

¹²⁷ *Halai Aixonides* in St. Byz., *Aixonikoi* in Str. 9. 1. 21/C 399. Apollo Zoster, see Travlos 1988, 467–79; the ‘priest’s house’ of c.500, altered in the 4th c. by the division of the space into smaller rooms, is now thought to be a farm (Goette 2001, 197; 2004, 12, not noticed by Kouragios 2013). Dedications, IG i³ 1013a–c by the deme, 1012 = CEG 308 (probably) private. Leto: Hyp. *Deliakos* F 67 Jensen 1917, 70 Blass 1894; Paus. 1. 31. 1 (the story may even have been developed after the foundation of the Delian League in 478). Other Gods, i³ 369. 67, 92 (326/5–323/2); see ch. 22 at n. 98. Treasurers, i³ 249 + SEG 59. 59 (Kourinou 2009). D. M. Lewis (unpublished lecture of the 1980s on hands in 5th c. Attic inscriptions) thought that the second cutter (ll. 9–15) was the same as i³ 7 (Praxiergidai), which might move the date up a little; however, the text has four-bar sigma. Procedure and prosopography (?) favour attribution to the city; it looks as if the Zoster sanctuary may already have been lending money to the city at the date of this text. Linders 1975 (83 n. 45) thinks that Kourouniotes 1927–8 no. 3, a 3rd c. decree of the demos and council honouring the priest of Apollo Zoster, implies state control, but if so this may have been a Hellenistic development, necessitated by depopulation of the countryside.

¹²⁸ See ch. 22 n. 52. Traill (1986, 145) suggests that the horoi marked ZO/BA are Roman in date and separated *Zoster* from *Baris*, the latter term having already come into use to denote modern Vari; these might be the names of estates (cf. IG ii² 2776). See now Krasilnikoff 2010.

of Glyphada; the boundary between Halai and Anagyrous would have run along the Kaminia hill, from the headland east of Vouliagmeni harbour.¹²⁹

Of the two best-known settlements, the north-western one (Ano Voula) had a temple by a major crossroads, two potteries, small shrines, and houses, some with towers. The south-eastern settlement had small shrines, houses (one with a large tower), workshops, and cisterns; the excavated area (Kalaboka) may have been on the edge of the village, and had some open space between houses.¹³⁰ The agora was at its western end.

No theatre has been located, but two choregic inscriptions were found (not *in situ*) on the eastern side of the Kalaboka site.¹³¹

Most of the texts produced by the deme cluster about an episode perhaps to be dated in the early 360s, when there was a scandal over the management of deme finances.¹³² The sequence of events, in my view, was: (1) Nikomenes made a denunciation, as a result of which the deme took actions described in a part of the text of *IG ii² 1175* that Fourmont could not read, and decided to impose an oath (curse) to be sworn by the demarch Nikostratos, the treasurers, and the priests and priestesses. (2) In (?) 368/7, apparently as a result of continued problems, Euthemon proposed that in future demarchs and tamiai should deposit statements of receipts and expenditures every month in locked boxes, a procedure already adopted voluntarily by the officials of 368/7, and should present their accounts, before Metageitnion in the year following their year of office, solely on the basis of these records. This decree is to be set up in the agora, and the demarch is to administer an oath to the euthynos and his paredroi, who are

¹²⁹ Andreou 1994 (with maps); see also Lohmann 1992, 1993; Lauter 1993; Steinhauer 1994; Matthaiou 1999; Goette 1999, 2004. The settlement and wall on Kastraki are known only from surface survey; Andreou gives references also for smaller settlement areas. Agora, Kouragios 2013, 72, at the W end of area Γ on Andreou 1994 fig. 2; *ibid.* 70, Odos Daidalou, at E end of SE hamlet, public (??) building with coin hoard of second half 5th c. Fort: Lauter 1992, G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, 155–7. Burial areas: in addition to Andreou see *AD* 34 B1, 1979, 77–9, 81–7; Lauter, *loc. cit.*; Kouragios 2013. A burial area with rich archaic to classical tombs on Prince Peter St, Voula, *AD* 44 B 1, 1989 (1995) might belong either to Halai or to Aixone. R. Parker 2005*a*, 63 n. 47 doubts whether both hamlets in Ano Voula belonged to H. On the question whether Anagyrous is to be located at Vari see ch. 23 s.v..

¹³⁰ Lauter, Andreou, Steinhauer, as cited in n. 129. On ‘tower houses’ see ch. 22 n. 3; Andreou thinks that one of the towers was used for cult. Further excavation reported in *AD* 46 B 1, 1991 (1996), 61; more settlement, towers, graves on Megalo Kavouri peninsula, Kouragios 2013, 75–6.

¹³¹ *IG ii³ 4. 498*, the complete text, was assigned by Papagiannopoulos-Palaios (*Polemon* 1, 1929*c*, 162–3), who thought he had found a theatre on the site, to Aixone, but the site (Palaiochori/Kalaboka: see Andreou) and prosopography (below, n. 138) show that it is to be attributed to Halai; in any case Luppe (1969, 1973; cf. P. Wilson 2000) argues convincingly that the productions recorded took place in the city (*contra*, Csapo 2004, 2010*b*). Another text from Kalaboka (*SEG* 38. 263) contains only the word *edidaske*.

¹³² The latest deme text is Kourouniotes 1927–8 no. 5 = *SEG* 38. 124, EM 12671, ascribed by Tracy 1988 to the cutter of Agora I 3238 and dated by him between 285 and 245 (only the arrangements for publication are preserved).

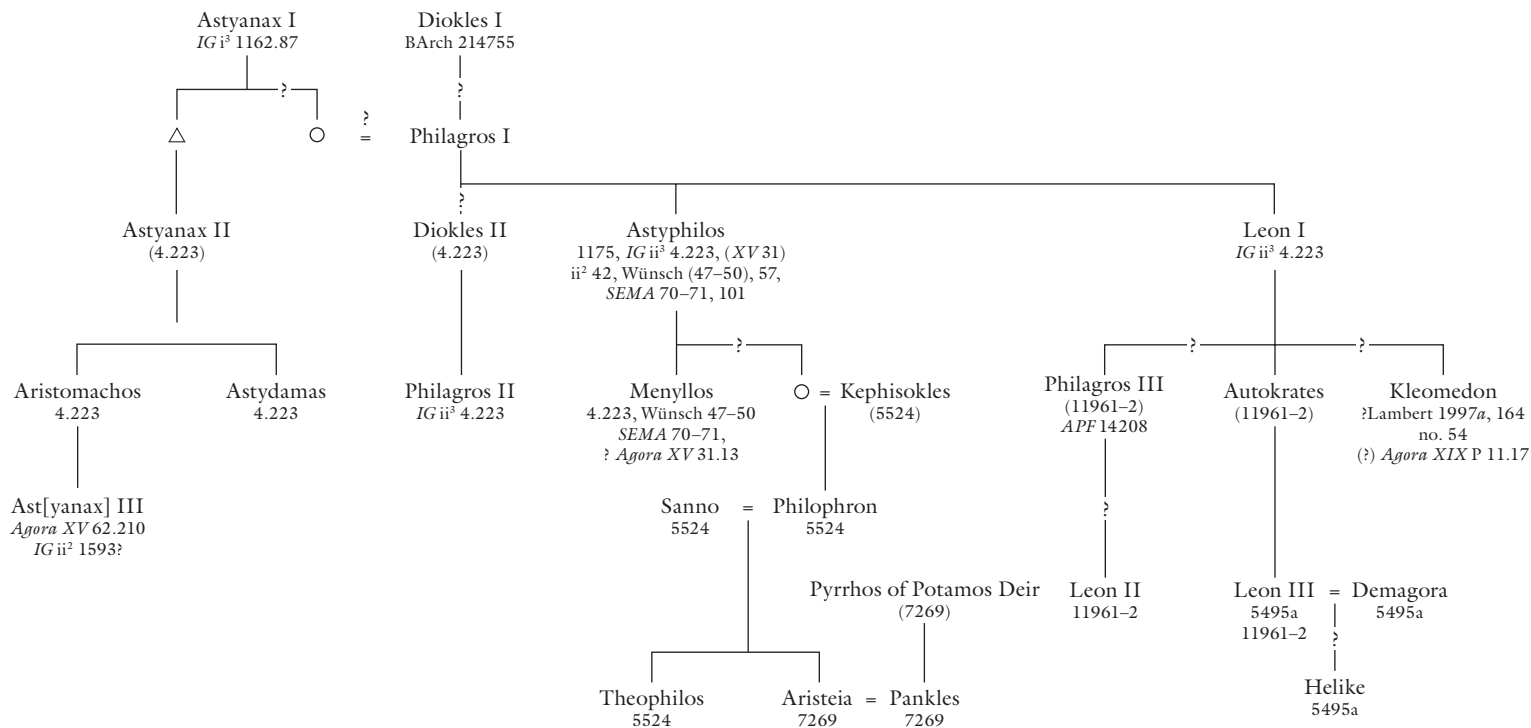
to swear that they will abide by its provisions (ii² 1174, *SEG* 47. 147).¹³³ This dispute was followed by the dedication of a statue in the city to Aphrodite, probably Aphrodite Pandemos, interpreted as symbolizing reconciliation and solidarity in the deme; this was organised by an elected commission of twenty-four demesmen, headed by Astyphilos, the proposer of ii² 1175, the whistle-blower Nikomenes, and Euthemon. A decree honouring the priest of Apollo and four elected assistants was passed before the dedication of the statue, either before the deme's troubles started or else between 368/7 and the completion of the statue.¹³⁴

Nikomenes is the son of Hieron, and presumably therefore the brother of Nikostratos son of Hieron H., who served as one of the amphiktyons on Delos in 374/3; the latter may be the Nikostratos who was serving as demarch when Nikomenes made his complaint. Hieron son of Nautes, one of the younger members of the Aphrodite commission, may have been their nephew (BS or ZS). Nikomenes and Euthemon may be named on the curse tablet Wunsch 1897, 24; however, members of other demes in Kekropis also seem to be named, so the curse was not motivated (solely) by the troubles in Halai.¹³⁵

¹³³ Thanks to Stephen Lambert for a copy of Wilhelm's unpublished drawing of ii² 1175. Wilhelm (1901) dated ii² 1174 before 1175, but it seems to me more likely that the affair started with Nikomenes' denunciation: the deme officials of 368/7 were already nervously taking measures to protect themselves. *Poiēsa[s]thai tên ar[an?]*, 1175. 21–2, seems to be parallel to the use of *poiēō* in the middle for sacrifice, i.e. the officials are taking the oath rather than administering it (for which *exorkoō* is used in 1174. 15). Wilhelm took the genitive *Euthēmonos* in 1175. 5–6 to be a reference to the provisions of 1174, but the context is unclear and this is not a necessary assumption (on the other hand, Whitehead's interpretation of the genitive as a patronymic, 1986*a* p. 431, no. 187, is prosopographically unlikely). ii² 1175 was recorded by Fourmont at 'Philia', i.e. probably Philia (Sphettos?), but may have been brought to him from elsewhere; ii² 1174 came from Aliki (Punta). Nikomenes (1175. 1–2) is Wilhelm's suggestion for Fourmont's Niko.enos; it is very strongly supported by Nikomenes' presence in the dedication on ii³ 4. 223. 6, but that should be noted that a Nikoxenides son of Niketes served as councillor for Halai Aix. in 303/2, *Agora* XV 62. 215. On *kibōtia* (locked deposit-boxes) see Georgoudi 1988*b*, 236.

¹³⁴ The decree for the priest and assistants, R/O 46 (Kourouniotes 1927–8 no. 4) was proposed by Hagnotheos, who was evidently dead (or dying?) by the time the statue was dedicated, since his sons appear in the commission and he does not (the demarch Nikostratos of ii² 1175. 22 is also absent from the dedication list, but possibly he had been convicted of malpractice). The dedication ii³ 4. 223 was found in the church of Hypapante near the SE corner of the Agora (A. Mommsen 1868, 22–4 no. 16), and hence not far from the W end of the Akropolis, which seems to be where the sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemos was located (some material was re-used in the wall near the Beulé gate, W of the Akropolis; on the area see Schmalz 2006; on the location of the sanctuary see Foucart 1889; Beschi 1967–8; Dontas 1983, 63; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 26–34; Rosenzweig 2004, 14–15; N. D. Robertson 2005; Greco 2010, 190–1). Note however that the deme had its own sanctuary of Aphrodite (*SEG* 49. 141); *IG* ii³ 4. 223 might have travelled. On the 'civic' character of this goddess see Apollodoros *FGH* 244 F 113 (apparently referring to the current Agora, not an earlier one, *pace* Dontas loc. cit., Oikonomides 1964); Paus. 1. 22. 3; N. D. Robertson 1992, 37, 50; Schachter 1992*b*, 40–1; Pirenne-Delforge 1988, 1994, 2005; R. Parker 1996, 48–9; 2005*a*, 407–8; *SEG* 36. 1039 (Erythrai, c.400); Parker and Obbink 2000 (Kos); Van Bremen 2003, 324–6. E. Simon 1970 thinks that her head appeared on the reverse of 1/2-dr. and 1/4-dr. coins possibly minted in 507/6.

¹³⁵ Nikomenes, ii³ 4. 223. 6 (no. 2 on the list); Nikostratos, *ID* 98 A 61. The brothers may have been on bad terms. Nikostratos does not appear on 4. 233, either because he had died (in which case he cannot



Notes: The Philagros of IG ii² 1632. 192 (APF 14208 bis) may have belonged to Halai Araphenides. Astyanax I belonged to Kekropis, but the deme is unknown. IG ii² 5495a = CAT 3. 322, Schmalz A132. Since IG ii² 11961–2 are a pair, it seems likely that they commemorate Leon II and III rather than L. I and III.

TABLE 29.20. Halai Aixonides: Diokles

Astyphilos, the proposer of *IG* ii² 1175, is a member of a large and well-documented lineage (see Table 29.20) that may just possibly have belonged to the genos Bouzygai (ch. 20 n. 88). The first known member of the family may be Diokles I, whose name appears on a vase of c.430 found 'near Vari'. Philagros I, father of Astyphilos, would have been Diokles' son. Astyphilos' name was clearly coined in reference to that of his father, and may imply that he was born during the Peloponnesian War, when the family was living in the city; it is also possible, however, that Philagros had taken a wife from another prominent lineage in the deme, perhaps a daughter of the Astyanax of (?) Halai who died in battle in 447.¹³⁶ Astyphilos probably had an elder brother, Diokles II, who had died before the Aphrodite commission was set up; his son Philagros II is one of the younger members of the commission (*IG* ii³ 4. 223. 24, no. 20). Astyphilos perhaps proposed decrees of the state in 378/7 and 373/2, and perhaps served as councillor in the latter year with his brother Leon. His name heads the list of commission members; he is named with a Philonautes, possibly of Pallene, on the curse tablet Wünsch 1897, 57, and also, with his son Menyllos, Philonautes, and other associates, on Wünsch 47–50, a group of tablets found together (ch. 14 n. 82). Menyllos (ii³ 4. 223, no. 18) is probably the son of Astyphilos who served as councillor at some date after mid-century. He was the main target of Wünsch 47–50, on which he is attacked with his father (and, as noted above, Philonautes), a Phantias, and his kedestes Kephisokles, perhaps K. II of Halai A., who might have been his brother-in-law (ZH or WB). Menyllos was represented with his father on a group of lekythoi found at Voula (*SEMA* 70–71).

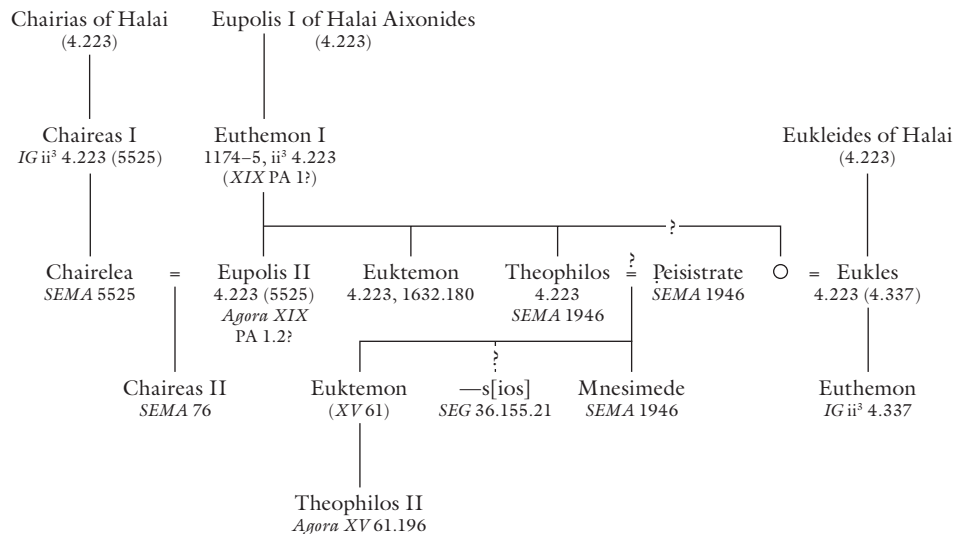
Leon son of Philagros I, Astyphilos' brother, is represented with his (?) cousin (FBS) Leon son of Autokrates on a pair of lekythoi, and may also be the Leon of Halai represented on a relief lekythos with his wife Demagora and his daughter Helike. He served in the Council in (?) 373/2, as noted above, but was perhaps dead by the time the Aphrodite commission was set up. He may have had three sons, who were perhaps still minors at that date. Philagros III was probably the

be the N. of Halai who was trierarch in 356, *APF* 11019, who may be N. son of Nikomenes of Halai Araphenides, *Agora* XV 492. 67, ch. 24 n. 109; Nikochares son of Nikostratos, ii² 2385. 48, cited by Whitehead 1982, belongs to Athmonon), or because he had come too badly out of the affair to be involved in the reconciliation. Hieron II son of Nautes, ii³ 4. 223. 21 (no. 17; Hieron son of Hierokles I H., father of Hierokles II, is probably H. Ara., ch. 24 n. 111). Wünsch 1897, 24, see Wilhelm 1904; Wilhelm attributed the [Eu]pheros of this tablet to Aphidnai (*APF* 8157), but note Euph[eros?] son of Oinocharēs H., whose stele fragment of the mid 4th c., ii² 5482, was recorded at Kara and may have come from the deme area (ii² 5459, 5466, other Halai stones, were also recorded at Kara; see ch. 23 n. 5 on the Louriotis estate). For possible members of Daidalidai and Athmonon on this tablet see above, nn. 41, 75, and Table 29.12.

¹³⁶ On Diokles see ch. 20 n. 88. The syntrierarch Philagros of 322, *APF* 14208 *bis*, may belong to either Halai, since *IG* ii³ 4. 36. 4, if Halai (which is not certain), is H. Araphenides. Astyanax (Kekropis) i³ 1162. 87. See also ch. 17 n. 18.

Philagros son of Le— (no demotic) who guaranteed a lease for an isoteles living in Peiraios in 343/2; Autokrates, as we have seen, was probably the father of Leon II, commemorated with his cousin Leon II on two lekythoi; the Kleomedon son of Leon of Ha— or A— who bought land at Besa in the hekatostai sales may have been a third son, in which case he may well be the Kleom[edon] attested in the mining records as owning land, possibly at Besa, in mid-century.

Euthemon, who proposed *IG ii*² 1175 and is mentioned in 1174, also belongs to a well-attested and prominent family (ch. 20 n. 116; Table 29.21). He is named third in the Aphrodite list, after Astyphilos and Nikomenes, and his name is followed by that of Chaireas son of Chairias, whose daughter married Euthemon's son Eupolis II. The latter is no. 14 on the list, followed by his brother Euktemon, who is attested as syntrierarch in 322; a younger brother, [Theo]philos, is no. 21. Eukles son of Eukleides, no. 11 (see below at n. 146), seems to have married a daughter of Euthemon; his son Euthemon son of Eukles served as ephebe in 333/2/1. Eupolis II son of Eu[themon H.?] appears on a fragment from the poletai records; Theophilos may be the Theophilos H. whose son served as (?) epilektos in the late fourth century, and whose grandson Theophilos son of E[uthemon?] was councillor in 304/3 (*Agora XV* 61. 196). The relation (if any) to this family of the Theophilos H. (Aix.?) whose property on Lemnos was confiscated in 370/69 (*Agora XIX P* 4. 8) and who left descendants



Notes: *LGPN* has Chaireas II as son of Eupolis I, but Eupolis II seems more likely. Euthemon is cursed on Wunsch 24 b 2. *SEMA* 1946 (*SEG* 49. 217, c.360), found at Voula, commemorates a Theophilos with his (?) wife Peisistrate (from the photograph this seems more likely than the reading Teisistrate, an otherwise unattested name) and daughter Mnesimede, with an Olympiodoros. For another Theophilos in Halai see Table 29.20.

TABLE 29.21. Halai Aixionides: Eupolis, *APF* 5791 (cf. Table 20.3)

on the island (Culasso Gastaldi 2010, 361–3) is unclear. Eupolis II and his wife were buried in the deme; their son Chaireas II was commemorated by a naiskos of unknown provenance in the second half of the century (*SEMA* 76, *CAT Suppl.* 42 RSE 67).

A decree proposed by Hagnotheos son of Ekphantides—who, as noted above (n. 134), seems to have died before the Aphrodite commission was set up—honours the priest of Apollo Zoster, Polystratos son of Charmides, and a commission of four men concerned in the restoration of the hieron of Apollo and the *kosmésis* of its statues. The priest does not appear on the Aphrodite list; of the four commissioners, Aischeas son of Phileriphos is no. 10 on that list, while Pantakles son of Sokrates may be a brother of Diotheides son of Sokrates, no. 7, and Theodotos son of Theodotos will have been a relative (FBS?) of Theodotos son of Theaitetes, no. 19. Hagnias son of Melesias, the fourth commissioner, is not on the Aphrodite list. Archaeological evidence for work on the temple is dated approximately to the middle of the fourth century, so this decree cannot be too far removed in date from those concerning the financial scandal and the Aphrodite dedication. It is not clear whether the discrepancies between the two lists are due to the decision of three of the Apollo commissioners that they had made a sufficient contribution to deme expenses through their involvement in that project, or whether there was some tension between the priest of Apollo and his supporters, who wanted to concentrate deme expenditure on local projects, and the Aphrodite party, who liked the idea of a dedication in the city.¹³⁷

Hagnotheos son of Ekphantides, the proposer of this decree (R/O no. 46), may have been a descendant of the comic poet Ekphantides, whose *Peirai* is the first play named in a list of choregic victories set up in the deme. Whether the competitions were those of the city or of the deme's Rural Dionysia is disputed (Csapo 2010*b*). The choregoi were a Thrasyboulos, an Epichares (?), and possibly Eu[polis I]. Hagnotheos' tombstone, with a daughter or in-deme wife, dated to mid-century (which must be too late) was found in the Agora (*SEMA* 56). Two sons, Euphiletos and Diodoros, appear as no. 9 and no. 12 on the Aphrodite list.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ *SEG* 42. 112, dated *c.*360 (Kourouniotes 1927–8, no. 4; Peek 1942, 9–10 no. 7). The absence of the priest of Apollo from the Aphrodite commission might perhaps be explained by a feeling that it was inappropriate for him to be involved in a dedication to another deity, although I do not know of much evidence that Greek priests (even if serving for life, which is not certain in this case) were expected to be exclusive in their loyalties. Hagnias son of Melesias I: the Melesias of Halai who served as epistates in 357/6, *IG* ii² 121, might be either Melesias I or a son (or brother) of Hagnias, Melesias II; the tamias of 334/3, ii² 1493. 4, must be Melesias II (*LGPN* s.v. *Hagnias* 10, *Melesias* 12, wrongly dates Kourouniotis no. 4 to the late 4th c.); cf. perhaps Meletos son of Laches of Halai Aix., *Agora* XV 62. 212.

¹³⁸ Ekphantides, *PCG* 5 126–9 (victor in 459/8, *IG* ii² 2325. 49; Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 54–6 suggests that he may have been dead by *c.*442, in which case he cannot have been Hagnotheos' father); note also the bearded Ekphantides represented as singer in a symposion-scene by Euphronios, *c.*513–508 (BArch 275007, Munich 9404), and Lys. F 205 Sauppe (126 Blass 1868 CXV/257 Carey 2007), on

The priest of Apollo Zoster was perhaps the Polystratos H. for whom we have a record of an allotment(?) -pinakion issued in the 360s or later, and a tombstone.¹³⁹

Aischeas son of Phileriphos, as noted, is no. 10 in the Aphrodite list. His son Phi[leriphos] sold land as demarch of Halai in the hektostai sales.¹⁴⁰

The other members of the Apollo commission will be discussed below in connection with their (?) relatives on the Aphrodite commission, to whose members we now return. Its first four members (Astyphilos, Nikomenes, Euthemon, and Chaireas) have been discussed. The fifth, Argeios son of Demochares, may possibly have served as councillor with Astyphilos and his brother Leon in (?) 373/2.¹⁴¹ Aristomachos son of Astyanax (II), no. 6, and his brother Astydamos, no. 8, may have been affinally linked to Astyphilos. Aristomachos, Philagros (II or III), and Astyanax (III, son of Aristomachos?) appear together in a group of five men from Halai on a record of men who took concessions or leases from the state and their guarantors.¹⁴²

behalf of Nikomache against Ekphantides and Diophanes (this would be a younger man than the poet; the name Ekphantides is also attested in Dekeleia). Choregic dedication, ii³ 4. 498; see Whitehead 1986a, 46 n. 32; P. Wilson 2000; Csapo 2004, 61–2, 2010b; *APF* p. 183–4, 238. The other two poets are Kratinos (*Boukolos*) and Sophokles (*Telepheia*). Luppe 1969 (cf. 1973) claims that the space in line 1 is not long enough for Ep[ichares], and thinks that the second letter of the name might be Y, which raises the possibility that the choregos was Eu[polis I]. The dedication was apparently set up in the early 4th c. by the last choregos, who won with the *Telepheia*; one would expect that there had been some link between the choregoi, but its form is not evident, and no other name in Thras- is attested for Halai in the classical period. Epichares (I. 7) might be the father of Epikrates son of Epichares H., who dedicated ii² 4884 on the Akropolis in the first half of the 4th c., and grandfather (?) of Epichares II H., whose dikastic pinax of class V was found in Kypseli (Kroll 1972 no. 88), but we do not know to which tribe either of those men belonged. An Epikrates son of Semiades of H. Aix. was ephebe in 333/2/1, *IG* ii³ 4. 337. 64, but the name is attested also in H. Araphenides (ii³ 4. 75. 13, 343/2). Hagnotheos H. with Nikodike H., *SEMA* 56; it seems likely that all three occurrences of the name in Halai refer to the same man. On the Hagnotheos son of Diodoros who proposed a deme decree in (?) 289/8 (*SEG* 49. 143 with 56. 197) see p. 1094 at n. 148. Note that another Halai decree, from C. Zoster, has been dated c. 265 (n. 132); below, *ibid.*

¹³⁹ Kroll 1972 no. 155, class VI; see pp. 66–8 on dates; the pinax is lost and it is not certain that it was non-dikastic. The priest may also be the Polystratos H. commemorated on the stele *IG* ii² 5511a (p. 879), with Polyaratos H., Leukonides H., and a Polystrate; Leukonides should be the Athenian of that name who defended his kedeses Philotades of Kydathenaion, who had been rejected at the diapsephisis of 346/5 (Aisch. I. 115), but we have no way of telling for certain whether these men belonged to H. Aix. or H. Araphenides. Note also dikastic (?) pinax of Dionysios H. from agora area, *SEG* 57. 293.

¹⁴⁰ Lambert 1997a, F 9 A 17–18 (on the purchaser Philippos see below, n. 144). The Phileriphos named on an ostrakon dated after 420 (Brenne 2001 no. 223) may be an ancestor either of this family or of Phileriphos of Hamaxanteia, *APF* p. 535; though the name is rare, it is not inappropriate here in a deme that would have had grazing on Hymettos, and it cannot be regarded as certain that the two families had at some time been affinally linked.

¹⁴¹ *IG* ii³ 4. 23. 9; the stone has [-12-]aros, the suggestion was made by Sundwall, cf. ii² 1743; [Eupheros Oinoch]aros, see n. 135 above, would also fit.

¹⁴² *IG* ii² 1593, 1–5 = *SEG* 52. 142 (the earlier restoration [*enguê*]tés in line 5 was quite groundless). It is dated to mid 4th c. (perhaps largely on prosopographical grounds), and since no reference to

No. 7, [Di]otheides son of Sokrates I, is presumably the father of no. 24, Sokrates II son of D[i]othei<d>es; a stele commemorating both of them, with Sokrates' wife Mnesagora daughter of Hierophon of Halai, was found in the deme burial area of Pighadakia/Palaiochori (*SEMA* 59). Mnesagora's brother N[e]ai[chm?]os served as ephebe in 333/2/1, and may have been the archon eponymos of the city in 320/19. Pantakles son of Sokrates, one of the Apollo commissioners, may have been Diotheides' brother; Sokrates III son of Sthenokrates and Sokrates IV son of Eukrates, both of whom were ephebes in 333/2/1, may have belonged to other branches of this family.¹⁴³

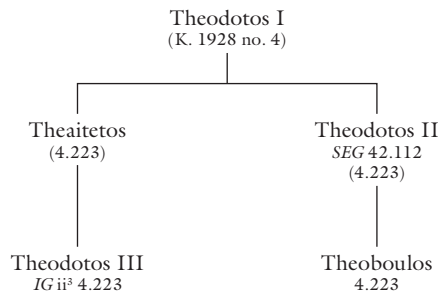
Nos. 8–12 have already been discussed. No. 13, [Phil]ippos son of Aischines, may have been a cousin of no. 16, Philippos son of Athenippos; one of them will be the Philippos H. who bought land in the hekatostai sales for four talents (24,000 dr.). Aischines son of Polyzelos H., named in the diadikasia documents, may be the father of no. 13; Athenippos, father of no. 16, was buried in the deme area, and may be the Athenip[os] recorded (without deme) as syntrierarch before 356.¹⁴⁴

Nos 14–15 and 17–18 have been discussed. No. 19, Theodotos (III) son of Theaitetos, and no. 23, Theoboulos son of Theodotos (II?), were presumably

boundaries is preserved and there are no property-designations or prices it can hardly be a record of land leases, though classed with them in ii². It appears to be a list of men taking up some form of fixed-price state contract (Papazarkadas 2011, 285–90, suggests tax-farming). The name Astydamos is also attested in the family of the poet and eye-doctor Morsimos, but in view of the Halai family's fondness for names in Asty-, it is uncertain whether there was any connection (chs. 6 n. 7, 32 n. 24).

¹⁴³ Stephen Lambert, who kindly examined the stone for me in Athens (spring 1998), reports that there may be traces of the delta of D[i]othei<d>ou in *IG* ii³ 4. 223. 28; Köhler however (ii¹ 1208. 28) read P A T H Σ Q Ε O Θ E I Λ O Y and printed [The]othei<d>ou. Stele, *SEMA* 57 (reused in a well; *A to Z* 205 D 4), from *AD* 40 B 1, 1985 (1990) 64; the wife's name is reported as Anesagora but this name is otherwise unknown, and misreading of the commoner Mnesagora seems likely (so *SEMA*); it is perhaps worth noting that ii² 12147 = i³ 1315 (*CEG* 84, *CAT* 1. 610, dated 420–410 in i³), commemorating a young girl, Mnesagora (represented with her baby brother Nikocharēs), is said to have come from Vari. N[e]ai[chm?]os seems to be the only attested name that fits the traces reported in *IG* ii³ 4. 337. 65; if this is the archon of 320/19 (see above, n. 107), he will have held office at the age of 31, but in the period of restricted citizenship. Pantakles, *SEG* 42. 112; Sokrates III and IV, ii³ 4. 337. 56, 68. If the relationship between Sokrates II and Neaichmos is correctly reconstructed, it may suggest a date in the 350s rather than 360s for ii³ 4. 223, since Sokrates was presumably over 18 when that text was inscribed, and his brother-in-law (WB) was born c.352.

¹⁴⁴ See Lambert 1997*a*, F 9 A 20–1, with p. 176; *APF* 233; *APF* pp. 537–8. The Philippos H. who was prosecuted for mining offences, Hyp. 4 *Eux.* 34, and the Philippos H. whose son Nikion and granddaughter (SD) Kleinarete (who married a man from Acharnai) were commemorated on a mid-century *akanthos* stele found (re-used) in the city (*SEMA* 68; Nikion's name added to that of his sister and her husband), might belong to either Halai. Aischines son of Polyzelos (H. Aix.), *APF* 343; stele of Athenippos son of Philippos, before mid-century, *in vivo Vari*, *IG* ii² 10589. Identification of Philippos' father as the syntrierarch would put the date of ii³ 4. 223 later than his trierarchy; however, there is an Athenippos in Piraeus who may be the trierarch.



The councillor Theodotos of 281/0, *Agora XV* 72. 95, (Whitehead 1986*a*) is Athmonon not Halai (Traill 1986).

TABLE 29.22. Halai Aixionides: Theodotos

related to Theodotos II son of Theodotos I, honoured as one of the commissioners of Apollo in *SEG* 42. 112 (see Table 29.22). No. 22, if he is [Nik?]andr[os] son of Hegesias, may be the father of Aristoboule, commemorated with her (?) mother on a stele found in the deme region.¹⁴⁵

The family of Eukles of Halai (Table 20.3), which probably belonged to the Eumolpidai, and made dedications in the cave of Pan at Vari, is represented in this dossier only by Eukles son of Eukleides (*IG* ii³ 4. 223. 15), perhaps Euthemon's son-in-law. He may be the Eukl— son of Eukl— of Halai named on a mid-century stele fragment found on the Akropolis. Eukles son of L[akles], perhaps his nephew (BS), bought two parcels of land at Poros in the hekatostai sales for 125 dr. A later Eukles son of Eukles, who perhaps served as ephebe in the 250s (archon Thymochares), was honoured by the council and demos as priest of Apollo Zoster, and dedicated his crowns in the sanctuary; in the fifth and fourth centuries, however, the family seems to have taken little interest in deme affairs, although its activities at the cave of Pan in Anagyrous may imply that some of its members were still resident in the deme.¹⁴⁶

One new deme decree and fragments of three similar texts have recently been discovered. The deme decree (Steinhauer 2009*a*, *SEG* 59. 142) was re-used in a Roman building on 'the *dilophos* of Vari' (on the Athens–Vari road), not far from

¹⁴⁵ ii³ 4. 223 has [...]andros. Aristoboule, ii² 5733, recorded in a private house in Vari, *c.* mid-century, with Archedike daughter of Demokles of Aphidnai, whose brother Demokrates by 336/5 held the seat allocated to descendants of Aristogeiton at dinners in the prytaneion (*APF* 12267 IV). Archedike (who married after *c.* 370) may have been Nikandros' wife (ch. 31 n. 24).

¹⁴⁶ Cf. ch. 12 n. 77, 20 n. 99. Peek 1942, pp. 8–10, nos. 6–8, discusses Kourouniotes 1927–8 no. 4 and other texts from the sanctuary on C. Zoster, in which no names are preserved; his no. 8 (Kourouniotes no. 5) is now dated *c.* 265 by Tracy (n. 132). There is, as Whitehead (1986*a*, 381 no. 58) says, no reason to ascribe the horos ii² 2761b, Finley 1952 no. 5, to H. Aix. rather than H. Ara. (the same property had earlier been mortgaged to Periandros of Cholargos, attested *c.* 362–57; ch. 27 n. 17).

the agora site, and was passed in 338/7. It honours the three tamiai of the preceding year for performing all the sacrifices and their other duties, and handing over a surplus of 388 dr. to the *hieropoioi* (i.e. they had covered some of the expenses themselves). It was proposed by an Anaschetos, presumably A. son of Demoteles H.¹⁴⁷ The other texts (*SEG* 49. 141–3) were found at the crossroads of Odos Kalymnou and Odos Vas. Georgiou II; *SEG* 49. 141 prescribes that it should be set up in the Aph[rodision?], which may therefore have been in this area. This text and no. 143 refer to a single tamias; the former honours the tamias and hieropoioi of the year in which Ambrosios was *ar[chon]*. It was proposed by Ha[g]notheos son of Diodoros, probably son of the Diodoros of *IG* ii³ 4. 223. Ambrosios may be the A. who dedicated, with a Diopeithes, *IG* ii² 4658 = *CEG* 784 (no provenance) to Artemis Demosyne. He is generally taken to be an otherwise unattested archon eponymos, perhaps of one of the years 291/0/89/8, but Hagnotheos II would have been an old man by this time; there remains a possibility that Ambrosios held a local office (further specified in a lost part of the text). We do in any case have a deme decree of H. attributed to the third century (n. 132 above). G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, 155–7, suggests that fortifications on Kastraki and on Cape Zoster were related to the use of Vouliagmeni as a harbour free from Macedonian control in the 280s–260s; possibly the presence of a garrison, here as at other forts (Eleusis, Rhamnous) kept deme institutions alive when they were disappearing elsewhere.¹⁴⁸

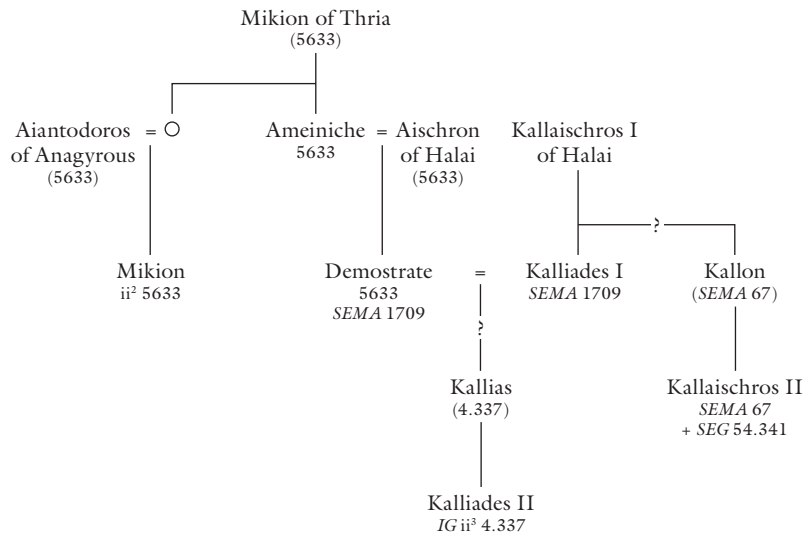
It is noteworthy that deme texts were set up in three different locations: the sanctuary of Apollo, the Aphrodision, and (probably) the agora.

Two further tomb monuments found near the deme area deserve mention. An anthemion stele of *c.*360 from Lambrika commemorated Aisimos son of Aisimides and his son Stephanos; Stephanos (II) son of Aisimides (II), attested as ephebe from Halai in 333/2/1, was probably Aisimos' grandson (SS), named after an uncle (FB) who had perhaps died without leaving heirs.¹⁴⁹ Philodemos H.,

¹⁴⁷ *APF* 819; ch. 14 n. 60. Since an Archemachos son of Antimachos of Halai (Ara.) is attested as one of 2 deme choregoi in 341/0 (*SEG* 46. 153, ch. 24 s. 'Halai Araphenides') and is probably the father of the councillor Kallimedes of Aigeis in 341/0 (*IG* ii³ 4. 76. 53), it is likely that the polemarch Demoteles son of Antimachos H. (*IG* ii² 1578, *c.*330) and his ? grandson (SS) Demoteles II son of Sokles (ii² 5476, no provenance) belonged to H. Ara. and not H. Aix. See also Takaeuchi 2013, 91–4.

¹⁴⁸ See Steinhauer 1998. Diopeithes might be the husband of Demarchia daughter of Diognetos H., *IG* ii² 5470, but we do not know his tribe. Tracy 2003, 45 thought that Ambrosios should have been archon after 270, but does not discuss lettering; M. J. Osborne 2003, 67–8 thought the lettering looked later than the 290s, but *id.* 2009*b* suggests that he was archon in 291/0 or 289/8; since Byrne 2007 has moved Telokles from 290/89 to 280/79, the former year also becomes a possibility for Ambrosios. Note however the remarks of Papazarkadas 2011, 296–5 on the problems of identifying the office of such otherwise unattested floating archons.

¹⁴⁹ ii² 10605, Aisimos with Stephanos I; Stephanos II *IG* ii³ 4. 337. 55 (lochagos); note also perhaps S[teph]anides H., kleruch on Samos *c.*350, *IG* xii 6. 262 VII 14 (it does not seem possible to read the name as Sanniades).



Names suggest that Aischron and Kallaischros may be kin. Reconstruction conjectural. Some names on *IG* ii² 5633 perhaps added.

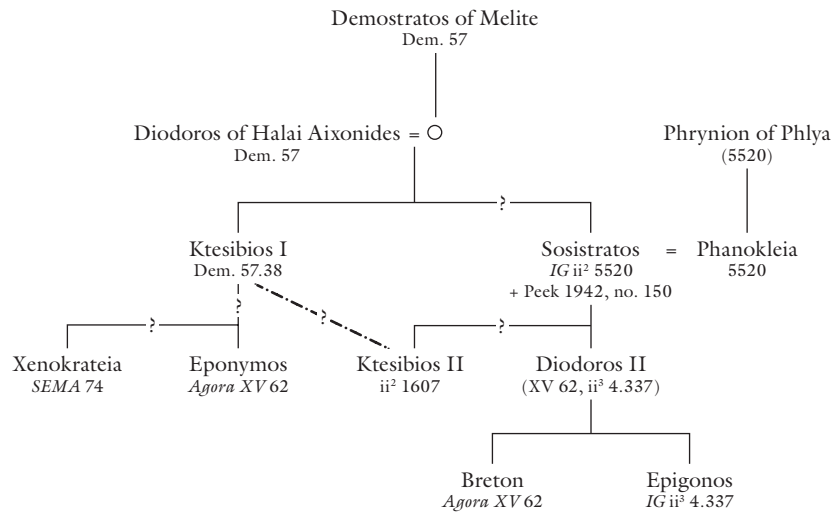
TABLE 29.23. Halai Aixionides: Kallaischros

father of . . g. kion [*sic*], known from a tombstone fragment recorded in a church at Vari, is now attested as a kleruch on Samos *c.* 350.¹⁵⁰ The loutrophoros-stele of Kallaischros II son of Kallon H. (ch. 11 n. 37) was found at Vlachika Varis with a small lekythos commemorating Demostate daughter of Aischron and Kalliades I son of Kallaischros I, perhaps his aunt and uncle (FB; *SEMA* 67, 1709; *SEG* 54.341) (see Table 29.23); Demostate's name was also inscribed in the late fourth century on a re-used naiskos in the Kerameikos, with those of Mikion son of Aiantodoros of Anagyrous and Ameiniche daughter of Mikion of Thria (*IG* ii² 5633). Kalliades II son of Kallias H., ephebe in 333/2/1, may be a grandson (SS) of Kalliades I.

In addition to a family of Eumolpidai, Halai may also have had a family that belonged to the genos Gephyraioi, which became prominent in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Diodoros I, named in Demosthenes 57, had two sons, Ktesibios I and Sosistratos, both perhaps dead before the Aphrodite commission was set up (see Table 29.24). Ktesibios I (*APF* 3933, Demosthenes 57. 38) died on service at Abydos in (?) 387. The Ktesibios (II) who was trierarch in 373/2 (*IG* ii² 1607. 71) may be a son of Sosistratos,¹⁵¹ adopted by will or posthumously to his (?) uncle. Sosistratos may have had a second son, Diodoros II, father of

¹⁵⁰ ii² 5522; Kirchner suggests [Tho]r[y]kion. *IG* xii 6. 262 VII 12.

¹⁵¹ *IG* ii² 5520 (no provenance) = Posamentir 2006, no. 64.



Xenokrateia and Eponymos could be the children of a [Sos]ibios; for Xenokrateia see Petrakos 1992. Note two in-tribe marriages.

TABLE 29.24. Halai: Diodoros *APF* 3933 (cf. Table 7.12)

Breton, councillor in 303/2, and his (younger?) brother Epigonos, ephebe in 333/2/1.¹⁵²

It should be noted that we could restore [Kte]sibios rather than [So]sibios H. as the father of Xenokrate[ia], commemorated on *SEMA* 74 (*CAT* 3. 396 + *Suppl.* 119), and of the councillor Epo[nymos], *Agora* XV 62. 209, 303/2. The latter reference would attach the family to H. Aix.; Xenokrateia's stele was found at Velanideza, but she could have married into the Mesogeia.

A similar case to that of Ktesibios I and II may be represented by Diophantos I of H., who apparently died as trierarch in 349/8, debts being collected from his heir Diognetos son of Diodotos of Phlya (*APF* 4424, *IG* ii² 1620. 32f., with Gabrielsen 1994, 61–2). The choregos Diophantos II H. who won a victory as boys' choregos in 333/2 (*IG* ii² 2318; *APF* requires correction) may be Diognetos, adopted and renamed (the relationship in this case would have to be matrilateral).

Bryon son of Dryon H., ephebe in 333/2/1, with his brother Hedylos, and councillor in 303/2, may be connected with the Bryon Oma— named on a fragmentary fourth century base from the Agora, possibly funerary.¹⁵³

The record of activity outside the deme is slim, but Hierophanes of H. Aix., diaitetes in 325/4, may be the Hierophanes of Halai commemorated on a sarcophagus-lid of the

¹⁵² Archedemos son of Diodoros, councillor in 259/8 (*IG* ii³ 983. 45, Philinos) may instead be related to Polyphilos son of Archedemos H., creditor on a Lemnian horos (Culasso Gastaldi 2006 no. 13) and/or Archedamas son of Archedemos H., who freed a woolworker living in Kydathenaion ε.320 (?), *SEG* 18. 36 A 520f.

¹⁵³ Bryon and Hedylos, *IG* ii³ 4. 337. 59, 58 (this list has a surprising number of Halaieis); Bryon, *Agora* XV 62. 216; Bryon Oma—, *SEMA* 1644.

fourth century or later found in the Laureion area. The ephebic didaskalos Philokrates II son of Philinos H., honoured at Oropos between 304 and 287, was probably the grandson (SS) of another diaitetes of 325/4, Philokrates I; Philokrates II served as councillor in 304/3, and his father may be the Philinos H. who lent 3000 dr. secured on half a chorion, house, and kepos in the Laureion area.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ Hierophanes, *IG* ii³ 4. 35. 109, *SEG* 28. 329. Philokrates II, *IOrop* 369–370 with Petrakos 1968 p. 32, *Agora* XV 61. 199, *LGN* Philokrates 79 (Stephanes 1988 no. 2532, erroneously assigning the didaskalos—who anyway was not theatrical—to H. Ara., presumably because he was honoured by Aigeis); Philokrates I, ii³ 4. 35. 110; Philinos, *SEG* 33. 175. Note that if this reconstruction is right Ph. II would have been young as a councillor.

VIII Hippothontis

The tribe has several small demes that are not at all securely located: Eroiadai, Acherdous, Elaious, Auridai,¹ and Hamaxanteia, with one councillor apiece. Eroiadai may have belonged to the city, and Acherdous to the inland trittys; they are so grouped here, the other three demes being discussed with the coastal trittys. The location of Azenia (two councillors) and Anakaia (three) is controversial. Traill, rightly in my view, puts Anakaia in the inland trittys and Azenia in the Sarandopotamos valley; however, he assigns both Azenia and Oinoe (Myoupolis) to the inland trittys. This produces more equal numbers of councillors (in the fourth century), but I am not convinced that position on the ground can be ignored in this way; I take it that Oinoe and the valleys opening off the Eleusinian plain belonged to the coastal trittys, and that ad hoc arrangements were made to assign the tribe's prytaneis to duty in the Agora. Lohmann placed Anakaia in the Koundoura valley, but arguments from myth and cult, discussed below, favour a site in the Dekeleia–Pentelikon area.²

CITY TRITTYS

Peiraios

This was evidently the dominant deme in the trittys, which appointed eight (?) councillors in the fourth century; the number may originally have been smaller. It was bordered on its north-west side by Thymaitadai, also a member of the Tetrakomoi (with Xypete, ch. 29 nn. 26–7, and Phaleron); Thymaitadai in turn was probably contiguous with Korydallos, which lay south-east of Mt Aigaleos.

¹ Lambert has suggested to me that Auridai may have belonged to the inland trittys; see the discussion of the deme below, nn. 44, 124. His view is slightly supported by the position of Auridai in the Samian list *IG* xii 6. 262.

² Like Traill (1986), I put Anakaia (n. 57) at Mygdaleza. The position of the Attic–Megarian border is still controversial; see the bibliography below, n. 119. One of the unlocated smaller demes of Hippothontis may have occupied the site north of Aspropyrgos allocated by Traill to Kothokidai, cf. ch. 28 n. 5. There does not seem to me to be any regular pattern in the ordering of demes on lists of councillors, diaitetai, and kleruchs in this tribe (see ch. 21).

The other two city demes that can be located, Koile and Keiriadai, occupied an area round the south-western gates of the city, Koile partly inside the walls and partly outside, Keiriadai outside, and to the west of Koile, in the area of modern Petralona. It is not clear whether a continuous line of Hippothontis territory linked Thymaitadai and Keiriadai.³

The city's original harbour had been, it was believed, at Phaleron, but the shelter for ships in the three bays of the Piraeus peninsula—Mounichion (Tourkolimano/Mikro Limani), Zea (Passalimani), and Kantharos—was much better, since in summer the afternoon sea-breeze blows briskly into Phaleron bay. The Piraeus harbours were developed especially after the construction of Athens' fleet of triremes in the 480s, but must certainly have been used earlier. The sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia on the south side of Tourkolimano/Mikrolimano has offerings from the tenth century.⁴

As the base of the fleet, P. became an atypical deme in the amount of state attention devoted to its affairs. The demarch, by the late fourth century, was appointed by the city; we do not know when this practice was introduced. Celebration of the Rural Dionysia in P. and appointment of choregoi was (as elsewhere) one of his duties. Presumably he had to be a demesman.⁵ The deme had its own Thesmophorion, which was under deme control, used by women not only at the Thesmophoria but also at the Plerosia, Kalamaia, and Skira; in the middle of the fourth century it was necessary to prohibit unauthorized use of the sanctuary for meetings, purifications, and the construction of private shrines. Earlier laws, presumably also passed by the deme, had empowered the demarch to impose fines for such offences and, in case of failure to pay, take offenders to court. Deme regulations also prohibited the removal of wood from the sanctuary, and the area was leased for pasture (see below at n. 8). The decree we have, *IG ii² 1177*, was to

³ See further discussion under individual demes. It may have been felt that the association of Koile and Keiriadai with the route from the city to Piraeus provided sufficient motivation for assigning them to Hippothontis, although the route covered by the Long Walls appears to have passed through the territory of Xypete.

⁴ Lohmann (1993*a*, 270) argues that Peiraios probably still had only a small citizen population in 507. An increase in the number of demesmen after that date can be ascribed to incorporation into P. of migrants from other demes as well as immigrants from elsewhere—both procedures legally questionable but quite probable in the case of an area whose population undoubtedly grew very rapidly in the period c.490–450. R. Parker (1996, 115 n. 49) points out that P.'s membership in the Tetrakomoi probably implies that there was a pre-Kleisthenic village on the peninsula (see ch. 18 n. 43 on the 'Twelve Towns'). For discussions of the archaeological evidence see Travlos 1988, 340–63; von Eickstedt 1991; Hoepfner a. o. 1994, 22–50 (plan, fig. 14); Mersch 1996, 168–73; Blackman a. o. 2014. Rescue excavations (quarries, cisterns, graves) are reported in *AD 44 B 1*, 1989 (1995), 54–5; Lygouri-Tolia 2013; Papadopoulou 2015. Artemis Mounichia, Palaiokrassa 1983/1991. Quarries, Langdon 2000, with map. For early maps of the area see Loven and Schaldemose 2011.

⁵ *A.P.* 54. 8; the only demarch whose name is known, Phrynion (*IG ii² 2498*, 321/0), is not otherwise attested.

be published by the demarch and horistai, probably members of a commission set up to redefine and mark the boundaries of the sanctuary (which has not been located).⁶

The deme also had its own theatre, apparently on the western side of the ‘akropolis’ Kastella, above Mounichia; it already existed at the time of the Dekeleian War. In 324/3 it was leased to four men, two of whom (Melesias of Lamptraia and Arethousios of Pelekes) were not demesmen. The lessees were responsible for keeping the theatre in good repair, and collected entry-money from spectators, with the exception of those to whom the deme had granted front-row seats (*prohedria*) either ex officio (priests, demarch, tamiai, and herald) or as a personal privilege. Theaios, praised in the lease decree for having increased the deme’s revenue from the theatre (i.e. the rent) by 300 dr., had perhaps either proposed an increase in the price of tickets or put in a counter-bid that had caused the lessees to raise their offer.⁷

The deme also owned land, which it leased; in 321/0 an inscription was set up containing general regulations for deme leases, which were to run for ten years and to be secured on land if the rent was more than 10 dr. per annum. The plots named are the Paralia (shore? temenos of Paralos? Papazarkadas 2011, 138), Halmyris (saltmarsh), Theseion, Thesmophorion, and Schoinous (reedmarsh); the two latter were used for pasture. The Halmyris had a building on it.⁸

⁶ *IG* ii² 1177 = *SEG* 25. 143; see Papazarkadas 2011, 128; G. J. Oliver 2012. (*IG* i³ 242, a fragment of a *lex sacra* of the 480s, was found in Piraeus but we do not know by whom it was issued.) In view of the evidence from other demes (ch. 22 nn. 108, 114) it is surprising to find the Plerosia here as a women’s festival (N. D. Robertson 1996 takes a different view). On the Kalamaia see R. Parker 2005*a*, 195, 474. The demarch of Eleusis sacrifices at the Halos, Chloia, and Kalamaia *c.*165/4 (Pelops), *IEleus* 229 (but it remains possible that in smaller demes Demeter-festivals were funded by the husbands of *archousai*, ch. 12 n. 31).

⁷ The classical theatre (marked on *KpA* II–IIa; see G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, map 2; Csapo 2007, 107) was found in the 19th c. but is not preserved. It is mentioned in Thuc. 8. 93, cf. Lys. 13. 32, Xen. Hell. 2. 4. 32. A new theatre was built near the Zea harbour *c.*200 (Steinhauer n.d. 28). Lease, *Agora* XVI 93, *Agora* XIX L 13 (*SEG* 57. 130); cutter of *IG* ii² 1262, Tracy 1995, 139. Part of the text was found in the Agora, but since ii² 1176 fr. b found its way to the British Museum, it cannot be regarded as certain that the decree was published in the city as well as in the deme (the text only specifies publication in the deme). See n. 9 below on *Agora* XVI 160, and Stroud 1974. The Dionysia in P. were celebrated between the Theseia (Pyropsion) and the Lenaia (Gamelion), presumably in Posideion, the month attested for other demes (ii² 1496 col. IV 70, 135, 144). On the terms of the lease see Behrend 1970, nos 30–1 (all one text); he points out that in response to Theaios’ proposal three of the four lessees, whose contributions were originally of 1000 dr. (Melesias, Oinophon) or 500 dr. (Aristophanes, Arethousios), raised their bids by 100 dr. each (Arethousios was the fourth). The high rent, 3300 dr., suggests that performances were held on more than one occasion (unless the lease ran for more than one year). Only demesmen are mentioned as spectators; possibly before Theaios’ proposal demesmen had had free seats? See also Csapo 2007, 90–4; Goette 2014.

⁸ *IG* ii² 2498; Behrend 1970 no. 29; Germain 1982; Chandezon 2003, 21–2; Papazarkadas 2011, 121–2, 134, 138; Pernin 2014. The Halmyris, despite its name, was used for farming; Travlos 1988, 340 locates it between Piraeus and Phaleron. See also Conwell 1993. Papazarkadas 138 suggests that the plot

Another deme decree, found—like part of the theatre text—in the Athenian Agora, has been dated to the early third century; if, as has been claimed, Piraeus and the city were reunited in 281, it might date from this occasion. It seems to arrange for an epidosis by both men and women, perhaps of 20 dr. per person, to pay for fortifications, and was proposed by [-c. 10-]s son of Philistides. Another deme decree of the same period grants honours to Kallidamas son of Kallimedon of Cholleidai for his service both to the Athenian demos and to the deme in difficult times (*epi tôn kairôn*); he is to receive a portion of all deme sacrifices except those specifically restricted to demesmen, and for this purpose may affiliate himself to whichever dining group (*triakas*) he wishes. He is also to have a special seat at the theatre among the grandees of the deme, and at the Dionysia is to be led in by the demarch, with the priests and other recipients of prohedria; he is to pay taxes as a demesman, and receives an olive crown, to be proclaimed at the tragedy competition by the herald. The decree is to be set up in the sanctuary of Hestia.⁹

This is a relatively meagre haul of texts¹⁰ for a deme that might have been expected to pick up from the city the habit of recording decisions on stone. Intensive activity on the site throughout antiquity and again from the date of

Paralia was connected with the cult of Paralos (ch. 29 n. 91), but this is hardly necessary. On the Theseion see Philochoros *FGH* 328 F 18, with commentary. There may be a relation between this text and the hekatoistai sales, which must have raised the question whether land owned by demes and other corporate groups was being effectively administered (ch. 22 n. 62). If the *apotiméma* required as security from lessees was calculated on the basis of a capital value of 12½ times rent, lessees who paid more than 10 dr. rent had to own real estate worth more than 125 dr. Those who paid less than 10 dr. (renting pasturage, Papazarkadas loc. cit.) had to name a guarantor. On saltings see Langdon 2010. Lambert 2004*a* reads *IG* ii² 2623 as *horos P[ei]|raizôn [oi]||[ki]as*.

⁹ *Agora* XVI 160, refers to deme property in P. (3rd c.); cf. Carusi 2014. As with the theatre decree, it does not seem to me necessary to suppose that the text had been set up in the Agora at Athens; it was to be published 'on the wall near the entrance'. The British Museum acquired *IG* ii² 1214, ii² 1176 fr. b, and ii² 2492 (Hicks 1874, XI–XIII) from the Society of Dilettanti; ii² 1214 is said to have been found in Piraeus, the other two texts are not given a provenance. It is possible that a group of Piraeus texts passed through the hands of a dealer in Plaka. There is, however, some question whether P. would have financed fortifications or passed honorary decrees when controlled by a Macedonian garrison. Gauthier's argument (1979) for a reunification of the city and Piraeus in 281 was accepted by Reger 1992 but rejected by Heinen 1981, Habicht 1995, 130 n. 3, and G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, 54–64; rejection would probably put ii² 1214 before 295. Philistides, the father of the proposer, probably served in the council in 303/2 (*Agora* XV 62. 249, Ph. son of Lamprokles); the family is discussed below (Table 30.1). *IG* ii² 1214, the decree for Kallidamas, was proposed by a Diodoros, who perhaps served as councillor in 281/0 (*Agora* XV 72. 140); Kallidamas' father Kallimedon is named on a list of (?) tamiai from (?) 325/4 (*AO* p. 214–15). On the division of P. demesmen into *triakades* (groups of 30) for dining at festivals see ch. 19 n. 34 on phratry thiasoi; ch. 29 n. 91.

¹⁰ A fragment dated c.300 from the sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia may mention *démotai* (Palaiokrassa 1983/1991, 233–4, pl. 59a), but provides no further information. *IG* ii² 3229 is a list of contributors to the dedication of a statue and building work in a sanctuary (no provenance), of c.350, headed by Aristophanes P., but contributors came from several demes, so this was not a deme project.

Greek independence may be part of the explanation; but the fact that many of the major sanctuaries and festivals were managed by the state and not by the deme may have restricted deme activity. The sanctuary of Artemis Mounichia was perhaps originally the responsibility of a *genos*; in the later fifth century its funds (or some of them) were held by the Treasurers of the Other Gods; this does not necessarily imply absence of local control.¹¹ The cult of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira seems to have been a new foundation by the state, perhaps in the later part of the fifth century. Asklepios ‘came up to Athens from Zea’ in 420/19; it is not clear whether the Asklepieion in Piraeus was already in existence at that date, or was founded subsequently, but in any case it was not controlled by the deme. A temple of Aphrodite Euploia was built in Piraeus by Konon (II) of Anaphlystos to commemorate his victory off Knidos in 394, according to Pausanias, but we do not know how the priest or priestess was appointed and who was responsible for cult.¹²

Piraeus was also the location of a number of immigrant cults that were given various degrees of official recognition: Bendis was established with a festival at which there was a torch-race, probably by tribal teams, and a civic procession, before 429; a sanctuary of Kybele seems to have been founded in the early fourth century; a group from Kition in Cyprus was granted permission to buy land for a sanctuary of Aphrodite (Astarte) in 333/2.¹³

The visibility of the state in P. is well illustrated by *IG* ii² 380, a decree of 320/19—perhaps inspired by Platonic ideas about the need for port areas to be strictly regulated—which directs the market officials (*agoranomoi*) of P. to use their funds for work on the agora and on their own office, the *agoranomeion*; since they have taken over the responsibilities of the police (*astynomoi*), they are also to repair the streets used for the processions of Zeus Soter and Dionysos, compel those who have tipped earth onto these roads to remove it, and impose

¹¹ *Genos*, see R. Parker 1996, 319; Other Gods, see ch. 22 p. 804.

¹² Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira, perhaps in the area of Ag. Trias (*A to Z* 153 E 24), Travlos 1988; R. Parker 1996, 239–40. Asklepios, *IG* ii² 4962; R. Parker 175–82; Clinton 1994*a*; Eickstedt 2001; see below, n. 87, on *IG* ii² 47, which shows the state managing the cult in the early 4th c. An unpublished site E of Zea, excavated at the end of the 19th c., supposedly produced temple remains, a statue, votives, dedications, and inscriptions, including that of Euthydemos, ii² 4962 (*AD* 1888, 132–6; Eickstedt 1991, 114 with III 1. 131, wrongly places this site on Serangiu SE of Zea); public buildings of c.350–320 excavated NE of Zea at Neorion 114–18 (four dining rooms, bath, courtyard; *AD* 42 B 1, 1987, 53–60) are interpreted as facilities for trireme crews. Aphrodite: Paus. 1. 1. 3; R. Parker (1996, 238) discusses evidence that a sanctuary existed before Konon’s victory.

¹³ Bendis: see R. Parker 1996, 170–5; G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, 66–7; Sakurai 2014, later date; ch. 12 n. 64. Kybele: Travlos 1988, 288–97; Petrocheilos 1992; Parker 188–93; Borgeaud 1996, 46–51; Steinhauer 2015, late 6th c. statue dedicated by a Hipparete (probably a common name in wealthy families of the period). Aphrodite: *IG* ii³ 337; Baslez 1986; Parker 160–1. The association of the introduction of the cult of Isis (unlocated) with Lykourgos II, which would place it in the 5th c., is rejected by R. R. Simms 1989, who suggests a date between 339 and 333.

fines in future on anyone who deposits earth or dung in the agora or on roads (cf. G. J. Oliver 2012).

In addition to public buildings—sanctuaries, the agora, magistrates' offices, and the slipways, ship-sheds, and storage lofts of the fleet¹⁴—one could also see in Piraeus the houses of many prominent and/or wealthy men: Kallias of Alopeke, Timotheos son of Iphikrates of Rhamnous, the banker Pasion, Demosthenes.¹⁵

At least one family of demesmen, perhaps two, can be traced back into the fifth century. The Archeboulos named on a casualty list of Hippothontis of 409 bears a name only attested in this deme, and was perhaps the father of Bathyllos P., syntrierarch c.350, since a Bathyllos II son of Archeboulos II was honoured at Delphi c.284/3. Archeboulos II or a brother, son of [Bathyl?]los I, may have commemorated a victory in men's dithyramb c.350; the Archeboulos (III) who served in the cavalry c.250 will have been a son of Bathyllos II.¹⁶

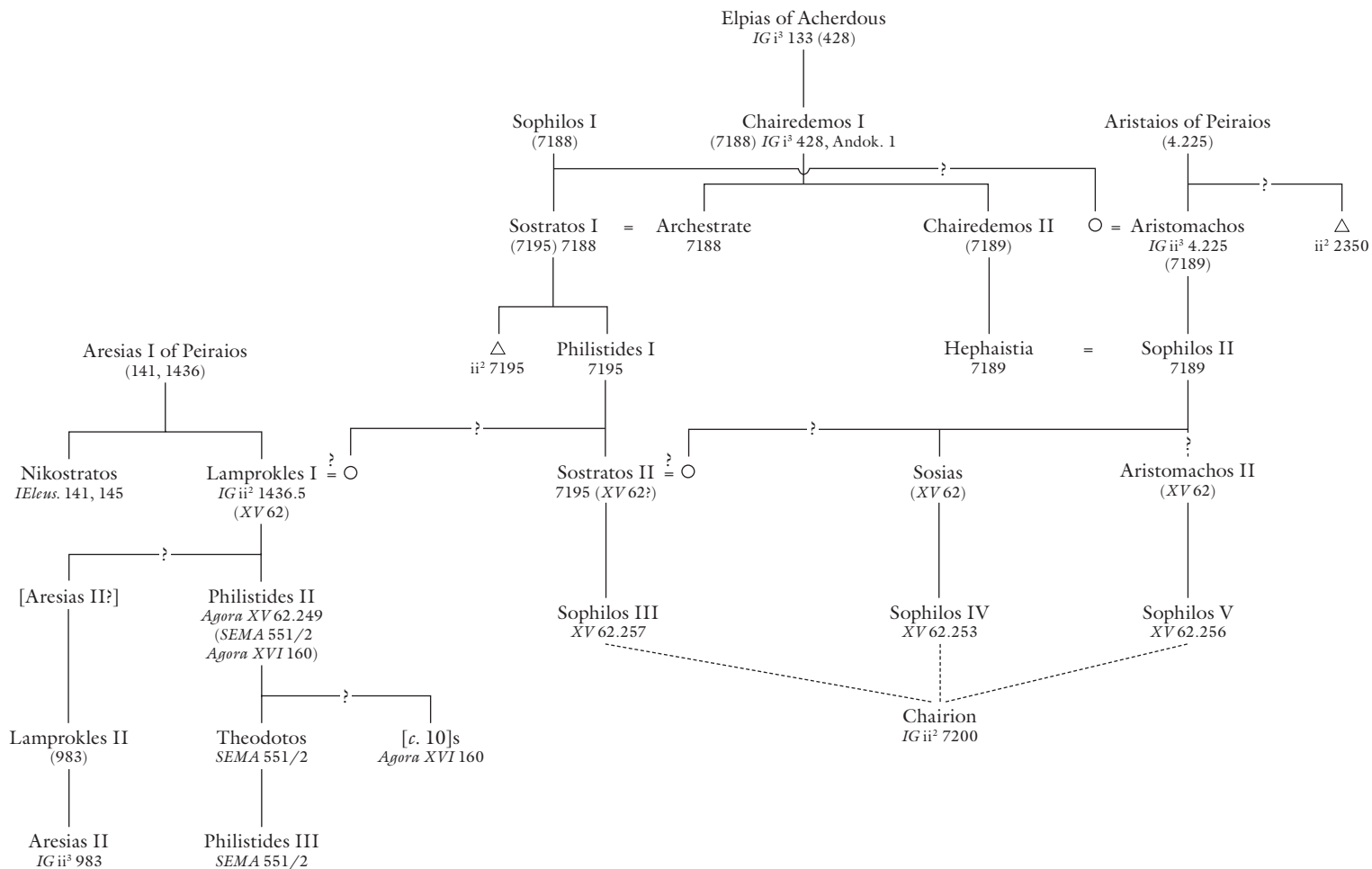
Sostratos I, whose sons (Philistides I and a brother) were commemorated on a painted stele with an epigram, set up in the second half of the fourth century, on which the brother's name was later erased and replaced by that of Sostratos II son of Philistides I, may be the first attested member of a family that can be followed for several generations (see Table 30.1). The epigram records that each of the brothers had served four times (?) in an office concerned with dancing in religious festivals in Athens, and that both lived to see grandchildren. Despite the reference to 'Athens', it is tempting to suppose that the office concerned was that of komarchos at the Herakleion of the Tetrakomoi.¹⁷ A daughter of Philistides I, born c.370, perhaps married Lamprokles son of Aresias I P., tamias in 351/0, whose two sons were called Aresias II (?) and Philistides II; the latter served as councillor in 303/2, and was perhaps the father of Theodotos son of Philistides P., commemorated with his son Philistides III in the early third century by a trapeza found in the St John Rentes area; another son of Philistides II proposed the deme decree of the early third century concerning contributions for fortifications. Aresias II had a son Lamprokles II, whose son Aresias III served as councillor in the 250s; Nikostratos son of Aresias P., named as an official (?) and as guarantor in Eleusinian records of (?) 354/3 (*IEleus* 141. 18, 145. 6–7), will have been a brother of Lamprokles I.

¹⁴ For Philo's arsenal, near Plateia Kanare, see *AD* 44 B 1, 1989 (1995) 50; Steinhauer in Hoepfner a.o. 1994; *AD* 64, 2009, B1–2, 221. On Eetioneia see Steinhauer 2003. There may have been building associated with the introduction of the ephebate; *IG* ii² 478, a decree honouring the ephebes of 305/4, found in Piraeus (Reinmuth 1971, no. 17), was to be set up [*en tōi gymnasi?*] *ōi tōn ephēbōn*, in the ephebes' gymnasium (cf. Humphreys 1985a n. 32). A sanctuary owned by an association of Dionysiastai was excavated on Plataia Korae.

¹⁵ Kallias, Xen. *Symp.* 1. 2; Timotheos and Pasion, [Dem.] 49. 22; Demosthenes, Dein. 1. 69. For Pasion's successor Phormion, who perhaps became a demesman of P., see *APF* 11672 IX and ch. 28 n. 17.

¹⁶ *APF* 2817. Archeboulos I, *IG* i³ 1191. 273; son of [Bathyl?]los I P., ii³ 4. 450 (there are of course many other possibilities); Bathyllos II, *FD* III 2. 200; Archeboulos III, Bugh 1988 II B 65–6.

¹⁷ *IG* ii² 7095 = *CEG* 570; Wilhelm 1934. [T]e[tr]aki in l. 6 is uncertain. On the Tetrakomoi see ch. 29 n. 28.



Notes: All this is obviously very conjectural, especially the marriages of Hephaistia and Archestrates (for corrections to IG ii² 7188–9 see *LGP*N Archestrates 11, Sophilos 23). It seems impossible that they were sisters. On IG ii² 7195 (*CEG* 570) see Wilhelm 1934.

IEleus 141 now dated 354/3

TABLE 30.1. Peiraios: Sophilos

The name Sophilos also occurs in another well-attested P. family but there is no clear connection with the family of the dancing grandfathers. Aristomachos I son of Aristaïos served as epimeletes of the Tetrakomoi c.350. His son Sophilos II had two sons: Aristomachos II, whose son Sophilos V served in the Council in 303/2, and Sosias, whose son Sophilos IV served in the same year. Sostratos II's son Sophilos III also served in the Council in 303/2. Chairion daughter of Sophilos P., whose kioniskos of the early third century was found on Salamis, will have been a daughter of one of these three cousins. Both families took wives from a lineage in Acherdous (n. 62).

The richer of the two theatre lessees in 324/3 who belonged to P., Oinophon son of Euphiletos, has no known connections. The other, Aristophanes son of Smikythos, heads *IG* ii² 2329, the list of contributors to building work on a hieron and dedication of a statue (n. 10). The Smikythos who appears in line 10 of the list may be a son, Smikythos II, although his patronymic and deme are not preserved. Aristophanes' co-lessee Arethousios Pelex is named at line 11.¹⁸

Kalliades son of Philinos, who proposed a rider to the decree concerning the theatre lease, was honoured at some time in the second half of the fourth century with his brother Lysimachides by the orgeones of Amynos, Asklepios, and Dexion. They were praised for their *aretê* and *dikaïosynê*, and awarded gold crowns of 500 dr. each, with money for a sacrifice and dedication and for the stelai recording these honours, which they were to set up. Possibly they had helped the orgeones in a court case; Lysimachides was named with a number of others, including Menon (II) son of Aristokles, probably a member of a wealthy P. family, in a curse tablet that mentions synegoroi.¹⁹

Menon II's father Aristokles son of Menon I was commemorated in the early fourth century by a relief stele portraying him on a prancing horse, with an epigram alluding to the pleasures of riding with contemporaries; he had perhaps taken part in the tribal anthippasia competition. Menekles son of Automenes P., who is recorded as (?) kleruch in mid-century, may be a younger member of this family.²⁰

¹⁸ See n. 7. Ll. 14–15 may be Telesandros II and Euktemonides II (?) of Aixone, cf. *IG* ii² 5425, Euktemonides I son of Telesandros I, mid 4th c., and Antikrates Eukt(emonidou) Aix. (Kroll 1972 no. 72, class IV, 350s?, from Aixone), who is perhaps also named on ii² 2375. 14.

¹⁹ Theatre, n. 7; orgeones, *IG* ii² 1252 (Aleshire 1991, A 5; Papazarkadas 2011, 313 no. 66 wrongly gives the name as Lysimachos). Kalliades and Lysimachides may have been grandsons (SS) of Kalliades son of Kallikrates, commemorated c.390–365 on the stele ii² 7170, found in Piraeus. It is conceivable that Lysimachides' name came from Lysimachides of Acharnai (*APF* 9480, Aleshire 1991 A 9), who made a dedication in the sanctuary of Amynos, but the dates do not fit well. Curse tablet, Wunsch 1897, 95 (B 23–4); the tablet was hard to read and names demesmen of Phlya and (?) Anaphlystos as well as P.

²⁰ Aristokles, *IG* ii² 7151 (from Athens) = *CEG* 482, *CAT* 2. 209a; cf. also Sassi 1981. He is bearded, and may have served as phylarch (ch. 21 n. 48). Menekles, ii² 1927. 60–61, see Humphreys 2010a. On Theoboulos son of Theophanes P., ii² 2393, and his homonymous (?) great-grandson (SSS), general c.200, ii² 1934, ii³ 4. 8, see Tracy 1990, 155–6.

Horse-raising seems to be implied also by the names of Agonippos P. and his son Hippon, the latter commemorated by a stele of c.360 with a relief loutrophoros. Another such stele, commemorating a Nikomachos P., found near the French archaeological school in Athens (Didotou 6), bears an epigram alluding to sheep-raising on Lemnos. Nikomachos (II?) son of Nikomenes was commemorated by an anthemion stele of c.365–340 reported from Trachones, on which he is named with two women, perhaps successive wives; he may have been a younger kinsman of Nikomachos I.²¹ Nautical interests are represented by the names of Keleuon son of Nausistratos I P. and his son Nausistratos II, lessee of an orchard (*Agora XIX* L 6. 14–15; Papazarkadas 2011, 307 no. 37).

On Philophron son of Philokles P., guarantor for Kephisophon of Paiania and mine lessee, buried on Imbros, see Papazarkadas op. cit. 316 no. 84.

A son of Lysinios I P. bought land at Phaleron for 440 dr. in the hekatostai sales; the [Ly?]sinos (II) who proposed a decree of thiasotai of Bendis in 272/1 may be the purchaser's son.²²

As one would expect, Peiraiaans figure solidly in the records from Salamis. Hagnotheos P. acts as guarantor for a Diophantos who rents property on the island in the early fourth century, possibly the father of Epikrates Diophantou P., recorded as serving in the cavalry on Salamis c.320.²³ Xenotimos son of Olympiodoros P., commemorated by a stele with a relief loutrophoros found on Salamis, was perhaps the son of the Olympiodoros P. who was still serving as trierarch in 323/2, who in turn may be the Olympiodoros son of Philoxenos P. of a stone copied by Pittakes. Ktesippos son of Olympiodoros P., councillor in 303/2, was probably a second son of the trierarch.²⁴

²¹ Hippon, ii² 7169, no provenance (three demesmen of P. serve in the cavalry on Salamis c.320, ii³ 4. 323; one of them, Eustrophos, seems to have come from a Eumolpid family, since a homonym was hierophant in the late 2nd c., *IG* ii² 2452). Nikomachos I, ii² 7180 = *CEG* 475, *CAT* 1. 303; attempts to fix the date during the period 404–387, when Lemnos was independent from Athens, are probably mistaken, since in any case some families may have sent ashes back to Athens for burial. Provenance 'Athens'. Nikomachos II, ii² 6054 (Louriotes estate, *AEE*² no. 295); Philoumene daughter of Gnathon of Eleusis (n. 94) is named first, and the names of Nikomachos and of Phile daughter of Eupheros of Kephisia are later additions.

²² Lambert 1997a F 9 B 16, [-c. 7–8-] Lysinou; *IG* ii² 1317 + *SEG* 3. 127 (arch. Lysitheides); M. J. Osborne 2009a, 658–60 no. 1 (ch. 12 n. 47). It is not stoichedon; the restoration [Ly]sinos is uncertain, but probable.

²³ *IG* ii² 1590a (p. 810) 7–8, both names erased. The Hagnotheos P. named on Audollent 1904 no. 50 with his wife Myrrhine and his sons Apollonios and Parthenios, though dated to the 4th c. by Audollent, may be later; Apollonios is uncommon and Parthenios unknown in the classical period. Epikrates, ii³ 4. 323. 25 (the name Diophantos is attested in ten other demes in the classical period). Cf. Diophantos son of Epikrates P., commemorated by a kioniskos found on Salamis, *SEMA* 548, and Philinos, adopted son of Diophantos P., another kioniskos from Salamis, ii² 7194 (the expression *gonoi de* with the genitor's name does not seem to occur on tombstones before the 3rd c., ch. 2 n. 81), M. C. Taylor 1997, 310 no. 339.

²⁴ Xenotimos, ii² 7181 (lost); trierarch, *APF* 11407; Olympiodoros Philoxenou, ii² 7182 (Athens, undated); Ktesippos, *Agora XV* 62. 250. However, the Olympiodoros son of Eumelos P[—] who sold

Sitta von Reden (1995) has characterized P. as ‘a world apart’; certainly the high proportion of metics among its residents would have distinguished it from the more rural demes, though not perhaps from those of the city proper, but its demesmen do not seem to differ markedly in their political and economic interests, in so far as we can reconstruct them, from those of other demes.

Thymaitadai

The *Karten von Attika* reported a deme-site at Kera(t)sini, north-west of Piraeus, assigned to Thymaitadai, and placed Korydallos further west; the general locations are not in doubt, but we have little information about archaeological remains in this area. Thymaitadai was the base of a phratry.²⁵ There is no record of deme activity apart from participation in the festival of the Tetrakomoi (*IG* ii³ 4. 225). A son of Simondes Th. bought property in the deme from the Tetrakomoi in the hekatostai sales; he may have had mining interests.²⁶

The most distinguished member of the deme in the fourth century was the historian Phanodemos, son of Diyllos I, who served as councillor in 343/2 and played quite a prominent role in the Lykourgan era. His son Diyllos II, also a historian, was councillor in 303/2.²⁷

Korydallos occupied territory between Thymaitadai and Mt Aigaleos. Erasiphon son of Epikrates K., commemorated c.350 by an anthemion stele found in Piraeus, may possibly have belonged to a wealthy family from which a client of Lysias tried to collect debts in the early fourth century.²⁸

land on Salamis for a group of Eikadeis in the hekatostai sales (Lambert 1997a, F 13A 13, Π / .) is more likely to belong to Prospalta (ch. 27 n. 48). Wilhelm’s suggestion (1904) that he is named on the curse tablet Wunsch 1897, 103 a 5 is not particularly likely; several names here have Lamptrai connections (chs. 14 n. 83, 23 n. 76) and Olympiodoros (attested in Lamptrai in the 2nd c. BCE) is a very common name. Further afield, note Antichares, kleruch on Samos c.350, *IG* xii 6. 262 VIII 13, perhaps related to (but rather young to be identified with?) Antichares father of Philotades (not Philostratos as Habicht and Hallof 1995 p. 295) P., and grandfather of Philonides II P., ii² 7199 (after mid-century); cf. Philte daughter of Philonides I P., buried Piraeus with a husband from Aixone, ii² 5404, 390–365; Philon son of Philonides III, ii² 7197 = 7198 (cf. *AJP* 64, 1943, 338), dated 2nd c. BCE.

²⁵ *KvA Text* II 10–11. Leake reported temple remains on the hill between Ag. Georgios and the sea, Milchhöfer saw building remains but could not judge their character. Phratry, ch. 19 n. 6. Korydallos (hieron of Kore Soteira, possibly identified on Mt K., with a heroon), *KvA Text* II 11–14.

²⁶ Lambert 1997a F 9 B 14, [-7–8-Jos Simondou; *APF* 12710 suggested a connection with the Simondes of *Agora* XIX P 26. 328, but he is assigned in that publication to Sounion (the name is also attested in the 4th c. in Hybadai and Kephisia).

²⁷ *FGH* 325, Humphreys 1985a, Brun 2013, Phanodemos, with *SEG* 63. 98; *FGH* 73, *Agora* XV 62. 259 Diyllos II.

²⁸ *IG* ii² 6452, Lys. 17; Agryle and Kikynna (ch. 27 n. 42) are other possibilities. Phormisios son of Menekleides Th. won a choregic victory at the Thargelia in 380/79, *IG* ii³ 4. 476.

Keiriadai

The deme bordered Koile on its east side; it is not clear whether it was contiguous with Thymaitadai to the west (more probably, part of the territory of Xypete separated them).²⁹

Pamphilos K., who served as general in 389/8 and was subsequently condemned to pay a large fine, will have been a prominent member of the deme until the family was overwhelmed by this debt. His daughter Plangon, who lived in the city, presumably with her three brothers, bore two sons to Mantias of Thorikos who were recognized as legitimate by their father, not without controversy. Pamphilos' sons were called Boiotos, Euthydemos, and Hedylos; Boiotos may have been given his name in reference to the exile of democrats in Boiotia under the Thirty, and may be the Boiotos who represented his deme in an appeal case resulting from an adverse decision by the demesmen. He is less likely to be the Boiotos who was killed by Euaion in a brawl at some date in or shortly after 348.³⁰

Aietes K., who served as polemarch in 371/0, was called as a witness by Apollodoros of Acharnai in the 340s to testify concerning the claim to free status made by Neaira during his term of office ([Demosthenes] 59. 40). A Chion K. served as theoros to the oracle of Ammon in Libya at an unknown date; it is not clear whether the Chion K. attested as member of (?) the kleruchs' council on Imbros in 352/1 is the same man or a descendant.³¹

Euthykrates son of Demarchos K., whose grave monument was found in the deme area (Pramanton St no. 8), had a daughter, Timesylla, who seems to have married into the family of Teisamenos of Sphettos, and was buried in that deme.³²

Koile, as noted above, occupied an area that had perhaps originally lain both inside and outside the walls of the city; the conspicuous tomb of Kimon Koalemos' racehorses, round which other monuments to members of the family accumulated, was probably just outside the gate in the pre-Themistoklean wall (if there

²⁹ To maintain the theory that trittyes were designed as continuous stretches of territory, one might have to assume that residents of part of the area between the core areas of Thymaitadai and Keiriadai had preferred to register in Xypete.

³⁰ *APF* 9667 (needs revision); on the Mantias affair (Dem. 39–40) see Humphreys 1989 and forthcoming *a*. Isaios' speech *pros Boioton ek dêmotôn ephesis*, in which Keiriadai was mentioned (F VI (37) Thalheim 1903), need not have been written for a case arising from the diapsephesis of 346/5 (and, *pace APF*, cannot have been written for a case concerning the admission to Thorikos of Mantitheos-Boiotos). The fight between Euaion and a Boiotos is mentioned in Dem. 21. 71–2, written for a case of 347/6; Boiotos K. was alive in 349/8 (Dem. 39. 32), and in any case the brawlers were probably younger men (the name Boiotos is attested also in the 4th c. in Eroiadai and Melite).

³¹ *IG* ii² 1642 = *SEG* 21. 562. 35; *IG* xii 8. 63b 10.

³² Euthykrates, *AD* 23 (1968) B 88, *SEMA* 279; Timesylla, *IG* ii² 7527, mid 4th c. Note that ii² 6309 = *CAT* 3. 891 was read by Peek (1942, 168 no. 348) as commemorating [Myn]nine daughter of Hera[kle]ides K., with her father and her (?) husband Diokleides son of Mnesikleides of Ikarion.

was one), between the Pnyx and Mouseion hills.³³ It was probably the most distinguished of Hippothontis' city demes in terms of the antiquity and status of its leading families, some of whom belonged to Eleusinian genê.

[*Spin*]tharos [*ek Ko*]ilês appears on ostraka of the early fifth century, and so probably does his son Phalanthos. Melanthos son of Phalanthos, also a target in the early fifth century, may belong to the same family; a Euphiletos son of Melanthios K. appears on a tribal list of the later fourth century.³⁴

Metagenes (I) K., general in 433/2, belonged to the genos Kerykes. His son Epigenes I served as amphiktyon on Delos from 377/6 to 374/3, and in his turn had two sons, Metagenes II, diaitetes in (?) 330/29, and (probably) Euergetes I, father of Epigenes; the latter proposed a decree of the Kerykes at the end of the century. Epigenes's son Euergetes II served as councillor in 304/3, and the family can be traced into the Hellenistic period. The Euergetes named on the curse tablet Wünsch 1897, 104 may have belonged to it.³⁵

Laispodias III son of Andronymos (?) K., who was elected general for 414/3, and served as ambassador to Sparta under the Four Hundred, was probably a descendant of the Laispodias who set up a dedication on the Akropolis c.500–480; the Laispodias son of Laispodias K. named on an ostrakon of the 480s will be the dedicant or his son.³⁶ There may well have been rivalry in the deme and tribe in the late fifth century between Laispodias (III) and Archinos K., who held office as general many times, according to Demosthenes (24. 135), and played a prominent role in the democrats' 'return from Phyle' in 403, as one of the more moderate members of the group. He opposed the proposal that all those who had been under siege at Phyle should be granted citizenship, proposing instead that each should receive an olive crown and money for sacrifices and dedications; he shortened the time allowed for registration to those who chose to settle in

³³ Most if not all of Koile would subsequently have been enclosed by the Themistoklean wall and by the Long Walls built in 457. See now Greco 2011, 349–57; on the pre-Themistoklean wall, Papadopoulos 2008. On Kimon's tomb see ch. 10 n. 110. Unpublished rock-cut inscriptions in K., *BE* 2013 no. 14. Lambert 1997b, 96–7, is inclined to place the 'agora in Koile' of the Salaminioi in this deme rather than in Sounion with the other property mentioned in the same context (*Agora* XIX L 4a 16–18).

³⁴ Spintharos, Brenne 2001 nos. 247–8; *Agora* XXV no. 662; Phalanthos, *ibid.* 667; Melanthos, *ibid.* 640–2; Euphiletos, *IG* ii² 2393 (on the date and character of the text see below, n. 97).

³⁵ See ch. 20 n. 101, Table 20.2. *APF* 10807 notes the possibility of an affinal connection with the Eumolpid family of Epigenes of Kydathenaion, which is tempting in view of the Eleusinian connections of both families; however, since the names Epigenes and Metagenes are synonyms, the occurrence of the same pair of names in both families carries little weight (Epigenes I K. does seem to have been born rather late in his father's life). References *LGP*N Metagenes 8 (I), 9 (II); Epigenes 49 (I), 50 (II); Euergetes 2 (I), 3 (II). It is unlikely that the Metagenes of Wünsch 1897, 102 belongs to this family, since the milieu seems to be the urban underclass.

³⁶ *LGP*N Laispodias 5 (III), 1 (I), 3–4 (I–II) (the name is otherwise attested only in Anaphlystos [2], where it may well be borne by a grandson (DS) of Laispodias III). On Philon son of Philon K., another ambassador, and his descendants, see Papazarkadas 2011, 316–17 no. 84.

Eleusis with the Thirty, and strengthened the amnesty provisions, first by persuading the Council summarily to execute an early offender, and secondly by introducing the *paragraphe* procedure for use by those who claimed to have been the target of attacks contrary to the amnesty agreement. His son Myronides is known only because he was fined after holding some office; the name suggests that the well-known general Myronides of the 450s may have been Archinos' father or father-in-law.³⁷

Aristoneides son of Emmenides I K. dedicated a group (?) of bronze statues on the Akropolis *c.* 450; a descendant, Emmenides II, was councillor and *epistates* in 349/8 and perhaps served as one of the *horistai* who re-mapped the sacred *orgas* on the boundary between Eleusis and Megara in 352/1.³⁸

Eroiadai

Two tombstones of demesmen and a *dikastic* pinax were recorded at Chaidari, near Dafni; if the deme-site lay in this area it is possible that the whole of the south part of Mt Aigaleos belonged to the city *trittys* of Hippothontis and that the city and coastal *trittyes* were contiguous.³⁹

As in the case of other homonymous demes, it is often impossible to tell whether members of an *Eroiadai* belonged to Hippothontis or to Antiochis. However, Satyros I son of Nik[ias I] E., who may appear in a *diadikasia* list of *c.* 380, had descendants whose records can be linked to Hippothontis: Satyros II son of Nikias II served as councillor for the tribe in 303/2, and Diodoros son of Satyros I made a dedication commemorating a victory with a boys' choir at the Thargelia of

³⁷ Archinos, *SEG* 28. 45. 55, *Aisch.* 3. 187–90; *paragraphe*, *A.P.* 40. 1–2 with P. J. Rhodes 1981*a ad loc.*; *RE* Archinos 2; M. H. Hansen 1983*b*, 162; 1987*a*, 209–10. His funeral speech (date unknown) was admired. Myronides (K.), *Dem.* 24. 135. His son attested as *ephebe*, *IG* ii³ 4. 340, perhaps with the son of [Hiero]μημερον (son of Teisimachos, *ID* 104.5. 21–2, 359/8). It is in any case somewhat doubtful whether the Myronides said to have served as ambassador in 480/79 and as general in the following year can be identified with the Myronides who was general in the 450s. The M. of the 480s was presumably the Myronides of Phlya named on an ostrakon of the early 5th c. (*LGPN* 9, Brenne 2001 no. 193); if he was still capable of active service in the 450s, and if he was of an age to be Archinos' father-in-law, he must have been rather young in 480 (perhaps there were family connections with Sparta; he may have been a descendant of Myron of Phlya, *A.P.* 1; ch. 29 n. 83).

³⁸ *IG* i³ 875; Emmenides II, ii³ 296. 4–5, ii³ 292. 79–80 (demotic restored). His name appears with that of Autokles son of Derkylos of Hagnous (ch. 27 n. 40) on an *epistyle* (?) of the late 4th c., possibly from the dedication or tombstone of a woman who was the daughter of the one man and wife of the other, ii² 3837 = *SEG* 42. 167 (the names of both men are in the genitive case; the stone is broken on all sides).

³⁹ *IG* ii² 6090 = *CAT* 3. 371d (stele with *sima* and a mourning siren), —s son of Demarchos E.; Demarchos' *dikast*-ticket (class VI), Kroll 1972, no. 117. *CAT* 2. 912 = *SEMA* 225 (lekythos), Pheidippos son of Pheidias Oreiades. *CAT* says that the lekythos was probably set up for Pheidippos' wife (name erased) and points out that the provenance may be Odos Kotsias 18, Peristeri (*A to Z D* 2–Z 1); alternatively, Korytsas in Chaidari may be a possibility?

355/4.⁴⁰ Apollodoros son of Pistodoros I, who is recorded as (?) kleruch in mid-century, had a son Pistodoros II who appears in a list of soldiers of 306/5; a relief lekythos of the middle of the fourth century, representing Pistodoros I as a bearded man and Apollodoros as a beardless hoplite, would have been set up to commemorate Pistodoros I.⁴¹ Myrmex 'Oreïades', buried at Eleusis with Archippe daughter of Damainetos of that deme at the beginning of the fourth century (during the period of occupation by the Thirty?), may have been a son or grandson of the Myrmex of Hippothontis who was killed in battle in 448.⁴²

The career of the most distinguished demesman of the Lykourgan period, Philokles son of Phormion, has generated extensive controversy. He served as kosmetes of the epheboi in (probably) 329/8, and may also be the Philokles who as general with responsibility for the Piraeus area in 325/4 let Harpalos land, and was consequently deposed. The general had served as hipparch three or four times and as general in more than ten years.⁴³

INLAND TRITTYS (DIAKRIS)

This consisted of Dekeleia, Oion Dekeleikon, and probably Anakaia and Acherdous. Traill assigns Oinoe and Azenia also to the inland trittys, but on his locations they were contiguous with demes of the coastal trittys, and separated from Dekeleia by demes belonging to VI Oineis and IV Leontis.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Satyros I, *IG* ii² 1928. 23 = *SEG* 32. 171 (*APF* 12580); the demotic is lost and both names are relatively common, but there is no obvious reason why they should be combined, and date and social status are appropriate for the Eroïadai family (however, it is not clear whether Satyros is named as a potential liturgist or as an official). Nikias II, syntrierarch in 356, *APF* 10798; Satyros II, *Agora* XV 62. 262; Diodoros, *SEG* 27. 17 with Traill 1975*b*, 386–8. On Sondrides son of S[ostr]atos E. see Papazarkadas 2011, 314 no. 74.

⁴¹ Apollodoros, *IG* ii² 1927. 63–4 (on the date and character of this list see Humphreys 2010*a*); lekythos, *IG* ii² 6095 = *CAT* 2. 405 (perhaps a stock scene designed for commemoration of a young hoplite who died in battle, used here on the death of Pistodoros I); Pistodoros II, ii³ 4. 319. 9, cf. A. J. Bayliss 2003. The entries in *LGP*N Apollodoros 98–100 are probably all one man; the Pistodoros entry is confused.

⁴² *SEMA* 202; the Archippe named on *IG* ii² 6090 with the son of Demarchos E. might have been Myrmex' daughter. [M]yrmex of Hippothontis, *IG* i³ 1163. 8.

⁴³ Philokles is recorded as kosmetes on *IOr*op 353 = Reinmuth 1971, no. 15; redating of this text to 329/8 instead of 325/4 (fortified by the arguments of Knoepfler 1993*b* for dating the first Athenian celebration of the penteteric Great Amphiarraia in 329/8; see Humphreys 2009) removes the problems created for the identification of kosmetes and general by the date 325/4 (the general was deprived of responsibility for ephebes after admitting Harpalos, Dein. 3. 15, and thus could not have been honoured as kosmetes in 325/4, even if it had been possible to hold the two offices concurrently, which is most unlikely). With *IOr*op 353 dated to 329/8, we have to assume that Deinarchos' reference to the general's responsibility for ephebes was justified by the presence of the ephebes in Piraeus in their first year of service.

⁴⁴ For further discussion of locations see under individual demes; for the name of this trittys, and for Traill's attempt (1975*a*, 1986) to construct trittytes appointing equal numbers of councillors, see ch. 21

Dekeleia

The general location of the deme, at Tatoi, is well established, although difficulties of access to the area, which belonged to the royal family, have limited archaeological exploration.⁴⁵

Dekeleia was the base of the phratry Demotionidai, which had a sanctuary of Leto, and of the 'oikos' Dekeleieis; identifiable members of the phratry are demesmen either of Dekeleia or of its neighbour Oion Dekeleikon. The deme was occupied by the Spartans from 413 to 403, the site being chosen mainly, presumably, for its strategic position on a major route from Attika into Boiotia, but perhaps also in part because the 'oikos' claimed that its eponymous ancestor Dekelos had helped the Dioskouroi to find Helen when Theseus had abducted her and hidden her at Aphidnai. The effects of the Spartan occupation on relations between demesmen who stayed in the deme and those who took refuge in Athens have already been discussed.⁴⁶

The leading member of the deme in the early fifth century—who belonged to the oikos and thus also to the phratry—was one of the most colourful personalities of a period that contained many leading figures brightly painted by our sources, Sophanes son of Eutyichides, who had killed an Argive pentathlete in single combat, and held his ground in the hoplite line as if anchored to the spot. He served (and died) as general in 465/4 on the ill-fated colonial expedition to Drabeskos, which seems to have been the policy of Kimon's opponents. The Sophanes who was *kalos* in the 450s may be his son, and may also be the Sophanes who was killed in action *c.* 411.⁴⁷

The Aristarchos who served as general under the Four Hundred may have been Aristarchos of D., who won a victory with a boys' chorus in 422/1, but there are other possibilities.⁴⁸ Oinobios D. (if Aristarchos came from Dekeleia, a local rival) served as general under the restored democracy in 410/9. A highly

n. 25. Auridai (nn. 1, 124) may also have belonged to the inland trittys, but I have grouped it below at the end of the coastal trittys with other small unlocated demes.

⁴⁵ AGC 21, X7/Y6 no. 13, puts the settlement at Zoodochos Pege, with the burial area (no. 14) on a hill ten minutes (approx. 650 m) to the north, and the Spartan fort on Palaiokastros (no. 15), which also has Bronze Age fortifications (Simpson 1965, no. 383). Cf. Ober 1985; Mersch 1996, 118–20; Funke 2000; Goette 2001, 270 (on my latest road map, 2012, Katsimidi at 1120m ? is not named, and Beletsi is Korphi). For demesmen buried in the deme see ch. 19 n. 105 on the family of Nikodemos; the boy Antiphanes represented with his mother Melis on IG ii² 12109 = CAT 1. 870, a relief stele of the 350s found at Tatoi, may perhaps have been related (BS?) to —kles son of Antiphane[s] D., councillor *c.* 360–340, *Agora* XV 20. 34.

⁴⁶ See ch. 19 on the phratry and prosopography of phratry members. Dekeleia also had a shrine of Zeus Parnethios, possibly in the care of the (?) genos Komadai, IG i³ 1186 *bis*, ch. 20 n. 45.

⁴⁷ Hdt. 9. 73–5; see Humphreys 1999. Evans (1988, 9) notes that this passage in Hdt. must have been written before 427 (Thuc. 3. 26. 3). Possible son, LGPN Sophanes 1–2.

⁴⁸ APF 1663, LGPN Aristarchos 4; the general was one of the extremist oligarchs who joined the Spartans in Dekeleia after the fall of the Four Hundred.

problematic passage of Pausanias appears to say that he saw a record on the Akropolis that Oinobios proposed a decree recalling Thucydides from exile.⁴⁹

Thrasylos son of Thrasylos, who set up a particularly conspicuous choregic monument in 320/19, also belonged to Dekeleia. He acted as 'host' for Plouton at about the same date, and the god continued to favour his family; his son Thrasykles served as phylarch in 282/1 and as agonothete in 271/0 (archon Pytharatos).⁵⁰

Oion Dekeleikon

I have suggested that Oion Dekeleikon and Oion Kerameikon may have been neighbouring villages on the east/southeast side of Dekeleia, Oion Dekeleikon perhaps at Baffi-Keramidi and Oion Kerameikon at Bogiati.⁵¹

Alexandros son of Alexias of Oion was buried in the deme area, although the trapeza commemorating his mother Nako, daughter of Phantias O., was found in the city. Alexandros leased sacred land in 343/2, and may be the son of [Al]exias [of Oion] who was trierarch c.330; he brought a case against Polyuktos of (?) Kydantidai, perhaps concerning the land in Oropian territory granted to Hippothontis and Akamantis.⁵²

Polynikos son of Phokiades I. O., proposer of the tribal decree *IEleus* 67, was the father of Phokiades II, councillor in 335/4 (*Agora* XV 43, cf. n. 50); Phokiades I served as treasurer in 425/4 (*IG* i³ 300. 6, etc.). Since the name is rare, there may be a link with the family of Phokiades I son of Teisias I of Eleusis (n. 101).

⁴⁹ Paus. 1. 23. 9, attacked by Wilamowitz 1877, defended by Schöll 1878, 437–42.

⁵⁰ *APF* 7341; *LGN* Thrasylos 16–17, Thrasykles 13–14 (for 13's patronymic see Habicht 1997). For the Thrasykles son of Thrasylos who was councillor for Hippothontis in 335/4, *Agora* XV 43. 184, see Traill 2003 n. 16.

⁵¹ See Milchhöfer 1887, 1892; *AGC* 21 X7/Y6 no. 1–2 Baffi, 3–4 Bogiati; Mersch 1996, 112–13 (Bogiati); ch. 26 n. 68. Two Oion tombstones were found (re-used in a church) at Bogiati, *SEMA* 485 (Alexandros) and *IG* ii² 6990 = 7009. Note also that Aristogenes son of Aristophilos, whose tombstone was seen at Baffi by Fourmont and Milchhöfer (ii² 10773), bears names that both occur in Hippothontis (i³ 1163. 18, 1186. 71).

⁵² *SEMA* 485, *IG* ii² 7000 (Nako). Alexandros, *APF* 529, *Agora* XIX L 6. 148 with *SEG* 61. 145; Papazarkadas 2011, 301. Hyp. 4 *Eux.* 12 refers to Alexandros' prosecution of Polyuktos, apparently for his proposal (*Eux.* 16–17) that Hippothontis and Akamantis should restore their allocation of Oropian territory to Amphiaraios (Whitehead 2000, 193–4); Dein. F III 3 Conomis 1975, from a speech in this case, refers to Alexandros' ownership of a *boleôn*, apparently an area where dung was collected for resale. If Alexandros was acting on behalf of his tribe in this case, the family will have belonged to Oion Dekeleikon (ch. 26 n. 71); his grandfather (MF) Phantias O. may possibly have been related to Phantias of Dekeleia (ii² 5983, see ch. 19 n. 105). Alexandros and Alexias (I or II?) may be named on the curse tablet *SEG* 58. 266 (D. R. Jordan 2008), which perhaps arose from a conflict in the tribe: the names Aristarchos (*IG* ii² 6020) and Aristophanes (*Agora* XV 62. 268) occur in Elaious, and Epikouros in Eleusis (*Agora* XV 43. 179) and Oinoe (*IG* ii² 2393. 13).

It is possible that the herald Anthemokritos, killed by the Megarians when he delivered a protest against their use of sacred land belonging to Eleusis, belonged to Oion D.; a Kleinomachos son of Anthemokritos O. is recorded as (?) kleruch from Hippothontis in mid-century. He may be the well-known Kleinomachos whose house in the city was bought by Spintharos son of Euboulos of Probalinthos; this Kleinomachos mediated between Demosthenes and Theokrines of Hybadai in the late 340s, and perhaps also served as *naopoios* at Delphi in the 340s or 330s.⁵³

[Pan?]dios son of Sokles O. served as secretary in 355/4 (*IOrop* 290, Knoepfler 1986); if Pandios II son of Pythodelos, *anagrapheus* in 303/2 (*Agora* XV 62. 231), is his grandson, he belonged to Hippothontis. He may be the Pandios who proposed two decrees c.369/8.⁵⁴ The Aischylion O. who lent 1000 dr. on security of a house in the fourth or third century may be a descendant of the Aischylion of Hippothontis who died on campaign c.411, but the name also occurs in Anakaia.⁵⁵ It is conceivable that Dorotheos son of Theodoros O., who bought land on Salamis for 2500 dr. in the *hekatostai* sales, was the son of a Samian kleruch.⁵⁶

Anakaia

Lohmann (1989) suggested that this deme should be located in the coastal tritys, in the Koundoura valley, but he did not consider the mythical and cultic arguments for placing it in Epakria, where the Dioskouroi (Anakes) had visited Dekeleia and Aphidnai, and where Plotheia made contributions to a festival Anakia. The area of Mygdaleza may be a possible location.⁵⁷

⁵³ The death of the herald (Philochoros *FGH* 328 F 155, Plut. *Per* 30. 3) seems to have occurred in the 430s; his statue (outside the Dipylon gate) is mentioned in Is. F XVI Scheibe (*Against Kalydon*), for which the alternative date for his death shortly before 352 seems rather late. See Connor 1962; de Ste. Croix 1972, 247–51; Stadter 1989, 278, 281. He probably belonged to one of the Eleusinian genê (Kerykes?) The horos, *IG* ii² 2558 (see *BCH* 71, 1947–8, 390, missed by *LGN*) was crudely cut in Ionic lettering onto a stone that had previously been used for another purpose; it came from the burial area NE of the ancient city, on Stadiou St, not from the Kerameikos, where the herald was allegedly buried (Paus. 1. 36. 3). The name Anthemokritos is also attested in the classical period in Acharnai (*APF* 944) and Melite. Kleinomachos, *IG* ii² 1927. 104 (see Humphreys 2010*a*); without demotic, [Dem.] 58. 42, 59. 39, *CID* II 119. 22.

⁵⁴ *LGN* Pandios 6, 7 (Oion), 2 (no demotic; see also ch. 24 n. 129). *IG* ii¹ 2394 was published as the tombstone of Sokles son of Hippothon of Oion, but might perhaps be part of a tribal list (e.g. of councillors) in which Sokles' name ended the list of representatives of Kekropis (he might be from Melite or Halai) and was followed by the headings *Hippothontidos* and *ex Oiou*.

⁵⁵ *LGN* Aischylion 2–4. On Opsiades of Oion see ch. 26 nn. 69, 114.

⁵⁶ Dorotheos, Lambert 1997*a* F 13 A 16. In the list of councillors on Samos *IG* xii 6. 262 it seems to me rather unlikely that Hamaxanteia supplied three councillors; it may be possible to read *ex Oiou* in col. VIII 31 (so also Habicht and Hallof 1995).

⁵⁷ On the association of the Dioskouroi with this area see chs. 19 n. 39, 24 n. 50. There are several small hill plains and valleys, and demes may have contained more than one hamlet, plus scattered farms.

Philombrotos son of Philokles A., councillor in 335/4, whose son's tombstone was found in the Agora, may have been a descendant of the eponymous archon of 594/3.⁵⁸ Two families in A. can be traced for several generations. Exekestos I and his (?) wife, daughter of Philon of Euonymon, commemorated by a rosette stele of the mid-fourth century found on the Akropolis, seem to have had two sons, Aristeides, named on a list of (?) kleruchs of mid-century, and Exekias, councillor in the same period. The latter's son Exekestos II served on a tribal board perhaps concerned with theatrical matters in mid-century, and was councillor in the 330s; his son Proteas appears on a horos of the late fourth or early third century from the Kerameikos, as holding a copy of the loan agreement to which the horos relates, which may suggest urban residence.⁵⁹

[Thra]son I (?) son of Aristokles A. appears on the same list of (?) kleruchs, with his son (or father) [Aristokl]es; Thrason II son of Thrasymedes I, councillor in 335/4, should be a grandson (SS) of Thrason I. A later member of the family, Thrason IV son of Thrason III, proposed a decree honouring Zeno in 262/1, and headed the commission appointed to build a grave-monument for him. Thrasymedes II A., thesmothetes in 229/8, may be a son of Thrason IV.⁶⁰

Acherdous

In Euphorion's *Dionysos* the god comes from Thessaly through Boiotia to Aphidnai, Acherdous, and Melainai, and thence travels on to Nemea; this suggests a location on the eastern end of Mt Parnes, somewhere north of Dekeleia.⁶¹

Thoukydides A., tamias in 424/3, and perhaps responsible for a rider to a decree of the same year, is said by Androtion to have been a poet, son of Ariston; he may have been a brother or other relative of Phayllos I A., one of the ten commissioners in charge of Piraeus during the rule of the Thirty (see Table 30.2).

Buck (1889, 162) claimed that ancient building remains were found in excavations at (A)mygdaleza; *SEG* 32. 144, a dedication by a man honoured by the Epakreis for his service as archon at the Apollonia (ch. 19 n. 16), was re-used in a church there. Traill 1986 puts Anakaia at Mygdaleza (on the arguments against locating Hekale there see ch. 26 nn. 73–4).

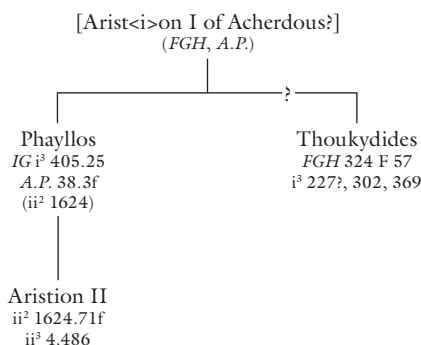
⁵⁸ *LGPN* Philombrotos 1–3; the tombstone, *SEMA* 373, has no demotic. The name is also attested in the late 4th c. in Pallene (*LGPN* no. 4, son councillor 273/2).

⁵⁹ Exekestos I, *IG* ii² 6197; Aristeides, *Agora* XV 492. 139 (see Humphreys 2010a); Exekias, *ibid.* 20. 30; Exekestos II, *IG* ii³ 4. 63. 8, *SEG* 28. 152. 6; Proteas, *Kerameikos III* no. 21, Finley 1952 no. 171.

⁶⁰ [Thra]son I and [Aristokl]es, *Agora* XV 492. 137, 140; Thrason II *ibid.* 43. 194; Thrason IV, *D. L.* 7. 10–12, arch. Arrheneides, cf. Paschidis 2008, A 58. Thrasymedes II, *IG* ii² 1706. 19 (not 1709 as *LGPN* Thrasymedes 11).

⁶¹ F 19 e 21 van Groningen 1977 (*POxy* XIX 2219–20); cf. Bartoletti 1963. Melainai seems to have been in or near Aphidnai (chs. 31 n. 19; 19 n. 27). Euphorion also mentions Kolone (ch. 32 n. 35); the order of names (Aphidnai, Acherdous, Kolone, Melainai) does not seem to be geographical. The Roman estate (?) called Achradous of *IG* ii² 2776. 119, possibly at Ionidai and in any case associated with land-holdings in SE Attika (cf. Lohmann 1993a I, 51–4), is probably not connected with the deme (the name could be given to any area in which there were pear-trees).

TABLE 30.2. Acherdous:
Phayllos *APF* pp. 53–4



Note: See also P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 460.

The latter's (?) son Aristion son of Phayllos won a choregic victory at the Thargelia in 359/8 and is attested as trierarch in the 330s.

Another upper-class family in Acherdous was that of Elpias and his son Chairedemos. Elpias perhaps proposed a decree concerning the cult of the Dioskouroi in the city, which may suggest that he also had an interest in the Anakia of Epakria; his son Chairedemos was one of the four men denounced by Andokides in 415 for parodying the Mysteries. He went into exile, but had returned and recovered at least some of his property by 400; his daughter and (?) granddaughter (SD) married into a family of Peiraios.⁶²

Pylagoras I A., father of the secretary of 335/4 Proxenos I, presumably belonged to a family with Delphic connections; Proxenos II son of Pylagoras II proposed a tribal decree in (?) 283/2 honouring Phyleus son of Chairios of Eleusis for his service as priest of Asklepios in the previous year and as thesmothetes in the current year.⁶³

Pamphilos A., described as *epieikēs* by Aischines (l. 110), denounced Hegesandros of Sounion and Timarchos of Sphettos for embezzling public money *c.*360.⁶⁴

⁶² Elpias, *IG* i³ 133; did he belong to a *genos* associated with the cult at (?) Anakaia? It is possible that members of both these upper-class families, like the Gephyraioi (ch. 20 n. 47), were drawn to Athens by the Peisistratids, but retained (at least until 507) their landholdings in NE Attika; loss of revenue due to the war, and perhaps an ongoing tradition of relations with Boiotia, may have generated oligarchic sympathies, although Chairedemos' name seems to indicate a commitment to the democratic system on his father's part in the 430s. Chairedemos, *Andok.* 1. 52, 63, 67; the reference to sale of his property in *IG* i³ 428. 7 gives no details. For his descendants see Table 30.1. Against the restoration in *LGPN* Chairedemos 13 of Acherdous as the garbled demotic of *IG* ii² 7188 see Table 30.1.

⁶³ Proxenos I, *IG* ii² 331, *LGPN* Proxenos 15; Proxenos II, *IG* ii² 1163 (arch. Euthios); the name may suggest a marriage alliance with the Gephyraioi. Possibly Pyrrhos son of Pythodoros A., who acted as host for Plouton in the late 4th c. (ii² 1933. 8) and dedicated a gold-inlaid bowl in the Asklepieion (Aleshire 1989, *Stele* IV 70) belonged to the same family. Connection with Asklepios is also attested for Nikodemos son of Phourourchos A., who served as priest of the god at some date in the third quarter of the 4th c. (Aleshire 1991 no. 10855, *IG* ii² 4351) and made a dedication to Hygieia, *SEG* 41. 166.

⁶⁴ On the date see ch. 27 n. 30.

COASTAL TRITTYS

The leading deme in the trittys was of course Eleusis, which also served as the headquarters of the tribe, the Hippothontion being located in its territory (chapter 21 p. 749). The trittys covered the western part of the Thriasian plain and probably the Koundoura and Sarantopotamos valleys to the north and west of it. It is conceivable that Kopros and Korydallos (in the city trittys) were contiguous on the coast.

Eleusis

This was a substantial town, a place of pilgrimage for Greeks in general as well as Athenians, with a distinctive history; it was the cultic base of at least five *genê*, and presumably of a phratry.⁶⁵ It had easy access to the sea and to the island of Salamis, and farmland in the plain. From c.335 it was also one of the garrison towns in which detachments of epheboi were regularly stationed, reinforced by other troops when necessary.⁶⁶

Eleusis had been chosen by the Thirty as a place of refuge in winter 404/3, no doubt mainly because the site was too sacred to be attacked;⁶⁷ they seized and executed the adult males present in the deme when they occupied the town. Normal relations with Athens were restored in 401/0.⁶⁸

This dating makes it most unlikely that *IG* i³ 970 (*IEleus* 53), a dedication set up at Eleusis by Gnathis son of Timokedes and Anaxandrides son of Timagoras to commemorate choregic victories won with a comedy by Aristophanes and a tragedy by Sophokles, refers to victories won in 402/1, as suggested by Kirchner. Since the two men were synchoregoi, and it is not clear that this arrangement was in force in the city in any year except 406/5, their victories were probably won at the Rural Dionysia in Eleusis.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ There is a useful plan in *AD* 43 B 1 (1988 [1993]) 41, with information about finds of houses and tombs; see also Travlos 1988, 91–169; Goette 2001, 270; Papangele 2002. On the *genê* (Eumolpidai, Kerykes, Philleidai, Krokonidai, Koironidai) see ch. 20. Clinton (1974, 13 n. 13) calculates that as many as 2150 initiates might have come to the town in 408/7, but much conjecture is involved. On the problems of dealing with pilgrim crowds see Pouilloux 1977 (Delphi, 247/6); ch. 12 at nn. 35–9.

⁶⁶ See below at nn. 70–84 on deme decrees. The date of the walls is unknown; see Ober 1985, M. H. Munn 1993, Goette 2001, 275.

⁶⁷ Xen. *Hell.* 2. 4. 8–10. Previous use of Eleusis as a cavalry station (Thuc. 4. 68, perhaps 2. 19) may have had some influence.

⁶⁸ *A.P.* 40. 4, see D. M. Lewis 1993, J. L. Shear 2011. *SEG* 30. 101 concerns the re-absorption (Lewis, n. 8).

⁶⁹ Kirchner's note on ii² 3090 is rather confused; see now P. Wilson 2000, 375–6 n. 164; Csapo 2004, 59–60, 2010*b*. The cutter also inscribed *IG* i³ 106 (409/8), 179 (c.415–405), and 515 (408/7); Wilhelm 1906, 177 n. 1; 'Erechtheis cutter', D. M. Lewis lecture (UP; 1984–90?). If the victories were won at the Rural Dionysia synchoregia was perhaps not a regular institution (cf. P. Wilson 2010*a*, 45; the

Our other evidence for deme activity in Eleusis begins only in the second half of the fourth century.⁷⁰ The deme conferred honours on Hierokleides of Paiania for his activities as hierophant, probably in the 340s or 330s.⁷¹ The three Thebans honoured by the deme (*IEleus* 70, 71) had probably arrived as refugees after Alexander's destruction of the city in 335. One of them, Damasias, had brought with him a group of students (*mathétai*); he had trained two additional choruses, one of men and one of boys, to compete in the Rural Dionysia, and was awarded a gold crown of 1000 dr., 100 dr. for a sacrifice, an honorary seat at festivals, and hereditary remission of deme taxes. The Theban honorand of the other decree received an olive crown, remission of taxes, and an honorary seat at festivals.⁷²

Indirect evidence of another deme decree is provided by ii³ 4. 232, a dedication to Dionysos by four men whom the deme had crowned; it was probably set up in the 330s, since one of the dedicants, Antiphanes son of Euxenides, was serving as priest of Herakles in Akris in 332/1.⁷³

Eleusis responded enthusiastically to the introduction of the ephebate, voting honours for the ephebes of both Hippothontis and Kekropis who served in 334/3/2—probably the first cohort—and for those of Pandionis at about the same time.⁷⁴ The deme's decision in 332/1 to put the finances of the local cult of Herakles on a new footing may also have been prompted by the presence of ephebes in the town. Philokomos son of Phalanthides proposed that the quarry on the Akris peninsula should be leased and the rent income used for sacrifices to Herakles, and Moirokles, a member of a prominent deme family that will be

two men might, for example, have been fellow-guardians, or the husbands of two sisters who were epikleroi), or the victories were not won in the same year. For the choregoi see below, pp. 1124–5, with Table 30.4.

⁷⁰ *IG* i³ 251 was found at Eleusis, but there is no reason to regard it as a deme text; the same is true in my view of *IEleus* 175, part of a sacred calendar of c.300 (regarded as a deme calendar by Dow and Healey 1965; Roux 1966; Whitehead 1986a; N. D. Robertson 1996; attributed to the state by *IEleus*, Jameson 1977; excerpt of Eleusinian data from a state calendar, comm. *IEleus* 175. Further deme decrees, ? c.350, *IEleus* 68–9.

⁷¹ *IEleus* 72; Clinton 1974, 18. See ch. 20 n. 96.

⁷² On Theban refugees at Eleusis see Koumanoudes 1961. Whitehead 1986a thinks that *oikésas* (*IEleus* 70. 3, 38) implies that the honorands were no longer resident but the aorist seems to refer to the act of immigration, see LSJ s.v. *oikeô* 2. Phryniskos of Thebes was added in a rider to the same decree, but details are lost.

⁷³ *IEleus* 85; his father or son Euxenides is recorded as (?) kleruch in mid-century, *IG* ii² 1927. 71–2, see Humphreys 2010a.

⁷⁴ Reinmuth 1971 nos 2–3 (3 = *SEG* 34. 106), Kekropis and Hippothontis; no. 10 = *IG* ii³ 4. 342, Pandionis, 332/1/0?, inscribed by the cutter of ii³ 337, Tracy 1995 (Tracy claims that the text from *kai ekosmoun* in l. 5 was erased and not reinscribed). *IG* ii³ 4. 337, from Eleusis, is a dedication by the Kekropis sophronistes and ephebes of 333/2/1; they had been honoured both by Eleusis and by Rhamnous. It is not clear whether all tribes were represented in the ephebic garrison at Eleusis or whether some were stationed at Eleusis and others elsewhere, nor whether tribal squadrons always stayed together or could be split.

discussed below, took a lease for five years at a rent of 150 dr. per annum; he also made an additional contribution of 100 dr. for the Herakleia. Philokomos was rewarded with a gold crown worth 100 dr., to be paid by Moirokles (apparently from his rent payment); it seems likely that he either owned the land on which the quarry was situated or had been intermittently exploiting it himself in the previous period (perhaps both). Moirokles, who was probably the prime mover in the whole affair, drew on a precedent in his own family; his father Euthydemos I had served as priest of Asklepios in Piraeus, where the state had assigned quarry revenues to the cult in an analogous fashion.⁷⁵

This decree provides the important information that the deme held its elections (*archairesiai*) in Metageitnion, in the Theseion in Athens. The Theseion was presumably chosen because the deme wished to use the allotment machines located there; the elections were perhaps held in the second month of the year because it was convenient for demes to wait until all the city's officials and liturgists had been appointed before making their own assignments. We also learn that the deme had a euthynos, a synegoros, and hieromnemes.⁷⁶

Our next deme decrees probably come from the period of the Lamian War and its aftermath.⁷⁷ *IEleus* 80 honours the peripolarchos Smikythion of Kephale, who stationed himself at Eleusis with his mercenaries and subsequently persuaded the generals and the demos that the town needed a garrison. The situation suggests either the Lamian War or the period following Polyperchon's proclamation of

⁷⁵ *IEleus* 85, Lupu 2005, 151–8, Alipheré 2013; see Ampolo 1983, Flament 2013; Humphreys 1985a on deme initiatives in cult related to the ephebate (ch. 29 nn. 62, 108); Feyel 2012; Carusi 2014. Moirokles' gift of an additional 100 dr. for the Herakleia released 100 dr. of his first rent payment for Philokomos' crown; Philokomos must have earned his reward by giving up some putative rights or income. Euthydemos, *IG* ii² 47, see Ampolo 1982 and below, n. 87. Ampolo does not seem to me to have disproved Burford's arguments (1965, 1969) that quarry exploitation was often informal and unsystematic. What the examples from Piraeus and Eleusis show is that public ownership of quarries might be established by a proposal to use revenues for religious purposes. See also Papazarkadas 2011, 229–30; ch. 22 at n. 82. There is no justification for restoring Moirokles as proposer of *Agora* XVI 82.

⁷⁶ Eleusis was a large deme (eleven councillors); small demes may have conducted all the main civic business of the year (appointment of councillors and deme officials, scrutiny of outgoing officials and 18-year-olds) at a single meeting, which would presumably have been held in Skirophorion. Erchia and Thorikos (ch. 24 at nn. 73–4, 27 n. 71) may have held elections in Metageitnion (see also ch. 22 n. 115). As far as we know there was no formal prohibition on combining city and deme offices (on Euboulides of Halimous see ch. 26 n. 15) or liturgies, but most men would probably have thought this too burdensome. In addition to the officials mentioned in *IEleus* 85, Eleusis had a tamias (*IEleus* 71. 8).

⁷⁷ Marc 1993 publishes a decree of c.330, passed by a body smaller than the state, honouring a son of [Pyth?]odoros of El[eusis], but since his demotic is given it is probably not a deme decree. He may be the father or son of Pythodoros son of Euphron E., naopoios at Delphi in 324/3 (*CID* II 102 B 26) and thus perhaps related to Euphron son of Aichmeas E., commemorated with his father and his (?) wife Archippe daughter of Stesippos of Acharnai on a lost stele of the 4th c. found at Eleusis, *IG* ii² 6022. On *IEleus* 175, often thought to be a deme decree of the Lykourgan period, see n. 70.

freedom for the Greeks in autumn 319.⁷⁸ It has been argued that the decree honouring the general Derkylos of Hagnous, in which he is praised for concerning himself with the education of boys in the deme, belongs to 319/8 and implies that he was quietly allowing general access of local boys to ephebic training in Eleusis, ignoring the restriction of citizenship to those owning more than 2000 dr. that had been in force since 322.⁷⁹

A decree honouring Xenokles of Sphettos, Lykourgos' associate, probably belongs to 318/7. In his capacity as epimeletes of the Mysteries he had built a new wooden bridge, which improved the route of the processions that carried the Eleusinian *sacra* to Athens and back, while also allowing farmers and other inhabitants of the countryside to take refuge quickly inside the walls of the town in time of danger.⁸⁰ A decree honouring a demesman of Phyle, perhaps passed at about the same time, refers only in a vague and general way to benefactions.⁸¹

ii³ 4. 281, the base of a statue of Demetrios of Phaleron, has been redated to the 250s and assigned to his grandson.⁸²

Towards the end of the fourth century, probably in the period of restored democracy after 307, Eleusis honoured its demarch Euthydemos II, son of the quarry lessee Moirokles;⁸³ the activities of this family will be discussed below at nn. 87–93. The only other deme text that belongs to the fourth century is a fragmentary and very dubiously restored document that seems to concern the lease of a furnished synoikia.⁸⁴ In Menander's *Sikyonios* (183–271), performed

⁷⁸ *IEleus* 80, M. Meyer 1989a A 117 (dated c.330), Lawton 1995 no. 152 (325–300); Tracy 1995 puts the lettering c.320. On the historical situation see Habicht 1995. Relief and lettering seem similar to those of *IEleus* 99, for Derkylos (n. 79).

⁷⁹ *IG* ii² 1187 = *IEleus* 99, M. Meyer 1989a A 133, Lawton no. 127 (the latter thinks the relief looks earlier than 325; earlier, Lykourgos, date also *SEG* 49. 135); Tracy 1995, cut by the cutter of *IEleus* 99, who also cut ii² 1157, 1195, and 1266+ (cf. Walbank 1989). Date, Mitchel 1964 (the question of demes' reactions to the legislation of 322 has never been explored); *contra*, Couvenhes 1998, ch. 27 n. 40, dating in 330s.

⁸⁰ *IEleus* 95, dated either 321/0 or 318/7 (318/7 in A. J. Bayliss 2011, 99, 234 n. 7); it seems more likely that Xenokles was holding office and receiving honours in a period of restored democracy, as he was to do again in 307/6 (ch. 27 at n. 27).

⁸¹ *IEleus* 96. In *IEleus* 74 (M. Meyer 1989a, A 148; Lawton 1995 no. 161) only the heading of the deme decree is preserved (Meyer dates it c.310).

⁸² Tracy 1994a, cf. Habicht 1995, 151, 155–8. The dedication was set up by the garrisons of Eleusis, Panakton, and Phyle; on Demetrios II see ch. 31 n. 11.

⁸³ *IEleus* 101; Tracy 1995 attributes it to the cutter of ii² 1262, also responsible for *IEleus* 100 (a decree of the Kerykes for Euthydemos after he had served as paredros to the archon basileus), 1241 (Dyaleis, 300/299), 1263–5, and 2390, and thinks it might be as early as 320 (id., 1994b, 243 n. 28); cf. Walbank 1989. *IEleus* 102, perhaps part of a dedication, mentions a strategos and the demarch Euthy[demos?]; were it not that Clinton says the top of the stone seems original, one would take this to be the end of a deme decree carrying instructions for the demarch to publish it (cf. *IEleus* 80. 27–31).

⁸⁴ *IEleus* 176 with comm.; Tracy 1995, cutter of ii³ 359, c.330 (Kirchner had put it at the end of the century). References to Thria had been entirely restored, and in l. 5 —agoran may be part of a proper name.

c.320–295, Blepēs of Eleusis explains that when he arrived in Eleusis from the city for a festival—‘to find one of the demesmen sacrificing a scrawny little cow and listen to the participants’ complaints’—he found a crowd outside the propylaea gathered round a girl, which turned into an informal deme assembly to discuss her case. The scene gives a vivid impression of a meeting in which speakers are constantly interrupted by, or appealing for, acclamations from the audience.⁸⁵

Surprisingly, we cannot identify a single member of any of the Eleusinian *genē* who belonged to the deme earlier than the third century hierophant Chairētios Prophetou E. of *IEleus* 201, although there must surely have been families of *gennetai* who were still in the town in 507.⁸⁶

The most interesting family in our records is that of Euthydemos I, the priest of Asklepios in Piraeus (see Table 30.3). Although there is no evidence that his tenure of the office was formally exceptional in any way, he undertook his responsibilities with unusual initiative and energy, expounding to the *demos* that the god required *prothymata*, setting up *stelai* near the altars with pictures of the cakes (*popana*) to be used for private preliminary offerings, and recording his own activities on a stele that already stood in the sanctuary.⁸⁷

The priest seems to have had a brother, Kallippos I, whose son Moirokles I was commemorated by a *naiskos*, found by the road from the Dipylon to the Akademy, at some date before Demetrios of Phaleron’s legislation on funerals. Moirokles I’s son Kallippos II had a distinguished career in the early third century, serving as general in 279 of the Athenian troops sent to defend Delphi against the Gauls, as ambassador to Arcadian Orchomenos before the Chremonidean War, and as Athenian representative to the council of the allied forces.⁸⁸ In view of his son’s record, it seems likely that it was Moirokles I who

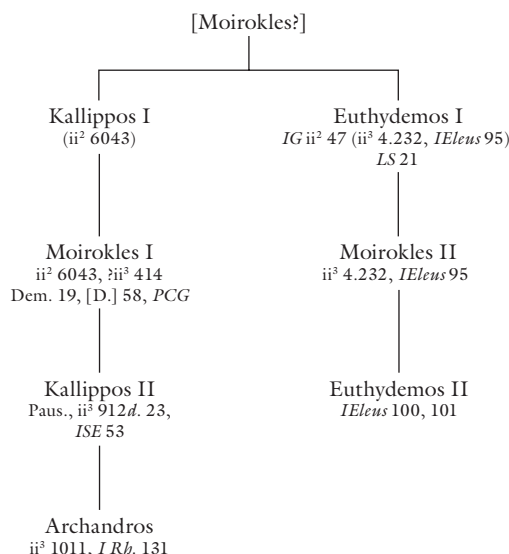
⁸⁵ Cf. Potter 1996, Kuhn 2012, on acclamations.

⁸⁶ Did some of them disappear in the massacre by the Thirty?

⁸⁷ *IG* ii² 47. 23–32 (the *demos*’ decree added, perhaps by Euthydemos, to an inventory of sacred property). Euthydemos probably claimed to have been instructed by the god in a dream (cf. Humphreys 2017*b*), and the message about preliminary offerings seems to have been a pretext for a general reconsideration of the sanctuary’s finances; building work was also needed (47. 31–2). See Ampolo 1979, 1981, 1982, 1983; Aleshire 1991, Z 4 = 5533; R. Parker 1996, 181–3. Parker rightly stresses Euthydemos’ innovations (I doubt, however, whether Plato Com. *PCG* 7 F 188 is parodying his law); this does not necessarily mean that the cult had newly become a state responsibility (there is no indication in ii² 47 that the *epistatai* of Asklepios, the use of quarry revenues, or the festival to which *prothymata* were to be added were of recent date). Euthydemos’ priesthood is probably to be dated c.370–350 (Aleshire; but see n. 92 below). On ii² 4962 (*LS* 21) the record of Euthydemos’ activities is cut in a different hand from the regulations for (private) *prothymata*, but this may be only because it was cut after the end of his year of office.

⁸⁸ Paus. 1. 3. 5, 1. 4. 2, 10. 20. 5; *IG* ii³ 912. 22–3; *ISE* 53; *IRb* 14. *LGPn* Kallippos 29–30, though aware of the existence of Kallippos I (ii² 6043, cf. Koumanoudes and Matthaïou 1987), considers Kallippos II to be the son of Moirokles II (Moirokles no. 1), to whom all references other than ii² 6043 are attributed. See also A. J. Bayliss 2011.

TABLE 30.3. Eleusis: Moirokles



Note: The Euthystratos son of Euthydemos of *Agora* XV 43.182 probably belonged to Dekeleia.

was the politician of the 320s ‘Moirokles the Salaminian’, so called perhaps to distinguish him from his homonymous cousin (FBS) Moirokles II, the quarry lessee, whose interests may have been concentrated in the deme. The Salaminian may also be the proposer of *IG* ii³ 414. We do not know which of the two cousins served as diaitetes *c.*330; the deme decree *IEleus* 95, for Xenokles of Sphettos, passed in (?) 318/7, was proposed by Moirokles II.⁸⁹ Archandros son of Kallippos II served as general at least once, in 248/7 (Diomedon), in which year he also contributed to the epidosis.⁹⁰

Moirokles II, son of Euthydemos I, was honoured by the deme in (probably) the 330s with three other men, one of whom, Antigenes son of Euxenides, is probably the Antigenes who was serving as priest of Herakles in 332/1. (Euthystratos son of Euthydemos, who was one of Hippothontis’ councillors in 335/4, probably

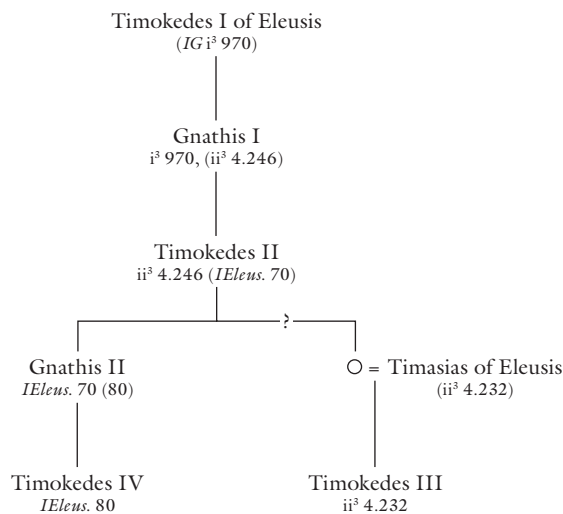
⁸⁹ On the politician see Ampolo 1981. I assume that he was called Salaminios because he owned property on the island; see ch. 20 n. 105; M. C. Taylor 1997, 85–7 (296 no. 237 confuses him with his cousin). He was a member of the Eleven in 325/4 or 324/3 (Dem. *Ep.* 3. 16–18), was accused with Pataikos, Taureas, and Aristogeiton of speaking in the Assembly while *atimos* (ibid.), proposed, as a friend of traders, a decree concerning the punishment of Melos for harbouring pirates ([Dem.] 58. 53, 56), was bribed by Harpalos, and was demanded by Alexander in 335 (Arr. *Anab.* 1. 10. 4; he does not appear in all lists). Diaitetes, *IG* ii³ 4. 33. 109–110; deme decree, *IEleus* 95. 5 (read [Moi]r[okles]; on the date see n. 80 above). In view of the careers of their sons, there may be some grounds for thinking that Moirokles II was the older of the cousins and the diaitetes of *c.*330. The Moirokles who supplied tiles for the Eleusinian sanctuary for 40 dr. in 330/29, *IEleus* 177. 271–2, may be one of these two men (the carting cost is high, did the tiles come from Salamis?) or a freedman of the family.

⁹⁰ *IRh* 131, *IG* ii³ 1011 II 61; *SEG* 38. 125–7, 47. 151, cf. G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, 186, 200–1; ch. 16 n. 45; *IRh* 27, 28, 140. Unpublished decree for A., general in 244, Petrakos 1997, 622.

belonged to Dekeleia.)⁹¹ Moirokles II's son Euthydemos II, as we have seen, was honoured by the deme for his services as demarch and by the genos Kerykes for serving as paredros to the archon basileus. The Epikleides son of Euthydemos who was one of Hippothontis' councillors in 303/2 may have been his son.⁹² The name Epikleides is uncommon—it is otherwise attested only in Acharnai—and there may have been a link between Euthydemos' family and that of the eponymous archon of 394/3, Euboulides son of Epikleides E. A descendant, Euboulides II son of Euboulos, proposed decrees in 305/4 and 304/3.⁹³

The descendants of Timokedes I were evidently, like Moirokles II and Euthydemos II, active in deme affairs (see Table 30.4). Gnathis I son of Timokedes I set up in the late fifth century a monument commemorating choregic victories (n. 69); his co-choregos Anaxandrides son of Timagoras may perhaps have been a kinsman. Timokedes II son of Gnathis I was honoured in 356/5 for his services as taxiarch. Gnathis II, demarch probably in the late 330s, was presumably a grandson (SS) of Gnathis I; the Timokedes (IV?) son of Gnathis who proposed the deme decree in honour of Smikythion of Kephale *c.*(?) 320 (n. 78) will have been either the demarch's son or (less probably) his father. Timokedes III, son of Timasias, one of the four demesmen crowned *c.*330, may have been a nephew (ZS) of Gnathis II.

TABLE 30.4. Eleusis:
Timokedes



Note: IG ii³ 4.246 is dated 356/5, so probably honoured T. I rather than T. II.

⁹¹ Moirokles II, IG ii³ 4. 232; on his role in the proposal to use quarry revenue for the cult of Herakles, *IEleus.* 85, see above, n. 75. Euthystratos, *Agora* XV 43. 182; Traill 2003, 122 n. 16.

⁹² *IEleus* 101 (above, n. 83); *IEleus* 100, see ch. 20 n. 138. Epikleides, *Agora* XV 62. 241 (it is not entirely certain that he belonged to Eleusis; Aleshire 1991, Z 4 [no. 5533] has him as son of Euthydemos I, which seems to me less likely; this influenced her low date for Euthydemos' priesthood, which was based on prosopographical calculations and not on epigraphic dating).

⁹³ The archon's brother Diktys served as his paredros: see IG ii³ 4. 42 and ch. 15 n. 5. Euboulides II: *Hesp* 5, 1936, 201ff.; ii² 483, the latter for a doctor from Rhodes.

There may have been some link between the Timokedes–Gnathis lineage and Εὐθ[ί]ας son of [Γνα]τ[ί]ον E., who proposed the deme decree honouring Hierokleides of Paiania. Euthias' sister Philoumene married a demesman of Peiraios, Nikomachos son of Nikomenes, and was commemorated with him on a stele recorded at Trachones.⁹⁴

Onetor, demarch in (?) 318/7, may have been related to Timokles son of Onetorides E., named in a diadikasia list of 381/0, and to the Onetorides of Hippothontis who died on campaign in 446.⁹⁵ The Epigenes who proposed the decree about the cult of Herakles in 332/1 may have been either E. son of Lysanias, commemorated on a stele of (?) the fourth century reported from Athens, or—perhaps more probably—E. son of Mikrion, commemorated with his wife Melisto daughter of Hegestratos of Oion by a naiskos. If the stonecutter made a mistake and this Epigenes' father was called Smikrion, he would be the brother of Philoxenos son of Smikrion, represented with his father and his sister Aristodike on another naiskos.⁹⁶

Kallimachos (II) son of Kallikrates, who proposed the two decrees for Thebans preserved on *IEIeus* 70, may be the son of Kallikrates son of Kallima[chos] I, named in a list of (?) diaitetai and buried in the deme.⁹⁷ The proposer of *IEIeus* 74, —thes son of Nausistratos (I), was probably the father of the Nausistratos (II) E. who in 289/8 made a loan of 200 dr. secured on a house at Eleusis.⁹⁸ In

⁹⁴ Εὐθ[ί]ας, *IEIeus* 72; Philoumene, *IG* ii² 6054 (from the Louriotis estate, *AEE*² no. 295). The name of another woman, perhaps Nikomachos' second wife, was added to the stele (since it is dated c.365–340, Philoumene probably died relatively young; Whitehead's suggestion, 1986*a*, 427 no. 159, that she was Euthias' mother seems to be a slip). Euthias may be the man of that name, son of [Πυ]τ[ί]ον (no demotic), paid for carting bricks for the sanctuary at Eleusis in 329/8, *IEIeus* 177. 56, 58.

⁹⁵ Onetor, *IEIeus* 95 (n. 80 above); Timokles, *SEG* 32. 171c 9 (*APF* p. 512); Onetorides, *IG* i³ 1163. 10. Kirchner's restoration of the demarch's name, [Onet]or Aiso[nos], as that of the proposer of *IEIeus* 96 is not really justifiable.

⁹⁶ *IEIeus* 85; Epigenes Lysaniou *IG* ii² 6031, from the city; Epigenes Mikrionos, ii² 6999 = *CAT* 3. 369c (no provenance). Philoxenos, ii² 6052 = *CAT* 267 (no provenance; names added, Schmaltz and Salsa 2003 no. 43). Cf. perhaps Philoxenos son of Antiphon E., member of a mid-4th c. tribal board, *IG* ii³ 4. 66; Antiphon E., treasurer of the sanctuary of Hera on Samos in 346/5, *IG* xii 6. 261; Antiphon son of Koroibos E., secretary in 325/4, *IG* ii³ 367–8; Antiphon E, dikast-ticket from Aigina, Class III or IV, *SEG* 34. 141. ii² 6999 definitely has Mikrion on the stone, and there seems to be a parallel in Rhamnous, *SEG* 34. 194. The name might have been formed from the commoner Smikrion as a result of dissimilation plus the influence of the name Mikion (cf. Threatte 1980, 507–10); however, in this case there seems to be a good argument for assuming an error by the cutter. Epigenes the Keryx, suggested by Koumanoudes and Gofas 1978 as proposer of *IEIeus* 85, probably belonged to Koile and not to Eleusis (see above n. 35; Table 20.2).

⁹⁷ *IG* ii² 2393. 6; Dow 1983 suggests diaitetai or epheboi, and the irregular numbers (only one name each from Peiraios and Eleusis) and prosopography (see ii² on line 11, *APF* 9792 on line 12) favour the former alternative. *SEG* 56. 259, tombstone and epigram of Kallimachos son of Kallikrates (no demotic, not yet fully published), Hildebrandt 2006 no. 153 (on Hildebrandt's datings see ch. 11 n. 28).

⁹⁸ Finley 1952 no. 6, archon Aristonymos. Theodoros of Oinoe, with whom the agreement was deposited, may have belonged to IX Aiantis, cf. *IG* ii² 502 + *SEG* 45. 88. 10–11, *Agora* XV 72. 205.

addition to Gnathis I and Anaxandrides son of Timagoras,⁹⁹ Hieron son of A—and Athenodoros son of Go— set up monuments commemorating choregic victories in the Rural Dionysia.¹⁰⁰

Philippos, proposer of the deme decree *IEleus* 99 in (?) the Lykourgan period (n. 79), may be the father of the orgeones Satyros and Philokrates who appear on a dedication once ascribed to Megara (*IG* vii 33, *SEG* 57. 416) but attached to Eleusis by the name of Phokiades I son of Teisias I, whose son Teisias II was ephebe in 246/5 (*IG* ii³ 1026. 34, Philoneos); Teisias III son of Phokiades II contributed to an epidosis in 183/2 (*IG* ii² 2332 = *SEG* 32. 218, Migeotte 1992 no. 19, Hermogenes).¹⁰¹ Epikrates son of Philokrates E., who registered a mine and leased it for 20 dr. c.350 (*Agora* XIX P 9. 35 with *SEG* 48. 146) and the Philokrates named on a beehive and on rupestral horoi marking an ergasterion (*SEG* 44. 240, 48. 167–8, cf. 52. 247), may be related, as may the (?) kleruch Satyros son of Ergophilos, *IG* ii² 1927. 73 (cf. Humphreys 2010*a*).

So much for men attested as playing an active role in deme affairs. In the eyes of the wider world, the most distinguished member of the deme was presumably the poet Aischylos son of Euphoriion I. His brother Kynegeiros served as general in 490/89; his sons Euphoriion II and Euaion also wrote tragedies, and the latter is named as *kalos* on vases.¹⁰²

In the 360s and 350s Dorotheos E. was a well-known figure in Athens; Apollodoros of Acharnai names him as owner of a house, and Xenokles of Kopros asked him and his brother Philochares to come to Besa in order to testify in the case concerning the inheritance of Xenokles' wife Phile. They are described (by implication) as *epieikestatoi* and *gnôrimotatoi*. Doro[theos] probably dedicated a statue at Eleusis in the middle of the century; another dedication, by Phileas son of Dorotheos (II) E., may be Hellenistic or later, but provides a slight basis for thinking that the Phileas E. who advanced part of a loan of 4500 dr. secured on a mining ergasterion and thirty slaves at Maroneia may have been a kinsman or affine of Dorotheos I.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ The comic poet Anaxandrides, active in the 370s, may have belonged to Eleusis if he was an Athenian, but this is not certain. [Anaxandr?]ides (II) son of [A]naxandros E. freed a slave in the 320s, *IG* ii² 1571. 3.

¹⁰⁰ *IG* ii³ 4. 509, 504 (no demotics, but the stones were found at Eleusis). Athenodoros may have been a relative (son?) of the [Gor]gias E. attested as symproedros on Samos in 346/5, *IG* xii 6. 261.

¹⁰¹ On Phokiades of Oion see above at n. 52.

¹⁰² *TGF*² I nos. 12–13; Euaion *kalos*, over 10 examples, BArch 207471. The restoration [Eupho]rion in *IG* ii³ 1021. 2 (281/80, arch. Ourias, Byrne 2007) is rash, since the commoner Smikrion would fit equally well.

¹⁰³ Dorotheos' house, [Dem.] 59. 39; testimony for Xenokles, Is. 3. 20–2, an interesting case of intra-tribal cooperation (but possibly they also had mining interests, in view of the loan by Phileas, Dem. 37. 4 and *hypothesis*, cf. *Agora* XIX P 27. 87). [Presb]ych[a]res son of [?]Philo]chares E., secretary to the treasurers of Athena in 409/8, *LGN* Presbychares 1, may be an ancestor. Dedication by Doro[theos], *IEleus* 65; the dedication of Phileas (II), *IG* ii¹ 1656, is later (Clinton 1971, 125–6).

Another prominent member of the deme in the fourth century was the architect Philon son of Exekestides, responsible for the arsenal building completed *c.*330 in Peiraios and for work *c.*317 on the portico of the Telesterion at Eleusis. He was syntrierarch *c.*350, and made a dedication at the Asklepieion in Athens in 331/0.¹⁰⁴

Pataikos E., eponym of a naval symmory *c.*350, may be the Pataikos who was priest of Asklepios in 345/4, but the name is also attested in Pithos and Sounion. He sold two pigs to the Eleusinian epistatai in 329/8, which might suggest that he owned land in the deme, and he may be the Pataikos who suffered partial atimia, perhaps as a result of unpaid debts to the state.¹⁰⁵

The brothers Thrasylos I and Megakleides II, sons of Megakleides I E., belonged to a family that can be traced for at least four generations. They are named in [Demosthenes] 52. 70 as traders who borrowed 4000 dr. for a voyage to Acre; Megakleides II appeared as a witness for Apollodoros of Acharnai *c.*369/8 in connection with this transaction. He was also the opponent of Isokrates and Aphareus in their antidosis case in 354, and he set up a dedication commemorating victory with a boys' choir in 349/8. Thrasylos I's son Thrasykles is attested as trierarch before 325. The Thrasylos (II) E. whose wife dedicated a statue of their son Thrasylos III to a hero, perhaps in the area north of the Agora, in the third century, was perhaps a grandson of Thrasylos I. Thrasylos III or a later homonym contributed 200 dr. to the epidosis of 248/7.¹⁰⁶

Since the name is rare, Onesandros son of Ithaimenes E., crowned by the Paraloi in the second half of the fourth century (*IG* ii³ 4. 259), may be affinally related to the kleruch Ithaimenes of Erchia, *IG* xii 6. 262 II 22.

Thebagenes E., if his name implies that he was born in 404/3, was an elderly man when he served as ambassador to Herakleia Pontika in 329/8 to protest against that city's treatment of Herakleides of Salamis in Cyprus, *IG* ii³ 367. 45. He may have been a trader.

Aristokleia, daughter of Timokrates son of Philinos E., married a demesman, Autokleides son of Autokrates; their tombstone was found north of Piraeus. Timokrates served as hieropoios in 325/4.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ *APF* 14833; Aleshire 1991 (Stele III 95); *EAA* VI, 1965, 126–6. Philon worked at Delphi *c.*338. Philagros, who drew up the original specifications for the portico (*IG* ii² 1666 + *SEG* 30. 110), may have belonged to E., but the name is common.

¹⁰⁵ *APF* 11678; Aleshire 1989 doubts whether the priest belonged to Eleusis.

¹⁰⁶ *APF* 7322 (Megakleides II's dedication, *IG* ii³ 4. 493, Koumanoudes 1970*b* no. 8; antidosis [Dein.] F XCVI Conomis 1975); statue-base of Thrasylos III, from Agioi Asomatoi (*A to Z* 123 D 4), *SEG* 21. 754; epidosis, *IG* ii³ 1011 I 79.

¹⁰⁷ *IG* ii² 6028, *c.* 340–317. Timokrates, *Kerameikos* III 10 (dedication by hieropoioi). For Eleusinians buried in the deme see ii² 6036, [The]oros son of Kephisodotos, possibly the Theoros E. who served as treasurer on Samos in 346/5, *IG* xii 6. 261. 4; ii² 6024, —| Antigenos | [Eleusi]nios, mid 4th c., cf. perhaps ii² 10696, Eleusis museum = *CAT* 3. 425, Antigenes (seated, bearded), standing woman, Antiphilos (standing young man); the name of Antisthenes son of Antiphilos was added later (since the woman is looking at Antiphilos who should therefore be the deceased, and he seems too young to have had children, Kirchner suggests that Antisthenes was a brother of Antigenes). *SEMA* 211, a (?) loutrophoros-base,

Cavalry families seem rather rare in Eleusis, but Kleophantos II son of Kleophon and Theogenes son of Theomedes I. served in the cavalry on Salamis c.320, the latter as hipparch. Kleophantos I, perhaps grandfather (FF) of Kleophantos II, served as (?) diaitetes in 343/2. Theogenes' son Theomedes II is attested as a cavalry officer at some date between c.286 and 261.¹⁰⁸

As already noted, Eleusis is likely to have had close contacts with Salamis. The son of Polites E., —tos, freed a slave living on the island in (?) the 320s. Smikythion I son of Smikythos I and Smikythion II son of Isonomos both acted as guarantors for leases of land on the island in the first half of the fourth century; one of them may be the Smikythion commemorated with his (?) wife and daughter Phainippe and Kleo by a naiskos found on Salamis, and Pythokrates son of Smikythos II E., commemorated on the island at the end of the third century, may be a later member of the family. Thrasy machos son of Mikion E. and his son Thar<s>ias, commemorated by a stone seen on Salamis by Spon, may possibly have been related to the family of Thrasyllus I, discussed above at n. 106.¹⁰⁹

Kopros

The deme has been fairly persuasively located close to Eleusis on the basis of a large gravestone of the third or early second century, found in re-use in a medieval tower on the bridge over the Kephisos, about a kilometre east of Eleusis (Vanderpool 1953).

Epikouros K., hellenotamias in (?) 409/8, may well be the son of Paches son of Epikouros, general in 428/7; the hellenotamias may also be the homosexual mentioned by Aristophanes in the 390s.¹¹⁰ Apart from this possibility, no one from the deme is attested as holding high office; there is also no evidence of activity within the deme. Xenokles K., the opponent of the speaker of Isaios 3, married a wife (of doubtful legitimacy) whose father lived in the city and owned a mining ergasterion at Besa. Xenotimos son of Xenokritos, who is named on a list of (?) kleruchs of the 360s, and whose son Nikoteles is also recorded as (?) kleruch, in mid-century, may have been related to Xenokles.¹¹¹ Euboulides son of Euboulos I, who appears on the former kleruch-list, had a son Euboulos II whose loutrophoros-stele, of the second half of the fourth century, was found at

from Eleusis with the name of Proxenos son of Eudoros, named on ii² 1927. 75 (see Humphreys 2010*a*), is perhaps not necessarily funerary; fuller publication is needed. On *SEG* 32. 277 the names look late; *CAT* 3. 426 = *SEMA* 332 commemorates the wife of Promethides E.

¹⁰⁸ *IG* ii³ 4. 323. 2–3, 15–16 Theogenes, 19 Kleophantos. Diaitetes? ii³ 4. 31. 54 (dedication by men crowned for *dî[kaiosynê]*; format is wrong for Council; Humphreys 2010*a*, 81–2). Theomedes II, *IG* ii³ 949.

¹⁰⁹ See M. C. Taylor 1997 (ii² 1566. 24; 1590*a*; 12849/50; *SEMA* 214, *CAT* 0. 114; ii² 6037).

¹¹⁰ Paches, Thuc. 3. 18. 3; Epikouros, *IG* i³ 376. 12, 40, 43; Ar. *Ekk.* 644 with schol.

¹¹¹ Is. 3. 22; see ch. 7 Case 4. Xenotimos, *Agora* XV 492. 135 (see Humphreys 2010*a*); Nikoteles, *IG* ii² 1927. 79, *ibid.*

Markopoulo in the Mesogeia. Aristeides K. had two sons: —ophon died unmarried, about the middle of the fourth century, and was buried in Piraeus, while Pamphilos died on campaign in Euboia *c.*323. Euktemon son of Aision perhaps served in the cavalry in Euboia in 348, and donated a trireme for the campaign; his father, trierarch before 356, is probably the Aision who was known as a rhetor, and is thus likely to have been a city resident.¹¹²

Elaious

There is no firm evidence on location, but the deme is thought to have been in the area of Eleusis; Traill (1986) suggests a site east of Magoula, about five kilometres north of Eleusis.¹¹³

Elaious has one attested liturgist, Diokles II son of Diokles I, whose son Phileas served in the cavalry on Salamis *c.*320. Nikoboulos I E., tamias of the Other Gods in 421/0, may be too old to be the father of Nikodemos (son of Nikoboulos II?), who served as dikast in the 360s and as diaitetes in 330/29, but they must be related; the dikast may be the [Niko?]demos son of [Niko?]boulos II E. commemorated with his (?) wife Pausilla on a relief stele found in Athens, and Nikoboulos III son of Nikodemos, councillor in mid-century, is probably his son.¹¹⁴

Oinoe

The deme is securely located at Myoupolis on Mt Parnes; it would have included the fort at Panakton, garrisoned by ephebes in the Lykourgan period, and the Skourta plain, settled at the end of the sixth century, lost to Boiotia during the Peloponnesian War, and perhaps inhabited both by Athenian and by Boiotian farmers in the fourth century; on the Athenian side the farms were abandoned in the third century. Oinoe itself was a ‘fortified deme’, with an upper citadel and a walled lower village; surface finds attest occupation from the middle of the fifth century BCE to the Byzantine period.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Euboulides, *Agora* XV 492. 133 (Humphreys 2010*a*); Euboulos II, *SEMA* 333, with Pologiorge 2002*b*. —ophon son of Aristeides, ii² 6535 (Ioutrophoros); Pamphilos, *IG* xii 9. 1242. 11; Aision and Euktemon, *APF* 315.

¹¹³ The site assigned by Traill to Kothokidai (ch. 28 n. 5), and perhaps the Koundoura valley (see below on Azenia) may be alternative possibilities.

¹¹⁴ Diokles and Phileas, *APF* 4021. Nikoboulos I, *IG* i³ 472. 10; Nikodemos, Kroll 1972 no. 89, *IG* ii³ 4. 33. 17, ii² 12434 = *CAT* 2. 338a (the patronymic is only restored here; Pausilla added later? she may be the daughter of a [*Trikor*]ysios); Nikoboulos III, *SEG* 28. 152. 28.

¹¹⁵ M. H. Munn 1989 on Panakton (destroyed by the Boiotians in the Peloponnesian War, rebuilt perhaps *c.*350); M. H. Munn and M. L. Z. Munn 1990 on the Skourta plain; M. H. Munn 2010. Lauter 1992 on the deme site at Myoupolis (fortified by 431, Thuc. 2. 18); cf. also Lohmann 1995; ch. 28 n. 83.

There was a homonymous deme in IX Aiantis, which creates the usual prosopographical problems; none of the evidence on demotai can be linked topographically to the deme.¹¹⁶

An interesting example of continuity in office is provided by Aristokles O., who served as one of the epimeletai of the dockyard in 369/8, and his son [Aristod]emos, who held the same office in 333/2; Aristokrates son of Aristodemos O., proedros in 314/3, may be the latter's son.¹¹⁷ Menekrates O., tamias in 404/3 under the Thirty, might be the father of Meniskos son of Menekrates, diaitetes from O.-Hippothontis in (?) 330/29. Another diaitetes, Phantias son of Themistios, married Sostrate daughter of Andropheles; they are named with their daughter Sostrate II on a lost stele.¹¹⁸

Azenia

Traill placed Azenia at a deme-site south of Kokkini, but did not consider the deme-site(s) subsequently explored in the Koundoura valley, which is now by many scholars considered to have been part of Attika. Lohmann's arguments (1993*a*) for putting Azenia on the coast near Eleusis, or even in the city trittys, are invalid, since he argues from the provenance of stones set up after the end of the fourth century, by which time the villages of the Koundoura and upper Sarantopotamos valleys (Kokkini is in the latter) were probably deserted (the demes, of course, continued to exist as bodies of citizens). If Lohmann's arguments for locating Anakaia (n. 57) in the Koundoura valley are rejected, and if the valley contained a single deme, with its main settlement at Agios Georgios,

Ober 1995, 111–12 doubts whether Oinoe was occupied as early as 507 (cf. Edmonson 1966, 32); the question of Athenian settlement in this area is linked to the question of the date of the development of a closer relation between Athens and Eleutherai, which is itself controversial (Connor 1989; Sourvinou-Inwood 1994*a*).

¹¹⁶ Deductions from the region in which stones are found are unsafe: Epichares son of Platon O., commemorated with his wife and son by a naiskos found at Kalyvia Chasiotika in the Thriasian plain, is attested as a diaitetes of Aiantis (*IG* ii² 6972, *IG* ii³ 4. 35. 144). On Lysitheides son of Lysimachos O. see Papazarkadas 2011, 309 no. 48. Note (not in *LGP*N) dowry horos for 8000 dr. for Archilla daughter of Kratylos son of Philonides O., from Lemnos, *SEG* 45. 1190.

¹¹⁷ Aristokles, *IG* ii² 1617. 79; [Aristod]emos (imos *IG*), ii² 1623. 5; *LGP*N Aristokles 64 and Papazarkadas 2011, 302 no. 9 identify Aristokles with the Aristo— O. who appears in *Agora* XIX L 6. 120, and 9. 40, 46, but we do not know the full name, and this man may well have belonged to Aiantis. Aristokrates, ii² 450. 7. Timokrates son of Epikrates O., kleruch (?) from Hippothontis in mid-century (ii² 1927. 87–8; see Humphreys 2010*a*), may be the brother of Mnesikles son of Epikrates O., who dedicated ii² 4640 to Demeter and Kore on the Akropolis; Epikrates son of Kallistratos O., antigraphus in 303/2, *Agora* XV 62. 233, might be the son of a third brother, but the name is a common one.

¹¹⁸ Menekrates, *IG* i³ 380. 3; Meniskos, ii² 2393. 10; Phantias, ii³ 4. 35. 131, ii² 6984 = *CAT* 272. The name Andropheles is otherwise attested only in Rhamnous, *IRb* 245 (*SEMA* 806, early 3rd c.).

Azenia (two councillors) may be the only unlocated deme of Hippothontis large enough for the location.¹¹⁹

A deme situated near the border between Attika and Megara would not be inappropriate for the only prominent Azenian family of the classical period, that of Aristophon, which has a firmly anti-Spartan and anti-oligarchic tradition. He was born in the 430s, and was still alive in 340/39, when he made a dedication to Asklepios, though he was dead by 330. He was granted *ateleia* as a reward for his opposition to the Thirty; his brother Aristomedes (son of Aristophanes I) served as *tamias* in 400/399, and had a son, Aristophanes II, who is named in a list of (?) *kleruchs* of the 360s; the latter is named with Aristophon on a curse tablet. Aristophon may have had three sons: Demostratos, possibly named in reference to the democrats' 'return from Phyle' in 403, and if so perhaps the oldest; Aristophanes III, who may be named on a list found on the Akropolis; and Aristomedes II, *syntrierarch* before 356; either Aristophanes III or Aristomedes II served as *diaitetes* in 330/29. Demostratos probably served as ambassador to Sparta in 371.¹²⁰

Hagnodemos son of Pistodemos (apparently a member of another family of convinced democrats), who served as councillor in the 330s, had a son, Meidonides, who perhaps bought an estate at Acharnai for 4000 dr. in the *hekatostai* sales; if so, the date of mid-century given to his funerary stele must be too early. Meidonides' name may suggest a (matrilateral?) connection with Meidylos I son of Meidyliides A., named in a lease-record of 343/2, and his (?) grandson (SS) Meidylos II, councillor in 281/0.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Traill 1986, 137–8 with n. 40; Lohmann 1989, 1995; Suto 1991; Van der Maele 1983; Lauter 1992. Agios Georgios was fortified, perhaps only in the 3rd c. (Lauter 1992); there was another fort and hamlet at Mylos, on the south side of the valley, a settlement at Palaiochori in the eastern half of the valley which might have been a separate deme, and a hamlet of 3–4 farms (or possibly a sanctuary, Suto p. 259) on hill 503 between the two valley areas. There may also be isolated farms in the area (interpretation and dating of some of the tower remains is controversial, see Suto).

¹²⁰ *APF* 2108; Aristophon's dedication, *IG* ii² 1533. 13 = Aleshire 1989 Inv. III 13. Aristophanes II son of Aristomedes I, *Agora* XV 492. 127, see Humphreys 2010a; Coll. Froehner (L. Robert 1936) 11. 25 (*SEG* 37. 214; Aristophon, not, as stated in *APF* Aristomedes I, line 29); ii² 2386. 10, demotic restored (Dow 1983 thought this list was related to ii² 2385, but the latter is listed by demes, with headings, whereas 2386 is not, though demotics are given). *SEG* 40. 269 = 42. 218, another curse tablet of the Lykourgan period, also names an Aristomedes, perhaps Aristomedes II. Aristo— of Azenia *diaitetes*, *IG* ii² 4. 33. On Demostratos see *APF* loc. cit.; *AO* s. 372. Tuplin 1977 suggested that Aristophon himself was an ambassador; however, his argument that it would be odd for Xenophon (*Hell.* 6. 3. 2) to give patronymics only for Autokles and Demostratos is weak, since both were the sons of distinguished men and the latter, at least, was still young, in his early 30s.

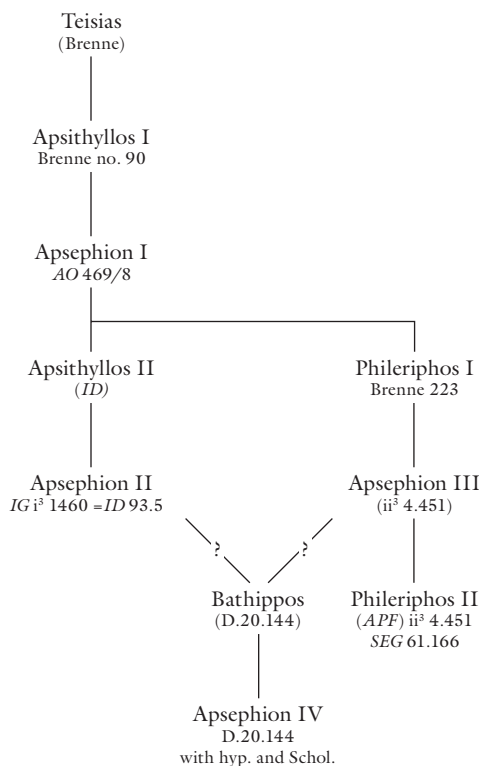
¹²¹ Hagnodemos, *SEG* 28. 152. 9; Meidonides, *IG* ii² 5311, Lambert 1997a F 16 B 4 ([Meido]n[i]des Ἡγν[ο]δεμου Αze). Lambert p. 168 suggests that Hagnodemos may have been matrilinearly related to Hagnodemos son of Hagnon of Acharnai, *APF* 139, but since the latter's name is semantically close to that of his father this is doubtful. Meidylos I, *Agora* XIX L 6. 104 (Papazarkadas 2011, 310 no. 51); Meidylos II, *Agora* XV 72. 148.

Hamaxanteia

There is no evidence on location, but there are some unclaimed sites in the coastal trittys.¹²²

Since Philerippos II son of Apsephion (III), both of whose names are rare, is attested as choregos from H. in the middle of the fourth century (*IG* ii³ 4. 451, *SEG* 61. 166), there is a fair chance that earlier Apsephions belonged to the same family, which in that case would have a long political tradition (see Table 30.5).¹²³ Apsithyllos I son of Teisias is named (without demotic) on three ostraka of the early fifth century; Apsephion I, eponymous archon in 469/8, may be his son, and would be the father of Apsithyllos II, whose son Apsephion II served as one

TABLE 30.5. Hamaxanteia:
Teisias, *APF* p. 604



¹²² See above, chs. 21 pp. 726–30, 24 n. 98 on the possibility that some small demes opted in 507 for independence because they were the homes of politically ambitious men. The name Apsephion also occurs in Phegaia and Phyle, in the late 4th c., but in association with more modern, less aristocratic names (Pamphilos, Moschos). Other unusual names in H.: Aineias son of Phyg—, councillor between 360 and 340, *Agora* XV 20. 41; Tlempolemos son of Agathymides, councillor in the 330s, *SEG* 28. 152. 15. Cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 303 no. 11 on [Aristokles?] son of Aristokles of Hama(xanteia).

¹²³ Philerippos' name (fond of young goats) might suggest a hill area for the deme; cf. perhaps Antheus H., who in (?) 336/5 provided 30 skins (*diptherai*) to be worn by slaves in the sanctuary at Eleusis (*IEleus* 159. 46–7). Cavalry: *IG* ii² 5601, Panaitios H., with horse, loutrophoros-stele, c.390.

of the Delian amphiktyons in 410/9, and of Philerippos I (son of Apsephion), who may be named on an ostrakon of *c.*420. Philerippos I would be the father of Apsephion III and grandfather (FF) of the choregos. Either Apsephion II or Apsephion III may be the father of Bathippos, who had recently died in 354 and had a son called Apsephion (IV).

Auridai

The situation concerning location resembles that of Hamaxanteia; ‘breezes’ may suggest an upland site.¹²⁴ One family of A. had connections with the Amphiaraiion: Neoptolemos son of Stratokles was commemorated there by a dedication set up by his son Charias, perhaps shortly before Oropos was awarded to Athens, and Charias may have been the Athenian of that name who won the flute competition in 329/8. Charias is attested three times as trierarch.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ It is perhaps just worth noting that a Hephaistion A. is attested as councillor on Samos *c.*350, *IG* xii 6. 262, VIII 38, and that a possible altar of Hephaistos was recorded by Vanderpool (1965*b*) at a deme-site south of Dekeleia (by the three asterisks and note ‘Wasserleitung’ on *KpA* XX). However, the late Roman deme Sphendale seems to have been near Dekeleia (Traill 1975*a*, 91–2); Amymone was another late Roman deme of Hippothontis, and so possibly was Melainai (see however n. 61 above and ch. 32 n. 35).

¹²⁵ *IOrp* 341, 520 (date, Knoepfler 1993*b*); *APF* 15339. The identification is based on the combination of Charias’ name and patronymic (the demotic is given only in the dockyard records), but since they are not semantically related this is a fairly sound argument. On Archedemos A., *APF* 2321, see Papazarkadas 2011, 303 no. 14.

IX Aiantis

The tribe had only six demes, all of which were of some antiquity as towns by 507, and are fairly securely located. Phaleron, the only deme in the city trittys, was Athens' principal port in early times;¹ Aphidnai was by the sixth century the home of the *genos* Gephyraioi; the Tetrapolis in the Marathon plain, to which Marathon, Oinoe, and Trikorynthos belonged, had an old religious tradition, as did Rhamnous, the fourth deme of the coastal trittys. The Tetrakomoi (to which Phaleron belonged), Aphidnai, and the Tetrapolis all appear in the list of the Twelve Towns of early Attika.²

CITY TRITTYS

Phaleron

We have references to the cult centres of the deme in the works of Philochoros and Plutarch, a fifth-century inscription perhaps concerned with the cult of Apollo Delios, and further evidence from the records of the *genos* Salaminioi.³ Philochoros says that Theseus founded shrines at Phaleron, near that of Skiros, for Nausithoos and Phaiax, who had been sent by Skiros to serve as pilot and lookout on the hero's voyage to Crete. The Salaminioi sacrificed at Phaleron to Athena Skiras and to Skiros in Maimakterion, and to Poseidon Hippodromios, Phaiax, Teukros, and Nauseiros in Boedromion; their sacrifice to Theseus on Pyanopsion 6 may also have been made at Phaleron. Pausanias saw a sanctuary of Demeter, temples of Athena Skiras and Zeus, and altars dedicated to the Unknown Gods, to heroes, to

¹ See ch. 30 at n. 4 on use of the Piraeus peninsula harbours before the 480s. It is not clear whether in the archaic period the mouth of the Kephisos would have been navigable enough to provide shelter. Mersch 1996, 162–6 has a list of finds from the Phaleron area. See also *AD* 60 B 1, 2005 (2014), 240; Killgrove 2016.

² On the Gephyraioi see ch. 20 n. 47; on the Twelve Towns ch. 18 at nn. 43–5. Traill (1986) thinks that Phaleron was consistently grouped with Rhamnous to constitute the city trittys of Aiantis, but see ch. 21; the two are listed successively in *Agora* XV 62, but not in 61 or (as restored) 72.

³ Philochoros *FGH* 328 F 111; Paus. 1. 1. 4; *IG* i³ 130, cf. 383. 153–4; *Agora* XIX L 4a. The Salaminioi are discussed in ch. 20.

the sons of Theseus, to Phaleros, and to Androgeos son of Minos. Phaleron was also the location of the lawcourt *epi Palladiōi*, possibly associated with the altar of the sons of Theseus.⁴

By the late fourth century the deme apparently claimed responsibility for a cult of Poseidon, since it was involved in a court case against the (?) genos Phoinikes.⁵ The deme may also have been concerned with the cult of Apollo Delios at Phaleron; the state perhaps supported—c.432, after the earthquake on Delos reported by Thucydides?—a levy of contributions from shipowners and (?) demes for construction or repair of a temple or shrine. Some of Apollo's property was in the hands of the Treasurers of the Other Gods by 429/8.⁶

Phaleron took part in the dancing competitions at the Herakleion of the Tetrakomoi, and will have appointed komarchoi and komastai for this purpose; its team set up a dedication commemorating a victory in the middle of the fourth century. We have no deme decrees. The demarch [M]enippos reported property owned by oligarchs in the deme in 402/1, and in the hekatostai sales the archon of the kome of [Phaleron?], son of a Pytheas Ph., sold land at Phaleron for 1000 dr. The archon's father may be Pytheas son of Glaukon I Ph., whose dikast-ticket (class V) was found in Piraeus; we also have the dikast-ticket of the latter's (presumably) elder son Glaukon II.⁷

⁴ Poseidon Hippodromios may be the same as Poseidon Hippios, and may have been so called because his sanctuary was near the hippodrome. Teukros was honoured as the father of the Salaminian Ajax; Nauseiros may be Philochoros' Nausithoos. The sacrifice in Boedromion perhaps took place on the 8th. Some of the sanctuaries and altars may have changed designation by the time of Pausanias; none of them has been located. On the lawcourt *epi Palladiōi* see Humphreys 1991, n. 17.

⁵ D. H. *Dein.* 10 (F XX Conomis 1975); see above, ch. 20 n. 123; R. Parker 1996, 317 (perhaps Poseidon Hippodromios; that the Phoinikes were a genos is supported by Hsch. s.v., from a commentary on *Dein.*? and by the existence of a genos Phoinikes, claiming to have been instituted by Kadmos, on Rhodes, D. S. 5. 58. 2). A member of the genos Brytidai (ch. 20 at n. 113) in Ph., Eualkos, [Dem.] 59. 61, councillor in 337/6, *IG* ii³ 324. 35.

⁶ *IG* i³ 130, with D. M. Lewis 1960. Everything about this text is very uncertain, including the assumption that the two fragments came from the same stone. Fr. b may have been found in Piraeus; Peppa-Delmousou 1988a suggested on the basis of the reference to contributions from the Deli[ans] that it concerned repairs to a temple on Delos. Earthquake, Thuc. 2. 8. 3. In fr. a 12 (after arrangements for a tax on shipowners, *nauklēroi*, of 1 dr. per ship) contributions for [??oikod|om]ia are to be made *dēmosiai* of 50 dr., *idiai* according to the individual's ability; *dēmosiai* here may mean 'by deme'. Other Gods, i³ 383. 153–4 (see ch. 22 n. 100).

⁷ Dedication, *IG* ii³ 4. 227. The dedicants are (1) —machos son of Satyros, perhaps represented with his father on *CAT* 2. 257 (Piraeus Museum; seated old man, S[a]tyros, standing young man); (2) Pl—, possibly Pleistias I, father of Pleistarche (*CAT* 2. 363 = *SEMA* 661) and grandfather (FF) of Pleistias II son of Chairedemos, councillor in 303/2, *Agora* XV 62. 287 (the latter's sister may have married into Erchia, cf. ii² 7629); (3) —n son of Theophilos; and (4) Philostr[atos]. [M]enippos, *Agora* XIX P 2 abc 6; hekatostai, Lambert 1997a F 9 B 18 with pp. 190–2, no. 24; 211–12. Dikast-tickets, Kroll 1972, 103 B, 84 B (also class V).

Three ostraka of the early fifth century name a Hippokrates of Phaleron, possibly the son of Anaxileos, who is named on 47 sherds with patronymic but no demotic.⁸

The deme had two notorious oligarchs, but no democrat of distinction. Eumathes, who probably owned a house at Phaleron,⁹ was one of the Thirty, and Demetrios I son of Phanostratos I ruled as a Macedonian puppet from 317 to 307 (Paschidis 2008 A 4). His family can probably be traced back to a Himeraios (I) recorded as a war casualty in Aiantis *c.*411; he would be the father of Phanostratos I, whose two sons were Himeraios II and Demetrios I. Himeraios served as priest of Poseidon Pelagios in (?) 335/4, and was awarded a gold crown of 500 dr. by the demos for his service, together with the priests of Dionysos, Zeus Soter, and Ammon, and the Council's hieropoioi. He was the target of an eisangelia by Deinarchos, and served as one of the prosecutors in the Harpalos affair; he fled with Hypereides in 322 after Athens' defeat in the Lamian War, was condemned to death in his absence, and was killed soon afterwards.¹⁰

Traditional accounts of the career of Demetrios I need revision in the light of Tracy's contention that the record of achievements on the statue-base *IG* ii³ 4. 281, from Eleusis, was cut by a man whose activity seems to fall between *c.*270 and *c.*235, and thus should be attributed to Demetrios' homonymous grandson (SS), who in Habicht's and Tracy's view held a position analogous to that of his grandfather from 262 to 255. There are however serious difficulties with this view, which rests on very slender evidence, and it seems to me more likely that the younger Demetrios, after a colourful youth in the racing world, had a conventional (though very successful) military career as phylarch, hipparch, and general in the later 250s and the 240s, in the course of which he was honoured by the garrisons of western Attika.¹¹

⁸ Brenne 2001 no. 106 Phalereus; 104 son of Anaxileos, with *Agora* XXV nos. 274–82. There is no reason to assume any relationship with Hippokrates of Alopeke, a much more prominent candidate (ch. 15 n. 24), since the name was popular with aristocratic families. Kallikrates I son of Hippo[krates?] Ph., councillor *c.*330, *Agora* XV 46. 37–8 (with his son Kallikrates II, 39–40), may conceivably be a descendant.

⁹ *Agora* XIX P 2 abc 7 (cf. Walbank 1982*b*).

¹⁰ *APF* 3455. Himeraios I, *IG* i³ 1186. 102; Himeraios II, *IG* ii³ 416 (cf. Lambert 2003*b*; one of the hieropoioi honoured is Philostratos of Pallene, perhaps Ph. son of Nikostratos, who was councillor in 335/4, *Agora* XV 43. 210); eisangelia (between 336 and 322), M. H. Hansen 1975 no. 130, D. H. *Dein.* 10 p. 652 = Conomis 1975 F XIV; death, Plut. *Dem.* 28. 2–4, Suda s.v. *Antipatros* A 2703. Note *APF*'s suggestion that Demetrios I married a daughter of Konon II of Anaphlystos (but see ch. 32 at n. 75). He may be the D[eme]trios Ph. who served as councillor *c.*330, *Agora* XV 46. 44.

¹¹ Tracy 1994*a* (*SEG* 44. 163); Habicht 1995, 155–8. However, the reattribution of this text does not affect the question of the tradition that 365 statues were set up in the demes to Demetrios I; see above, chs. 27 n. 23; 29 n. 113. *IG* ii³ 4. 281 records honours from the garrisons of Eleusis, Panakton, and Phyle, and should have been set up after D. had held a command in that area (*sc.* the generalship of the chora, round Eleusis); *IEleus* 194, another text found at Eleusis, honouring a Demetrios, may also belong to D. II of Phaleron (on possible dates for his commands see M. J. Osborne 1989, Oetjen

The wealthiest man in the deme in the first half of the fourth century was probably Antidoros, who served as trierarch at least eight times between 377 and 356, six times in partnership with Aristolochos of Erchia; they seem to have been partners also in a bank, which crashed, perhaps around the time of the Social War. Antidoros retained enough property to serve twice subsequently as trierarch on his own.¹²

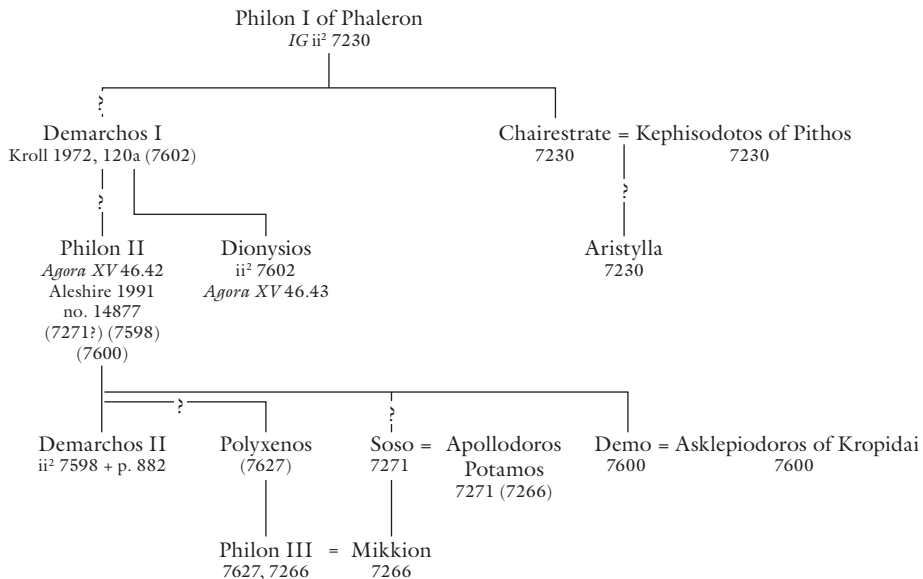
Aristokrates II son of Physkion will also have been a well-known figure in the city. Aristokrates I, probably his grandfather (FF), served as hellenotamias in 421/0; it is not clear whether the Aristokrates who was victorious as choregos in tragedy at the Dionysia in 388/7 was the grandfather or the grandson. It was presumably the grandson who, probably still as a relatively young man, acted as one of the guarantors of Neaira's free status c.370; later in life he was honoured for service as a priest.¹³

2000; the restoration [Apatouria] in line 22 is quite unjustified, cf. ch. 19 n. 13; G. J. Oliver 2007*a* does not mention this identification). Possibly D. I, *SEG* 46. 249. Habicht's theory of a 'regency' of D. II is based on (1) the statement of Apollodoros *FGH* 244 F 44 that after the end of the Chremonidean War a garrison was placed in the city, something happened to the magistracies (the word is lost), and everything became subject to the rule of a single man. This may well be a description of a de facto rather than de jure state of affairs (epigraphic texts show that the normal civil magistracies continued to function), and the holder of real power, if not Antigonos himself, may be the commander of the garrison. (2) The other alleged piece of evidence comes from Hegesandros, an anecdotal writer of the second century BCE (Athen. 4, 167 e-f), who says that Demetrios II, when summoned and rebuked by the Areiopagos for his disreputable behaviour, had turned the tables by naming members of that council as receivers of bribes and adulterers; Antigonos, on hearing of this, appointed him thesmothetes (Oetjen 2000 and Tracy 2003, 19 take this to be the ordinary magistracy). This looks to me like a contemporary joke, perhaps somewhat garbled in transmission (cf. Paschidis 2008 A 59; G. J. Oliver 2011, 41). Habicht does not explain why Demetrios, whose grandfather fled to Egypt after being expelled from Athens by Demetrios Poliorketes, should have been on such good terms with Macedon, nor how he managed to combine a puppet regentship with an evidently distinguished military career. It seems more likely that he left Egypt when Demetrios I fell out of favour after the succession of Ptolemy II Philadelphos in 283, and spent the late 280s and the 270s partly in Athens and partly, perhaps, helping men like Glaukon of Aithalidai to build up contacts with other states (cf. Humphreys 2007; horse-racing was a good cover for this, and his victory at the Delia must belong to the period of Ptolemaic influence, though E. Will 1979 I, 231–3 rightly warns against overestimating the degree of control exercised over the islands either by Egypt or by Macedon). D. II may have been too young to hold a military command in the Chremonidean War, perhaps only born in the 290s, since Demetrios I was probably born c.355; hence Demetrios son of Demetrios Ph., epistates and councillor c.265/4 (arch. Euboulos, *IG* ii³ 1259. 6), may not be his son, though the Demetrios Ph. who served as peripolarch in the late 3rd or early 2nd c. (Peck 1942, no. 25; G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, 180; *SEG* 61. 151) might be a son or grandson; there are however several Demetriois in Ph. in the late 4th and the 3rd c., including a Demetrios whose son Sokles served as councillor in 303/2, *Agora* XV 62. 292, who can hardly have belonged to the tyrant's family. D. II's first recorded office is as phylarch in 256/5 (Antimachos); he may also have served as councillor and treasurer c.240 (*IG* ii³ 1006. 14, [D]emetrios Ph[nostratou]). See comm. on *IEleus* 194–5; *SEG* 61. 151.

¹² *APF* 1036; bank crash, Dem. 36. 50.

¹³ *APF* 1926. Choregia, *IG* ii² 2318. 198; honours to priest, ii² 3454 (Ma and Tracy 2004). The disposition of the letters shows that the name would have been encircled by a crown, which should date the

We can reconstruct a fairly large family, probably based in Piraeus, descended from Philon I, who is represented on a relief stele of 390–365 with his daughter Chairestrate and with Kephisodotos of Pithos, perhaps her husband, and Aristylla, perhaps their daughter (see Table 31.1). His (?) son Demarchos I (the name possibly indicating that his father had served as demarch?) is attested on a dikast-ticket of class VI, and as father of Dionysios, perhaps councillor *c.*330, who was commemorated by a stele found in Piraeus. Demarchos' (presumably) elder son Philon II may have served as councillor in the same year as his brother, and dedicated bronze vessels in the Asklepicion in 340/39. He seems to have had four children: Demarchos II, who won a scribal competition and was buried in the Kerameikos in the second half of the third century; Polyxenos, whose son Philon III was buried in the same peribolos as his uncle (FB) Demarchos; Soso, also buried there, with her husband Apollodoros of Potamos and their daughter Mikkion, who was married to her cousin (MBS) Philon III; and Demo, wife of Asklepiodoros of Kropidai, whose kioniskos may also have stood in the family precinct.¹⁴



Note: 7230 found Piraeus, the other monuments Kerameikos. 7230 = Scholl 1996, 277, CAT 4. 330. The stone commemorates Chairestrate; Aristylla may be her mother, not daughter. 7598, 7600, 7271 all 3rd c., 7627 ? 2nd c. Demarchos I, Philon II no patronymics. Soso's father, no demotic.

TABLE 31.1. Phaleron: Philon

text to the second half of the fourth century or later (*Hesperia* 2, 1933, 155 n. 4, dated it to the first half of the century on letter forms; Ma and Tracy put it in the 2nd c.).

¹⁴ It is possible that some stones moved from Phaleron to Piraeus in postclassical times. The stele of Nausichares son of Nausistratos Ph., IG ii² 7615 (mid 4th c.) was also recorded in Piraeus; we do not know where Fourmont saw ii² 7614, which commemorated Nausichares' father Nausistratos son of Hierokles I with another son, Hierokles I, a daughter, Eukoline, and possibly his wife (Bergemann 1997, peribolos L 14).

Ktesikrates son of Ktesiphon was commemorated by a stele with a relief of an armed man and a loutrophoros, dated before the middle of the fourth century; presumably he died in battle. His monument was found either on Salamis or in the deme. A man of the same name is recorded as (?) kleruch in mid-century. Ktesiphon II son of Boiethos [*sic*], whose name was later added to the stele of Ktesikrates, is probably a nephew (BS) of the latter; his father served as (?) councillor in the 330s.

The dikast-ticket of Kallias I son of Kalliochos I (class IV, issued c.350) was found in a grave in Pikrodafni St, near Old Phaleron, which suggests continued ties with the deme area; his nephew (BS) Kalliochos II son of Kallimachos served as councillor in 303/2.¹⁵ Local interests are also attested for the family of Mys Ph., whose son leased property in the deme in the Lykourgan period. Mys carted and cleaned stones for the sanctuary at Eleusis c.327/6; an ancestor may be commemorated with his family on a group of lekythoi of the first half of the fourth century with (perhaps) his father Sokleides, his mother Philia, his brother Meles, and his sister Metrodora.¹⁶

Two Phalerian families, in addition to that of Demetrios, kept horses, at least in the third century. Kallikrates IV, who served in the cavalry c.250, was probably related to one or both of the two men of that name listed as (?) councillors in the 330s, and to the Kallikrates who in the late fourth or early third century lent 500 dr. secured on a house and tavern in the city area. Possibly the Kallippos Ph. who lent money in the same period (took over the same loan?), and made four dedications in the Asklepicion, some with his wife Mika, was a kinsman. Nikesias II, who also served in the cavalry c.250, was probably a descendant of Nikesias I son of Nikesidikos, tamias in 377/6.¹⁷

Charops Ph. is named as a leading member of the orgeones of the Healing Hero in 333/2, when they granted a lease of a garden (*kēpos*); a tombstone from the Agora may commemorate him with his son Apollodoros and his daughter Philesia. Eugeiton son of Eukles Ph. represented his phratry c.330 in a lawsuit and received a gold crown, which he

¹⁵ Kroll 1972, no. 73b; Kalliochos II, *Agora* XV 62. 284. Whether the dikast Kallias was related to Kallias son of Philetairos Ph., commemorated by a stele with a relief loutrophoros and a siren on top, found in Athens (*IG* ii² 7610, c.350) is uncertain, since the name is so common.

¹⁶ Mys (II), *IEleus* 159. 6; son, *Agora* XIX L 11. 9f. (cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 310 no. 54). Mys I, ii² 12215–16 = *CAT* 4. 323, 322, a pair of lekythoi (the former dated at the beginning of the century, from Glyphada, the only monument that names Sokleides; the latter collected by Elgin, no provenance); 12121 = *CAT* 4. 321, from Chasani, 1½ km S of Trachones. A stele representing Eunostides Ph. shaking hands with a youth, with a woman (Timostratē) behind the youth (ii² 7605 = *CAT* 3. 378c) was found at Old Phaleron; Eunostides may be a descendant of the Eunost[ides?] of Aiantis named on a casualty list of the mid 5th c., *IG* i³ 1169. 2.

¹⁷ Kallikrates IV, Bugh 1988 II B 122; Kallikrates I, perhaps son of Hippo—*Agora* XV 46. 37; Kallikrates II, perhaps son of Kal[likrates II?], *ibid.* 39 (it is not certain that this is a list of councillors, see Table 31.1, nor is it certain that Hippo (v.) in line 38 and Kal (v.) in line 40 are patronymics, added to distinguish homonyms, although the abbreviation of the names may support this interpretation). Kallikrates III, *SEG* 29. 157 (Agesilaos and Plataiōi Sts, *A to Z* Γ 2/3; Finley 1952² no. 92 B). Kallippos, *Agora* XIX H 106 = Finley 1952 no. 92 A; *IG* ii² 1534 = Aleshire 1989 Stele V 108, 111, 119, 121 (Aleshire 1991 no. 8087). Nikesias II, Bugh 1988 II B 176; Nikesias I, ii² 1410–11.

dedicated, presumably in the phratry shrine, which was perhaps in the city, since the stone recording the dedication was found on the Akropolis.¹⁸

INLAND TRITTYS

Aphidnai

Like the city trittys, this contained only one deme; Aphidnai was second in size only to Acharnai, appointing sixteen councillors in the fourth century. In addition to the main deme site at Kotroni, the deme seems to have contained at least four villages (*kômai*), Titakidai, Thyrgonidai, Petalidai, and Hyporeia; the village of Melainai, perhaps on the northeast end of Mt Parnes, may also have belonged to it. Petalidai, Hyporeia, and Melainai sold land in the hekatostai sales, which may possibly be an indication that deme finances were decentralized, each kome managing its own property, and perhaps funding the sacrifices at its own sanctuary or sanctuaries. The patronymic of Leukaïos son of Komarchos A., secretary of the treasurers of Athena in 413/2, may imply that he came from one of the villages.¹⁹

¹⁸ Lease, *SEG* 24. 203, Schwenk 1985 no. 32 (ch. 12 n. 63); tombstone *Agora* XVII 712 (dated '4th c.?'). Eugeiton, *IG* ii² 1238 = *SEG* 38. 128, dated c.330 by Tracy 1995, 100 (cutter of ii² 244), M. Meyer 1989*a* A 160, Lawton 1995 no. 102; *pace* Hedrick 1988*c*, the fact that the stone was found on the Akropolis (to which inscriptions were sometimes moved in modern times) does not imply that he was not a member of the phratry, and the wording of the text implies that he was. Chairion Ph., secretary of the council in 361/0 (*IG* ii² 116. 6), was probably the father of —nokles, councillor in 304/3 (*Agora* XV 59. 7/61. 245) and of the guarantor of *Agora* XIX L. 6. 64–5 (cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 317 no. 89, but restoration of his name is unwarranted).

¹⁹ Philochoros *FGH* 328 F 94 says that the deme was called both Aphidnai and Aphidna, but the demotic in -aios rather than -eus favours Aphidnai. Some of the villages became demes in the Roman period; Traill (1975*a*, 90–1) places the Roman demes Eunostidai and Klopidae also in this area. However, Lambert 1997*a*, 196–7, nos. 34–5, points out that Melainai (F 10 B 17–20) and Klopidae (F 10 B 21–3) seem to belong to a section of the hekatostai records concerned with groups attached to X Antiochis, in which case they would be subordinate communities of Kolonai, Eitea, or Semachidai (see ch. 32 n. 33). Lambert suggests that Eunostidai might be restored as seller in F 7 B 1–2. Hyporeia sells 7 eschatiai F 7 B 3–19, for 5250? dr. (but see n. 35 below); five buyers from Aphidnai, one (buying two properties) from Kolonos; Hyporeia may already have been a separate deme by c.200 (Lambert, pp. 193–4, no. 28). [Petalidai], F 7 B 20–6, was also perhaps a deme c.200 (*ibid.* no. 29); it is mentioned as the location of property in *Agora* XIX P 26. 500. Titakidai and Thyrgonidai may have been phratry or genos bases (chs. 19 n. 18, 20 n. 46), which may explain—if their cults were still the responsibility of these bodies—why they do not appear with the other villages in the section of the hekatostai records devoted to sales by demes and their subdivisions. Milchhöfer 1892 suggests that there were ancient villages at Kapandriti (*AGC* 21 X7/Y8 no. 6), Masi (Polydendri, *AGC* 21 X7/Y7 nos. 3–5), and Tsiurka (Kiurka); *KpA* locates Titakidai at Drasera east of Kiurka. This part of Attika is made up of hill country and small valleys; it is perhaps understandable that small villages close to the Boiotian border did not opt for separate deme status (though the same motives apparently did not operate in the Koundoura valley near the Megarian border, cf. ch. 30 n. 119; perhaps the no-man's-land constituted by the sacred orgas made a difference there). Leukaïos son of Komarchos, *LGPN* Leukaïos 2, Komarchos 3; —us son of Leukaïos, who dedicated *IG* i³

The site at Kotroni, which had an important Bronze Age settlement and was fortified again with a rubble wall perhaps in or before the fourth century BCE, has been little explored, and part of the deme's territory has vanished beneath the waters of the *limnê* of Marathon, a large reservoir constructed in 1926–31. The members of a garrison stationed in the fort made a dedication at Rhamnous in 212/11.²⁰

Aphidnai was the home of the *genos* Gephyraioi and, presumably, its cult of Demeter Achaia; it may have led a relatively independent existence in the border area between Athens and Oropos until the Peisistratid period. However, the ties with the city developed by some leading men in the sixth century, combined with the absence of epigraphic evidence from the deme (which may be due to lack of exploration) means that the demesmen known to us are largely city-based.²¹

The families of the 'tyrant-killers' Harmodios and Aristogeiton, whose hereditary privilege of dining in the *prytaneion* gave the holders a reason for living in the city, were somewhat in eclipse in the early fifth century, perhaps in part because neither of the tyrannicides had left sons, and it took time for leading lines to emerge.²² Kallimachos I A., who served as polemarch in 490, and was presumably an important figure in the deme and city before his death at Marathon, left no descendant who made any mark in the fifth century, although Kallimachos II A., who served as one of the treasurers of Hera on Samos in 357/6/5, and his (?) son Kallisthenes, buried in the Kerameikos in the late fourth century, may have claimed descent from him.²³

889 on the Akropolis c.440, may be his father or uncle (FB). On Melainai cf. also chs. 19 n. 27; 30 n. 61, 32 n. 35. Excavation at the Kotroni fort, *AR* 2011/12 (cf. 2006/7).

²⁰ Buck 1892 has a useful map of the deme area (opposite p. 158). Prehistoric remains, Forsén 2010; fort, Lauter 1992, still referred to in *IG* ii² 2776. 96–7, in the early 2nd c. CE. Dedication, *IRh* 32 (arch. Archelaos), a copy to be set up at Aphidnai; cf. *IRh* 34, a similar dedication, without date. These texts confirm (at least for the 3rd c.) the accuracy of the inserted document in Dem. 18. 38, which names Aphidnai as one of Attika's garrison-posts. There is evidence of cult on Kotroni hill from the late Geometric to Archaic periods (Mersch 1996, 109–10). The lack of exploration invalidates Ismard's argument from the absence of deme decrees (2011, 167; the *kômai* have not produced decrees either).

²¹ Gephyraioi, ch. 20 n. 47; Demeter Achaia, Hdt. 5. 57–61, Schachter 1981, 162. Although the 'oikos' Dekeleis claimed to have helped the Dioskouroi against Theseus, who was aided by Aphidnai, the name of Demotion A., commemorated by a pair of *lekythoi* (or a single vase?) from the Kerameikos, with his (?) daughter Hagnokrite and his (?) wife Helle daughter of Kallianax of Paiania, might suggest that an ancestor who belonged to the phratry Demotionidai had moved from the Dekeleia area to Aphidnai before 507 (*IG* ii² 5736, 7038; Peek 1942, 210 no. 364, cf. Mitsos 1949, 27 no. 8, identifies the two stones and claims that the description of the relief is wrong at 7038 and the restoration of Kallia[nakt]os as Kallim[ach]os wrong at 5736; *CAT* 264/274 thinks that there may have been a pair of vases). *AD* 20 B 1, 1965, 123 with pl. 96c, is a stele fragment from Kapandriti, but no name is preserved.

²² For a possible daughter of Aristogeiton see *APF* 12267 III, and ch. 20 n. 136; note that collaterals who had, or thought they should have, *sitesis* gave the tyrannicides' names to their sons.

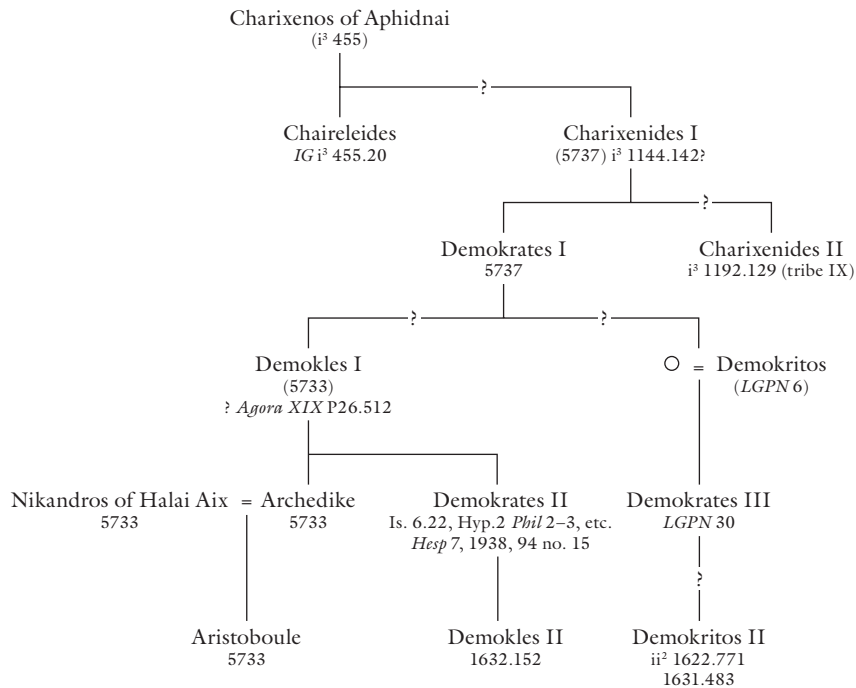
²³ Kallimachos I, Keesling 2010*b*; Kallimachos II, *IG* xii 6. 261. 8, 60; Kallisthenes Kallimachou, *IG* ii² 5756, trapeza, possibly after 322 when the Athenian *kleruchs* were evicted from Samos.

By 336/5 Aristogeiton's seat at the prytaneion dinners was held by Demokrates II, son of Demokles I, who as an elderly man was apparently a well-known figure in the city from the late 340s to 327/6. His tribe used his father, or a son Demokles II, as *klētēr* for a summons served on property in Aphidnai in (?) 342/1, which shows that the family was considered to be of some weight in tribal affairs; this is confirmed by Demokrates' appearance as proposer of a tribal decree in 327/6. He did not necessarily live in the deme; his role in the machinations of Euktemon of Kephisia suggests city residence.²⁴

We can perhaps trace Demokrates' ancestry back into the fifth century. If he was the grandson (SS) of Demokrates (I) son of Charixenides A., commemorated on a tombstone that is unfortunately both lost and undated (*IG* ii² 5737), his grandfather may have been the son of Charixenides I, named on a casualty-list of Aiantis for 464, and the brother of Charixenides II, listed among the tribe's war dead c.410 (see Table 31.2). They may have been related to Chaireleides son of Charixenos A., tamias in 444/3. Demokrates III son of Demokritos A., named on an unpublished tombstone, and his (?) son Demokritos II, syntrierarch in 322, were perhaps cousins (FZS and FZSS?) of Demokrates I.

The Harmodios branch of the Gephyraioi can be traced back to Proxenos I A., who served as hellenotamias in 410/9, and whose father (Harmodios II?) may have married a daughter of Dikaiogenes of Kydathenaion. Proxenos' son Harmodios III, who perhaps lived in the city near Euphiletos, the speaker of Lysias I, defended his family's privilege in 371 by attacking as illegal a proposal to grant dining rights and other honours to Iphikrates; he may be the Harmodios named on a fourth-century stele found in the city, and/or the father of Myrrhine daughter of Harmodios, named on an epistyle of c.360 reported from Koropi. A second son, Dikaiogenes III, was adopted into Kydathenaion, and possibly a

²⁴ *APF* 12267 IV; *klētēr*, *Agora* XIX P 26, 488–530 (at 512) (*pace APF*, this does not imply deme residence); on the Euktemon affair see Is. 6, ch. 7 Case 1. Demokrates agreed to say that he had betrothed his sister (perhaps Archedike, who subsequently married Nikandros of Halai Aixonides and was commemorated with her daughter at Vari in the mid 4th c., *IG* ii² 5733, see ch. 29 n. 145) to Euktemon, probably in 367; at this time he was presumably a relatively young man, perhaps a client of the brothel owned by Euktemon. Other bearers of the name Aristogeiton in A. presumably came from lines that considered themselves entitled to the prytaneion seat, but this does not imply that their claims were either unobjectionable or successful. The Aristogeiton of Aiantis who died in battle in 409, *IG* i³ 1191. 293, probably belonged to A. The Aristogeiton A. who was involved in a case for which Isaios wrote a speech (*F* III 1–2 Thalheim 1903) may possibly have had connections with Lemnos (*APF* 12267 III; ch. 20 n. 136). The Aristogeiton A. whose daughter Eukoline married Dikaiogenos IV of Kydathenaion, and was commemorated with him and their son by a round-based funerary monument at the end of the 4th c. (*IG* ii² 6569, no provenance), and whose son Thoutimos III was named on an anthemion stele dated 340–317, found on the Areiopagos (ii² 5752), was very possibly the ambassador Aristogeiton sent to Dareios III with Iphikrates II and Dropides (cf. below, n. 34) and captured by Alexander; it is much more doubtful whether he was the well-known politician A. of the Lykourgan period (Sealey 1960), since by this time the name is attested in several other demes (cf. *APF* 12267 IV).



Note: LGPN Demokritos 6, Demokrates 30, unpublished early 4th c. tombstone.

TABLE 31.2. Aphidnai: Charixenos APF 3549, 12267 IV (revised)

daughter, Hegeso, was commemorated by an exceptionally fine relief stele of 410–400. Harmodios III's son Proxenos II is attested as trierarch in the 350s and general in the 340s; he was condemned, perhaps after his command in 347/6, but reappears in 341 as one of the guarantors of triremes for Chalkis (and as general in 339/8); his son Harmodios IV paid off the resulting debt in 325/4, and probably appears on a horos with Peithon of Marathon as creditor for 1500 dr. The family can be traced into the third century.²⁵

During the Peloponnesian War the leading member of the deme was Demosthenes son of Alkisthenes, who served frequently as general between 427/6 and 413/2, when he died in Sicily. His victory with a men's chorus at the Dionysia of 423/2 may have been a successful attempt to reassert himself after Kleon had taken most of the credit for the capture of a Spartan force on the island of Sphakteria in 425/4, and after his failures at Megara, Siphai, and Sikyon

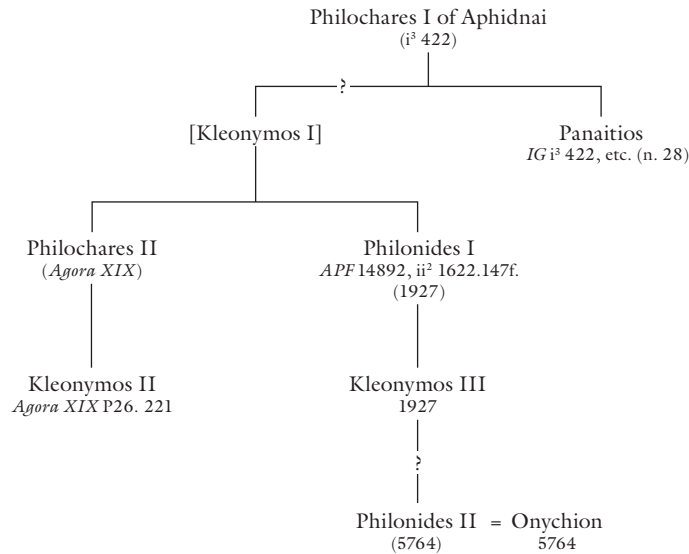
²⁵ APF 12267 V–VI; ch. 20 n. 135, Table 7.2. Proxenos I's service in 410/9 suggests that if Dikaiogenes III later claimed that P. had been involved with the 400, there was little substance in the accusation. Dikaiogenes III may have been named to commemorate an uncle (FB) who died childless. Proxenos I's rosette stele (fragment) of c.400, IG ii³ 5765. Hegeso, IG i³ 1289; her father's demotic is not supplied, but the quality of the work may support the attribution (see ch. 11 n. 27). Harmodios III, APF *ibid.* VI A (Euphiletos, Lys 1. 41; tombstone? ii² 10822; Myrrhine, 12203). Harmodios IV, *Agora XIX H* 95).

in 424/3. A probable grandson (SS), Thoukydides son of Alkisthenes II A., appears perhaps *c.*350 as a member of a consortium of guarantors backing a stonemason from Thespiiai who took on a contract for *c.*7300 dr. on Delos.²⁶

Another demesman with Delian connections in the fourth century is Alkmeonides II son of Thrasydaios, listed *c.*370 as owing 510 dr. to the temple for interest on a loan. His father Thrasydaios son of Alkmeonides I is named on a diadikasia list *c.*380 as being released from a liturgic obligation; Alkmeonides I may have been the second husband of Agariste, in which case he denounced some of those involved in parodying the Mysteries.²⁷

One of the men condemned for mutilating the Hermai in 415 was Panaitios son of Philocharēs I A. (see Table 31.3); he owned land on which he grew vines and kept bees, cattle, sheep, and goats (possibly one of the *eschatai* of the deme area), had a slave donkey-driver, and had perhaps leased a *temenos* in Euboia. Kleonymos I A., who had two sons, Philocharēs (II?) and Philonides (both of whom named sons after their father), was probably Panaitios' brother. Philonides is attested as trierarch before 356;²⁸ his son Kleonymos

TABLE 31.3. Aphidnai:
Philocharēs



²⁶ *APF* 3585; Thoukydides, *ID* 104-4 A 31 (named in appreciation of the historian's account of his grandfather? a link with Thoukydides of Achardous, ch. 30 at nn. 61–2, is also possible).

²⁷ Alkmeonides II, *IG* ii² 1635. 126; Thrasydaios, ii² 1929. 14, *APF* 9688 XIII. Husband of Agariste, Andok. 1. 16; see ch. 13 n. 34 (*pace APF*'s comments, the fact that two aristocratic members of A. plotted against the Peisistratidai was not likely to deter other members of the deme from making aristocratic alliances; indeed, a rival family that resented the kudos gained by the Gephyraioi might well make an alliance with the Alkmeonidai, who themselves claimed responsibility for expelling the tyrants. Note also on Delos Ariston son of Eukleon A., amphiktyon in 364/3, buried at Acharnai, ii² 5730, and Archippos son of Archestratos, naopoios in 346/5/4, *APF* 12267 III (possibly of the Gephyraioi).

²⁸ Panaitios' property, *IG* i³ 422. 204, 426. 52–64; he also had a pair of plough oxen, so he grew some grain. Lease, i³ 418 = *Agora* XIX L 2. 6. Condemnation, Andok. 1. 52, 67 (MacDowell 1962 suggests that the Panaitios of l. 13 was another man). Philonides, *APF* 14892.

III is recorded as (?) kleruch in mid-century, and was perhaps the father of Philonides (II?), whose wife Onychion was buried in the Kerameikos c.300. Kleonymos II son of Philochares II leased a mine in (?) 342/1.

Eucharides son of Eucharos A. served as thesmothetes in 444/3 and was named on an ostrakon that may belong to the same year; Chares son of Eucharistos A., who had a career of some distinction in the third century, may be a descendant.²⁹

Another family in A. with political ambitions was that of Kallikrates I, who married a sister of the politician Agyrrhios of Kollytos (Table 8.7). They had three sons, and perhaps a daughter. Kallistratos, the most distinguished of the sons, proposed a rider to a decree before 378/7, and served as general in the latter year; he was elected general again for 373/2 and 372/1, was active in the Assembly in 370/69 and 369/8, and is attested as syntrierarch in (?) 366/5. His two brothers, Eupheros and Aristokrates, probably appear together on a curse tablet; his sister probably married Timomachos of Acharnai. All three brothers named sons after their father. Kallikrates II son of Kallistratos served as syntrierarch before 356 and perhaps as ambassador to Phokis in 346/5; his cousins (FBS) Kallikrates III son of Eupheros and Kallikrates IV son of Aristokrates are both attested as liturgists. Kallias son of Kallikrates A., who freed a slave donkey-driver resident in Kollytos in the Lykourgan period, will be the son of one of these homonymous cousins. [–c.10–] son of Aristokrates A., councillor in 306/5, may be a grandson of Kallikrates IV.³⁰

There may have been rivalry in the deme—if either family took any interest in deme affairs—between Kallikrates' family and that of Kephisodoros I. The latter's son Teisandros was known as a sophist in the late fifth century, which presumably implies city residence.³¹ His brother Kephisophon was represented with his wife

²⁹ *AO* p. 86; possibly secretary in the 450s, p.105; (possibly *kalos* c.480, BArch 202230); ostrakon, Brenne 2001, no. 73 (written by a disgruntled litigant who thought the thesmothetes had mishandled his case?). On *IG* ii² 5768 (not connected to the thesmothetes) see ch. 11 on loutrophoroi.

³⁰ *APF* 8157; Hochschulz 2007. Kallikrates I's son Kallistratos was Agyrrhios' adelphidous (ZS). Note that Agyrrhios is now attested as still alive and active in 374/3 (Stroud 1998, *SEG* 47. 96, R/O 26). Since Agyrrhios himself had a son named Kallikrates, it is possible that there had been an earlier marriage between the two families, but it is perhaps more likely that the boy was named after Kallikrates I; see Humphreys 1986*a* on relations between WB and ZH, and chs. 8, 24 n. 5. Eupheros and Aristokrates, Wunsch 1897, 24a with Wilhelm 1904, ch. 15 s. 'Ostracism'. Kallias, *SEG* 18. 36 B 270; [Kallikrates V?] son of Aristokrates, *Agora* XVI 113 (a brother of Kallikrates IV would probably have been born too early). On Kallistratos son of Empedokles A. (Plut. [*Mor.*] 844b, not in *LGPN*) see ch. 28 n. 73.

³¹ *APF* 8410. The name Teisandros suggests a connection (perhaps affinal?) with Kleisthenes' opponent Isagoras son of Teisandros, who belonged to a family in Aphidnai that worshipped 'Zeus Karios' (Hdt. 5. 66, perhaps an error of Hdt. or a copyist for Zeus Karaïos, known in Boiotia, ch. 15 p. 488). The possibility of a connection with Teisikles I A. and his two sons, Euktemon and Teisikles II, who made a pair of dedications to Athena Ergane c.350, *Agora* XVIII V 579, is much more tenuous, though they should not necessarily be regarded as working smiths. Euktemon's son Demetrios served as councillor in 332/1 and again in 328/7, and in both years concerned himself with the Amphiarion (*IG* ii³ 348 with *BE* 2012, 129; *IG* ii³ 360, without patronymic). We may however have a working smith of Aphidnai in Timotheos, who supplied masons' tools to the sanctuary at Eleusis in (?) 336/5, *IEleus* 159. 56.

and son on a (probably) painted stele from Piraeus, apparently set up c.365–340 to commemorate the son, Kephisodoros II. Kephisophon seems to have had a second son, Kephalion, with whom the will of Pasion of Acharnai was deposited in 370/69; he is attested as syntrierarch in (?) 366/5. Kephalion's son Kephisophon II also had banking contacts; he acted as guarantor for the banker Blepaios of Lamptraí c.337/6. He was elected general for 345/4, 342/1, and 340/39, and finance minister (*epi to theôrikon*) for 343/2; in the latter year he leased a house belonging to Artemis Agrotera in Kollytos for 686 dr. He may have proposed a law in 338/7 or the following year concerning the fortification of Piraeus, and appears on a curse tablet. The Kephalion (II) who served as syntrierarch in 322 is probably his son.³²

Aphidnai contributed one of the members of the Thirty, Drakontides son of Euthykrates I; his son (or grandson?) Euthykrates II served as councillor in 337/6 and 328/7, and leased an estate at Eleusis in 331/0. Either Euthykrates II or a brother bought an eschatia in Hyporeia, one of the villages of Aphidnai, for 50 dr. in the hekatomtai sales. Drakontides II son of Euthykrates III (??) was granted proxeny rights at Oropos in the early second century.³³

Another aristocrat from A. who re-emerged in the Lykourgan era is Dropides, perhaps descended from the archons of 645/4 and 593/2 and, if so, related to the 'tyrant' Kritias. Dropides son of He[rmipp?]os A. leased a mine in (?) 339/8, and is probably the Dropides A. named on a mine horos from Sounion; he may well also be the Dropides who was sent as ambassador to Dareios III in 330 with Iphikrates II and an Aristogeiton, and was captured by Alexander.³⁴

³² IG ii² 5757, Kephisodoros II, Kephisophon I, and Peisistrate, probably Kephisophon's wife; 5758, a lost stone, named a Kephisophon, Kephisodoros, and Anthylla, after an Aphidnaios whose name is lost; this might be another stele for Kephisodoros II, on which he was represented with his father and his wife or sister, or, as Kirchner thought, a stone commemorating later members of the family (paired lekythoi are quite common, but I am not aware of any examples of paired stelai). It is not particularly likely that the Kephisodoros son of Kephisophon of Athens who served as lochagos with the Ten Thousand (Xen. *Anab.* 4. 2. 13) belonged to Aphidnai, since the same combination of name and patronymic occurs also in Acharnai, Alopeke (IG ii² 2345. 32, see Humphreys 1990a), and (in reverse order) Hermos and Xypete. Kephalion, Dem. 45. 19 (the kedestes Amphias who was sent to fetch the will was probably his WB, see Humphreys 1986a); *epi to theôrikon*, IG ii³ 306; lease, *Agora* XIX L 6. 99 (Papazarkadas 2011, 307 no. 39); walls, ii³ 429, Maier 1959 no. 10; curse, Coll. Froehner 11 (L. Robert 1936).

³³ Euthykrates II, Papazarkadas 2011, 305 no. 27; with patronymic (Drakontidou), *IEleus* 177. 373, IG ii³ 360. 5, 42, 47; without, as proedros 337/6, ii³ 324–5, 418 (cf. Lambert 2004b, 100). Lambert 1997a, F 7 B 8, restores [Euthykrate]s Drakontidou and considers him a grandson of Drakontides I, but it is not impossible that the latter was a youngish man in 403 who had a son shortly before that date. Drakontides (II?) son of Euthykrates, IG vii 283. 3. Papazarkadas points out that both names occur in the Eteoboutadai (ch. 20 n. 80).

³⁴ The names of Kritias and his father Kallaischros also occur in A. (*APF* 8792 VI d), but according to Loeper's hypothesis the 'tyrant' should have belonged to Erechtheis (ch. 15 n. 30). Mine lease, *Agora* XIX P 28. 22; horos, IG ii² 2636; embassy, Arr. *Anab.* 3. 24. 4, Curt. 3. 13. 15. Alexis' play *Dropides*, *PCG* 2. 54–5, F 60–2, may have been named for him; either he or a son may appear on a list of uncertain character, ii² 2414. 15. On the ambassador Aristogeiton see above, n. 24; ch. 16 n. 25.

Several other members of Aphidnai appear as purchasers, both in their own deme and elsewhere, in the *hekatostai* sales. [Polykrates?]? son of Polykrates bought an *eschatia* at Hyporeia for (?) 50 dr.; he or his father may be the Polykrates A. who served as treasurer of naval funds in 328/7. The daughter of a Polykrates A., married to a demesman of Kerameis, was commemorated *c.*300 by a *kioniskos* found in the city. Alkiades A. bought two *eschatai* at Petalidai, where he is also attested *c.*340 as owning land. One or more sons of Euthoinos bought two *eschatai*, probably in the deme, for 50 dr. apiece, and [Molot?]? son of Eunomos A., who served as (?) councillor *c.*320, did the same. Demokedes son of [Demostratos?] A. probably bought land at Sphettos; his dedication to Hermes in that deme is preserved. Lysikrates son of Lysimachos A. bought land in Alopeke; his sister Aristaichme was commemorated with her husband Epipieithes son of Xenopeithes (Rhamnous?) on a relief stele of the second half of the fourth century, found in the city.³⁵

Timarchos, Amphikles, and Ersikles A. reported to the *poletai* that land was owned in their deme by Nikodemos of Oinoe, who had been condemned for misconduct as a tribal *epimeletes*; it is not clear whether they were acting as deme officials or as friends of the debtor. Timokrates A. is the only known *epimeletes* from Aphidnai, although one might have supposed that the deme supplied one of the tribe's three *epimeletai* each year.³⁶

Aphidnai has not produced many attested horse-owners, but Sokrates son of Eudramon served in the cavalry on Salamis *c.*320, and Prokleides I, trierarch *c.*323/2 (possibly P. son of Anacharsis A., secretary in 354/3), had a descendant,

³⁵ [Polykrates], Lambert 1997a F 7 B 6, *AO* p. 396, *IG* ii² 6344; Alkiades, Lambert F 7 B 25–6; *Agora* XIX P 26. 501–2, 508; sons of Euthoinos, Lambert F 7 B 10, 12; [Molot?]? son of Eunomos A., F 7 B 14, ii² 1927. 129 (Lambert did not restore the name, because he took ii² 1927 to be a list of *diatetai* of *c.*360; see now Humphreys 2010a. L. reads the price as 5000 dr., which seems unlikely when several other *eschatai* in the deme sold for 50 dr., perhaps a ‘fair price’ paid by public-spirited demesmen for land of little value, see Humphreys 2004 s.v. *hekatostai*). Demokedes, F 6 B 38–9; *herm* (Ross 1855, 219, Koukouvaia), ii² 4628 (see ch. 27 n. 24). Lysikrates, F 13 A 9; sister, ii² 11293 = *CAT* 2. 447b. Note that Nikandros A., who sells property as *komarch* of Hyporeia, F 7 B 3–4, may be related to Nik<a>nd<r>os son of Parmenon, represented as a small boy with his (?) sister on ii² 12251 = *CAT* 0. 910, from Piraeus (second half of the 4th c.), if the latter was a brother of Amyntas son of Parmenon A., commemorated by a *kioniskos* found in the city, ii² 5720. Epipieithes and Xenopeithes, n. 102.

³⁶ Timarchos a. o., *Agora* XIX P 26. 498 (on apographe by kin and friends see R. G. Osborne 1985; ch. 14 n. 42). Timokrates, P 26. 514 (it is possible that not all tribes appointed *epimeletai* by *trittys*, ch. 21 n. 71). A Telemachos son of D— A. appears on a dedication made by representatives from the twelve tribes (*IG* ii² 3852), at the end of the 4th or in the early 3rd c.; he may be either the Telemachos who served as trierarch before 323/2, *APF* 13560, or a descendant (*APF* suggests grandson, SS, but service by an elderly man shortly after 307/6 is not impossible; ch. 17 nn. 15, 17). Cf. perhaps Telesippos A., *diatetes* in 325/4, ii³ 4. 35. 151.

also called Prokleides, in the cavalry *c.*250.³⁷ Chares A., attested in the cavalry in the same period, will be Chares II son of Eucharistos; his father, son of Chares I, served as proedros in (?) 252/1. Chares II became a member of the Areiopagos, and appears as proedros and as proposer of decrees in the 220s.³⁸

We know of two outsiders who bought land in the deme, Euthymenes of Euonymon, who also had mining interests, and Nikokrates of Rhamnous.³⁹ There are also some possible indications of demesmen of Aphidnai moving into other rural areas,⁴⁰ but more cases in which they appear in the city–Piraeus area or overseas. Eukrates son of Exekias A. leased an ergasterion, a building, and a privy (?) in Peiraios, in perpetuity, from the deme Kytherros in the second half of the fourth century; his father acted as his guarantor. Archias son of Aristokritos freed a flute-girl living in Peiraios, in the Lykourgan period; he appears as a lessee on Delos. His sister Aristomache married Philagros of Phaleron, who served as one of the dockyard commissioners in 348/7; she and her daughter Deinomache were commemorated by a trapeza in the Kerameikos. Aristophon son of Aristion freed a wet-nurse (*tithê*) living in Skambonidai.⁴¹

Diodoros A. served as (?) councillor on Imbros in 352/1; his son Androkritos and grandson Chairigenes are commemorated on a family tomb-stele from the island (see Table 31.4). Diodoros son of Diodorides (a rare name), kleruch (?) in mid-century, may be this Diodoros or a kinsman. Aristodemos A. served

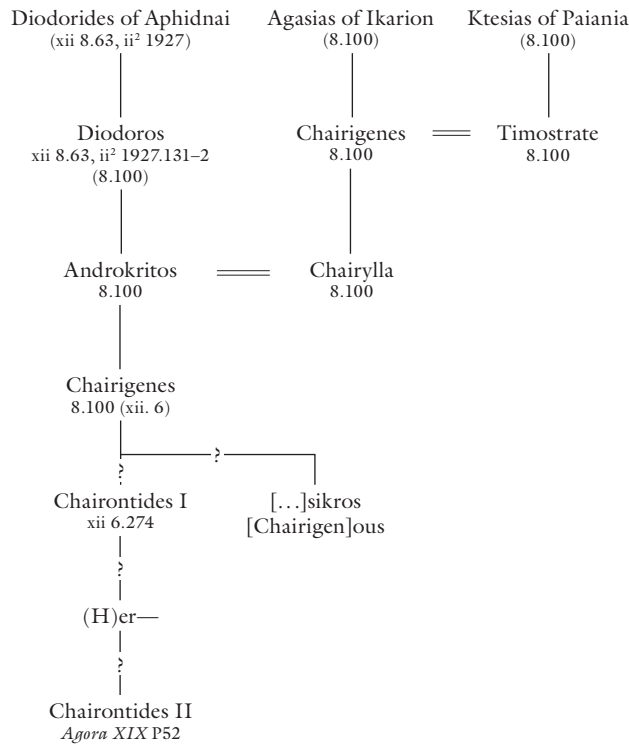
³⁷ Sokrates, *IG* ii³ 4. 323. 12; Prokleides, *APF* 1916 (Bugh 1988 II B 226). If the trierarch is the secretary, the hippeus will probably be his great-grandson (SSS). He may also be the father of Phainarete daughter of Prokleides A., wife of Aristokrates of Lamptraï, commemorated by the kioniskos ii² 5771 (dated in the second half of the 3rd c., probably because her husband is taken to be the man of that name who served as ephebe in 250/49, arch. Polyeuktos, ii³ 1008. 10).

³⁸ Chares II, Bugh 1988 II B 52 + *LGP*N Chares no. 21; Eucharistos, ii³ 1020. 32; Eucharistos or a brother may be the son of [Char]es (I?) A. who appears in a list organized by tribes (possibly ephebic?) of the early 3rd c. (ii² 2433. 3; not 4th c. as *LGP*N Chares no. 18). They may have been descendants of Eucharides A., thesmothetes in the 5th c. (n. 29 above).

³⁹ Euthymenes, *Agora* XIX P 26. 501–520, *c.*342/1; he is also named on the horos Finley 1952 no. 51a. Nikokrates, P 26. 529.

⁴⁰ *IG* ii² 5740, Dion A., seen by Finley in the Spata area; 5753, two sons and a daughter of Hierokleides A., from Patesia (two men, [Apole]xis son of Tauriskos of Amphitrope, see *APF* 2419, and —doros son of Charidemios of Phlya, are also named on the stone, and the names of two women were added in a different hand, Peek 1942, 173 no. 365; it is not clear whether this stele is a gravestone or, perhaps, a list of members of a cult-group; cf. ch. 11 n. 43); ii² 5730, Ariston son of Eukleon, from Menidi (Bergemann 1997, peribolos O 5); he served as amphiktyon on Delos in 346/3, *ID* 104-4.

⁴¹ Eukrates, *IG* ii² 2496. Archias, *SEG* 18. 36 B 211–12; *ID* 104-8 B 22, 29–30, 47, 49. Aristomache, ii² 5728 (daughter's name added, ii² date *c.*350 too high?); Philagros, ii² 1622. 549; 5727, a monument for —ades son of Aristokritos A., known only from a report by Fourmont, may commemorate another brother. Aristophon, *SEG* 18. 36 B 255–62. The wife of Spoudias A., concerned in the lawsuit of Dem. 41, made a dedication in the City Eleusinion (*Agora* XXXI no. 7), which suggests that they lived in the city. Spoudias may be an ancestor of Memnon son of Medon A. who proposed decrees in 302/1 and perhaps in 286/5, and his son Spoudias, proedros in 226/5 (Memnon, *IG* ii² 500, *Agora* XVI 123, ii³ 866, cf. Byrne 2004, 320–1, Paschidis 2008 A 51; Spoudias, *IG* ii³ 1147, Ergochares).



IG xii 6.274 not in *LGP*N.

TABLE 31.4. Aphidnai: Diodoros (*IG* xii 8.100+)

as councillor on Samos *c.*350; he is named on a horos found in the city as creditor for 2000 dr.⁴²

COASTAL TRITTYS

The largest deme in the trittys was Marathon, with a quota of ten councillors, closely followed by Rhamnous with nine.⁴³ The sites of all four demes are approximately known.

⁴² Diodoros, *IG* xii 8. 63b 14 (Cargill 1995, 101–2 doubts whether these men are councillors, but we now have a parallel on Samos, *IG* xii 6. 262). Chairigenes seems to have had a son, Chairontides I A., who was buried on Samos (*IG* xii 6. 274, 4th c.). He may be the grandfather (FF) of Chairontides II son of (H)er—, whose property was sold by the poletai in 281/0 (*Agora* XIX P 52, Ourias). The father may be Ersikles A., one of three men who *c.*340 reported property in the deme of the delinquent tribal epimeletes Nikodemos of Oinoe (ch. 21 n. 71; *Agora* XIX P 26. 498), or Her[mippo?]s, father of Dropides A; Dropides leased a mine in (?) 339/8 (*Agora* XIX P 28. 22) and probably set up the marker *IG* ii² 2636. Diodoros son of Diodorides, *IG* ii² 1927. 131, see Humphreys 2010a. Tei[-5-]s son of Teisikles A. (the son's name was not necessarily Teisikles) is also named on *IG* ii² 1927 (119–20); he and his brother [Euk]temon made dedications on the Akropolis (before he left? *Agora* XVIII V 579; ch. 12 n. 85). Euktemon's son Demetrios was councillor in 328/7, *IG* ii³ 348; cf. Lambert 2004b, 100. Aristodemos, *IG* xii 6. 262 IX 15 (Archedemos, l. 14, perhaps a kinsman?); ii² 2729 (possibly a later member of the family).

⁴³ On Traill's view that Rhamnous belonged to the city trittys see above, n. 2.

Marathon

The exact location of the deme centre is still uncertain, perhaps because it is now covered by silt. In any case, there may have been more than one habitation site in the deme (Traill 1986). There seems to have been a sanctuary, perhaps the Herakleion, in the southwest part of the plain near the Brexisa swamp, and two dedications to Dionysos have been found in the area of Divaliaki, near the river Oinoe, about 150 metres north of the low mound of Plasi, which has prehistoric remains and may have been used for cult at least from the Geometric period to the sixth century. The deme centre, at least in the Roman period, may have been closer to the coast, where there are remains of an Early Christian basilica.⁴⁴

The Herakleia at Marathon were either founded or reorganized after 490, and were given a (more?) panathenaic character by the decision that thirty men chosen among the visitors to the games, three from each tribe, over thirty years old, were to take an oath and supervise the games. The athlothetai who were responsible

⁴⁴ See Goette and Weber 2004, Oikonomakou 2004; T. Weber 2010; Tsirigote-Drakotou 2010; Fromherz 2011; Mazarakis-Ainian 2011*b*. Ismard (2010, 239–49, with Annexe 6) imagines that the deme stretched from Koukounar(t)i to Kynosoura, with the sanctuary of Delian Apollo/manteion on Kynosoura (Lambert 2000*a* is much more cautious). *IG* i³ 3, an early 5th c. text concerning the organization of the festival Herakleia, came from the Brexisa area, as did i³ 1015 *bis* = *CEG* 318, a dedication to Herakles *emphylios* of c.440 from Valaria, between Agios Theodoros and the sea; there is also re-used ancient sculpture on the site, and the epigram may refer to the Herakleia. The epithet *emphylios* has been taken as evidence that the Herakleion was near the ‘gates’ (cf. Thermopylai) through which the road from the Mesogeia passes, between Mt Agrieliiki and the sea, into the Marathon plain (Vanderpool 1966*a*, 1966*b*, placing the deme-site at Vrana, which may however be Probalinthos, ch. 25 n. 14; Koumanoudes 1978). Pritchett (1960) and Berthold (1976) both questioned this location for the Herakleion (see also D. M. Lewis 1984*c*, 606–7); Pritchett (with a useful survey of research in the area, maps, and warnings about the movement of stones) considers that the remains on the slopes of Mt Agrieliiki between Vrana and the charadra belong to a necropolis, although two temples were reported from the area also, and there is at least one dedication by a priest, from Probalinthos, *IG* ii² 7296 (see ch. 25 n. 15). Berthold, noting the discovery of a horos of a temenos of Athena (Hellotis?) from the Brexisa area (*IG* i³ 1082, which he claims was not found *in situ*), places Athena’s sanctuary at Brexisa and the Herakleion in the Vrana valley, near the church of Agios Demetrios (cf. also Monaco 1993). On Brexisa see also *Ergon* 2009, 14–24. *IG* ii³ 4. 224, a dedication to Dionysos by four hieropoioi of the Tetrapolis, of the mid 4th c., was found at Divaliaki. So were ii² 4774, a dedication of the Roman period, and ii³ 4. 348, an ephebic dedication dated by the *paidotribēs*, which can hardly belong to the 4th c. (though this date, given in the original publication *AAA* 3, 1970, 19, is accepted by *SEG*, *LGPn*, and Goette and Weber 2004, 98); the *paidotribēs*, who first appears in ephebic texts of the late 4th c., is listed among junior instructors at that date and is not attested as a figure sufficiently senior to be used for dating until the 2nd c. BCE (*IG* ii³ 4. 357, 362–4, in conjunction with an archon-date, cf. *SEG* 21. 460), although *IG* ii² 585 (*SEG* 21. 352), dated 300/299 (*SEG*), contains the beginning of a decree giving special praise to a [*paidot*]ribēs; the change from two of these gymnastic trainers to one may also be attested in ii² 478. 26 (*ton pa[idotribēn]*), see P. J. Rhodes 1981*a* on *A.P.* 42. 3. Pritchett 1960 seems to be inclined to place the deme-centre in the Divaliaki area; Traill 1986, 148 puts it about 1 km further south, NW of the prehistoric site at Plasi (on which see Mersch 1996, 178–80; *AR* 2014–15, 17). Roman site, on the shore c.1200 m E of the ‘Soros’, Travlos 1988 (sherds indicate earlier occupation in the BA, Geometric, Archaic, and Classical periods). Note that *IG* ii² 1358 = *SEG* 50. 168, the calendar text of the Tetrapolis which found its way to Koukounarti, probably Hekale (ch. 26), may have come from Probalinthos or Oinoe (see Ober 1982).

for preparations may have been appointed by the deme or the Tetrapolis, and the text on which these regulations were recorded may be a deme or Tetrapolis decree. It is cut on the same stone as an earlier text that apparently concerns legal procedure. By 346, if the decision temporarily to celebrate the Herakleia in the city, reported by Demosthenes, refers to the Marathon festival, it may have been under the control of the state.⁴⁵ The festival was evidently well known in the early decades after the battle of Marathon, attracting competitors from Opous, Aigina, and Corinth, as well as Athenians; later in the century it may have become a more local affair.⁴⁶

The second column of the Tetrapolis calendar, dated to the second quarter of the fourth century, seems to be divided according to the location of sanctuaries, with Marathon occupying B 1–53, followed by Trikorynthos. As Dow emphasized, there is no guarantee that the demarch of Marathon is responsible for sacrifices other than those immediately following references to him; most of the sacrifices were probably made by officials of the Tetrapolis. On this interpretation, the Marathon demarch sacrificed in Hekatombaion or (more probably) Metageitnion to a hero and (probably) heroine (B 1–4, two piglets and a table of offerings), and in Mounichion to the hero in Drasileia and his heroine, and the hero at the Hellotion and his heroine (B 23–26, four sheep and trapezai).⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *IG* i³ 3; see R. Parker 1996, 97; 2005*a*, 473; Lalonde 2006*b*, 71–4. The sanctuary certainly existed before the battle. *Epidēmoi* seem to be visitors rather than residents. i³ 2 is on the same stone. Herakleia of 346, Dem. 19. 58; the decision was taken on Skirophorion 27, so the festival probably took place in Hekatombaion or Metageitnion (the date of the battle was perhaps Metageitnion 16, see Burn 1962, 257; also R. Parker 2005*a*, 472–3). The calendar frieze (Deubner 1932, 226–7; E. Simon 1983, pl. 2. 3) gives evidence of a festival of Herakles in Metageitnion. On the question whether we should read [Herakle]ia or [Hephaist]ia in *A.P.* 54. 7 as the third of the penteteric festivals celebrated by the state (and run by the annual hieropoioi) see P. J. Rhodes 1981*a*, 608–10; Humphreys 2004, 112 n. 5. Strictly speaking, we are not in a position to say that if a decision was taken in the Assembly to move a festival for military reasons the festival must have been under state control (for the problems of ‘state control’ see ch. 22 at n. 95). The festival does not figure in the preserved part of the Tetrapolis calendar *SEG* 50. 168, although a sacrifice at the Herakleion, before Mounichion, is listed in *A* 19.

⁴⁶ Pind. *Ol.* 9. 89–90 = 134–7, with schol., Opous; *Py.* 8. 79 Aigina; *Ol.* 13. 110 (157) Corinth. Schol. *Ol.* 9. 90 says silver vases were given as prizes. However, bronze prize vases of the early decades of the 5th c. may have come from the Herakleia, Vanderpool 1971. The Anak(e)ia also awarded bronze prize vases (R. Parker 1996, 97; 2005*a*, 457). Amandry 1971 suggested the Epitaphia, but it is doubtful whether the latter festival existed so early, see Humphreys forthcoming *b*. If the Epitaphia were introduced c.446 (ibid.), interest in the Herakleia may subsequently have declined; in any case the Peloponnesian War is likely to have affected attendance. A revival in the 4th c., when celebration of Athens’ role in the Persian wars became more prominent, is not impossible.

⁴⁷ *IG* ii² 1358 = *SEG* 50. 168; see Lambert 2000*a*, Humphreys 2004, 165–77; add Clinton 2003 on uses of *teletē*; Stringer 2007 on Telete as daughter of Dionysos; Bevilacqua 1995, 1996 with *EBGR* 1996 (*Kernos* 12, 1999) 19–20 on *eisi(ti)tēria/exitēria*; *SEG* 54. 216; Schuddeboom 2009; De Nicolo 2012 on Apollo Apotropaios. R. Parker 1996, 111 interpreted column A I as a list of communal festivals and column A II as ‘individual sacrifices of the four demes’ (so also, for A II, Rosivach 1994, 36–40), but the two separate references to the demarch of Marathon (restored, but very plausibly, in A II 1–2) in the middle of

According to this text, the deme of Marathon, in addition to sanctuaries of Herakles and Dionysos, would have contained sanctuaries of Demeter Eleusinia and Kore (with Daira and Zeus Anthaleus?), Demeter Chloe ‘next to Meidylos’ estate’, Demeter Achaia, Gê ‘en Guais’ and Gê ‘at the oracle’, Zeus Hypatos, Neanias, Athena Hellotis (the Hellotion), and various heroes, including Aristomachos, Iolaos, and Hyttenios.⁴⁸ In addition, we learn from Philochoros’ book on the Tetrapolis (*FGH* 328 F 75) that Marathon had a sanctuary of Apollo Delios (probably the *manteion*) where a watch was kept for omens from the god; if a sign was seen, a theoria was sent to Delos.⁴⁹

None of the Tetrapolis demes has so far produced a deme document in the strict sense of the term; while this may be due to the chances of excavation, it is also quite possible that the Tetrapolis continued to be responsible for most of the religious functions that were elsewhere accumulated by demes.⁵⁰

the sacrificial year, and the heading in 39–40, ‘the following sacrifices are made in alternate years, starting with the year after Euboulos’ archonship, by the Tetrapoleis. Second year of the cycle’, show that we are dealing with Tetrapolis and not deme sacrifices (Lambert takes Euboulos to be a Tetrapolis official and not the eponymous archon of 345/4, and is tempted to think that Euboulos of Probalinthos had experience of organizing deme finances before he became prominent in the city; the name, though rather common, is not attested at this period in any other Tetrapolis deme). It seems possible that column A I lists sacrifices on a four-year cycle (the cycle of the Herakleia?); reading [*tetartês t*]rimeno (Lambert) in A I 4, the first year of the cycle would be (partly) covered by A I 1–22, the second by A I 23–31, the third (a thin year, with sacrifices only in the last quarter) by A I 32–38, and the fourth—with a special heading [*megalê? lÿstatê? dram*]os[y]nê—by A I 39–55 (+). In A I 11 Lambert restores the date of the sacrifice to Zeus Horios rather than [*tade ho archôn thu*]ei. I take it that the rubric in A I 13–15 only covers A I 16–19; it may possibly refer to sacrifices carried out in every year of the cycle (Rosivach, loc. cit., thinks it introduces a new set of sacrifices, perhaps beginning at the time of the inscription).

⁴⁸ Hyttenios was presumably the eponym of Hyttenia, a name for the Tetrapolis (St. Byz. s.v. *Tetrapolis*). Aristomachos: Lambert, op. cit.; Sineux 2007.

⁴⁹ If this was the manteion where Ge received sacrifice (A II 13), the Marathon sanctuary was perhaps created as a rival to the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo at Oinoe (below, n. 58), since Gê was associated with Apollo at Delphi rather than in Delos. The sacred trireme seized by Philip at Marathon (Dem. 4. 34) may have belonged to the deme.

⁵⁰ The same may be true of the Tetrakomoi. In the Marathon section of *SEG* 50. 168 A II there is no entry in Pyanopsion for the Apatouria, which were presumably celebrated at a phratry sanctuary in the deme. An ox (or oxen) worth (?)150+ dr. (A I 28, *in rasura*, see Lambert’s discussion) was sacrificed in Poseideion, perhaps in association with the Rural Dionysia, to [a hero?] whose heroine received a sheep; possibly this Tetrapolis sacrifice was complemented by deme activities paid for by choregoi. There is no entry in the calendar for the Thesmophoria, although Demeter is prominent (and there is a sacrifice ‘before the Skira’ to Hyttenios, Kourotrophos, the Tritopatreis, and the Akamantes, A II 30–33); the husbands of women who played prominent roles in the festival may have made contributions, as they did elsewhere (Is. 3. 80, cf. ch. 12 n. 31). One might think that the cults of the hero Marathos or Marathon and the hero Echelos or Echelaos would be the responsibility of the deme. On the other hand Pausanias (1. 32. 5) says that the Athenians consulted Delphi about the appearance during the battle of Marathon of a man who killed Persians with a ploughshare, and were told to worship Echelaos; this consultation is more likely to have been made by the city or the Tetrapolis (through the Pythioi of Oinoe?) than by the deme. Marathos, according to Dikaiarchos (Plut. *Thes.* 32, F 66 Wehrli 1967, 59 Fortenbaugh and Schütrumpf 2000), was an Arcadian who (with Eche<de>mos = Akademos) helped the Dioskouroi

Marathon did not produce any demesman of great distinction. A Boutalion M. appears on seven ostraka of the early fifth century, and his homonymous grandson (son of Ep—) served as one of the Treasurers of the Other Gods in 420/19; Antiphanes' comedy *Boutalion* or *Agroikos* belongs to the fourth century, and the name may have been chosen merely for its association with oxen.⁵¹ The deme had something of a cavalry tradition: Kephisodoros M. served as hipparch at the battle of Mantinea in 363/2; Kleonymos son of Kleoxenos I was phylarch (or taxiarch) in 373/2. The latter's son Kleoxenos II is named in a list of six demesmen of Marathon and six of Rhamnous who set up a votive monument c.350.⁵²

Aristoteles M. seems to have been well-known as a politician in the 370s; his son Aristonikos proposed the decree concerning the leasing of new territory in (?) Oropos in 335/4, and can thus be regarded as an associate of Lykourgos, who proposed the related law about the Panathenaia; they also cooperated in the same year in proposing measures against pirates.⁵³ At a less distinguished level, Timotheos I M. served as one of the dockyard commissioners in 369/8; his son ...odemos was buried in Piraeus, and a grandson, Timotheos II son of Timokleides, was councillor in 304/3. Antimachos I son of Euthynomos I was one of the Delian amphiktyons c.377–3; his homonymous grandson, son of Euthynomos II, is attested as proedros in 302/1, and a later member of the family, Euthynomos III, was epebe in 266/5.⁵⁴ These families were all probably resident in the city; so probably was Arxiphon M., represented with his wife Aristokleia and a child on a lekythos of unknown provenance, whose (probable) son Pytho[–c. 6–] made a dedication in the Eleusinion before the middle of the fourth century. Another son, Pythokles I, married a daughter of Autophilos of Phlya, perhaps a craftsman; their son Pythokles II

against Theseus and died in Attika; this myth indicates hostility to Aphidnai as well as to political figures and policies associated with Theseus, and might belong to the 470s (cf. ch. 19 n. 39). See Jameson 1951; Kearns 1989 s.v. *Echetlaïos*, *Marathos*; Kron 1999, 63–5. Oinoe probably sells property in the hekatestai sales, see below, n. 59.

⁵¹ Brenne 2001 no. 45, *Agora XXV* nn. 89–95 (son of Ep—; note also Brenne no. 46, Boutalos Oinaios, conceivably a mistake); Boutalion II, *IG* i³ 472. 12; Antiphanes, *PCG* 2 p. 346 F 69. The deme may have contained good land for raising cattle; prices are higher in the Tetrapolis calendar than elsewhere (Lambert 2000a p. 55). A Boutheros son of Dionysios M. is attested as a member of a commission possibly associated with theatrical matters (*IG* ii³ 4. 63. 9); his (?) grandson, SS, Boutheros son of Philonides, was epebe in 266/5 (ii³ 917 III 51, Nikias of Otryne). (There is also Philomelos M., hellenotamias or paredros in 415/4, *IG* i³ 370. 77, 79; a homonymous (?) grandson is attested as trierarch, *APF* 14667, and the latter's wife, Xenokleia daughter of Polyoros of Oe, made a dedication at Brauron, above, ch. 28 n. 77).

⁵² Kephisodoros, Ephoros *FGH* 70 F 85; Paus. 8. 9. 10; Kleonymos, *IG* ii³ 4. 244; Kleoxenos II, *IG* ii² 2400 with Dow 1983 (no provenance).

⁵³ Aristoteles proposed the charter decree of the second Athenian league and a rider, in 378/7, and was appointed with two others as ambassador to Thebes (*IG* ii² 43. 7, 76, 91; D. L. 5. 35 describes him as a politician and author of forensic speeches). Aristonikos, *Agora XIX* L 7; ii² 1623. 276–85 etc. (Panathenaia law, ii³ 447).

⁵⁴ Timotheos I, *IG* ii² 1617. 80; ... odemos, ii² 6814; Timotheos II, *Agora XV* 59. 35, 61. [275]. Antimachos I, ii² 1635 = *ID* 98 A 10, 62; Antimachos II, ii² 501. 9–10, 562 + *Hesp.* 9, 1940, 342 no. 5; Euthynomos III (on a calculation of generations, he should be a grandson of Antimachos II), ii³ 917 III 52 (arch. Nikias Otryne).

is named in a dedication on the Akropolis with the sons and with other grandsons (DS) of Autophilos, at about the same date.⁵⁵

The only tombstone from the deme area that can certainly be attributed to a demesman lacks personal names. It is possible, however, that Hegemō[n] son of [He]gesias, whose (?) trapeza was seen by Lolling near the Soros, was related to (son of?) Hegeṣiās M., who chaired the Assembly for a day in 323/2; Hegesistratos M., who appears in the (?) epidosis list on the back of the Tetrapolis calendar, may have belonged to the same family.⁵⁶

Oinoe

The name of the deme is preserved by the modern village Ninoi, west of modern Marathon; the ancient deme centre is thought to have been at the western end of the valley, near the medieval tower and the church of Agioi Apostoloi. A peristyle building, perhaps a Nymphaeum, of the second century CE, with marble couches for incubation, and an exedra of (?) the same period, have been excavated; there may be remains of classical farms near Agia Paraskeve at Ninoi, and a funerary area used in the Late Archaic and Classical periods, with many child burials, has been excavated at Skaleza; other tombs were excavated along the road from Ninoi to Marathon. It is not clear to which deme we should assign the valley area round modern Marathon, or the area of Ano Souli, in the hills c.3 miles upstream to the northeast of that town, from which there is burial material starting in the Geometric period and continuing throughout antiquity.⁵⁷

Oinoe had a Pythion, at which watch was kept for omens indicating the need to consult the oracle at Delphi; by the Hellenistic period, at least, this was regarded as a traditional institution of the Tetrapolis (see ch. 20 n. 143). Pythodoros son of Apollodoros, ephebe in 333/2/1, is the only bearer of a Delphi-related name who can definitely be associated with the deme in the classical period. There was

⁵⁵ Arxiphon and family, *IG* ii² 6776 = *CAT* 2. 880a (no provenance; *CAT*'s date not long before 350 seems rather late in prosopographical terms); Pytho[–c.6–], *Agora XXXI* no. 2; Pythokles II, ii² 4327.

⁵⁶ *IG* ii² 6822; Hegemō[n], ii² 11563 (patronymic [He]gesio; possibly a dedication-base? see *MDAI(A)* 10, 1885, 279); Hegesias, ii² 366. 7; Hegesistratos, Peek 1942 no. 10. 3. Note also that Daippos M., attested as trierarch in 373/2 and 356, also as contributor of naval equipment, who perhaps had a son who was councillor in 368/7 (*APF* 3101), may have been the bearded Daippos represented with an older couple and a young woman on a relief stele of mid-century from Piraeus, ii² 10983 = *CAT* 4. 380 (the older man is Kallimachos and cannot be the councillor, whose name was [–c.6–]s).

⁵⁷ Travlos 1988, 217–18 (arguments for regarding the peristyle building as a successor of the classical Pythion do not seem strong); Goette 2001, 241–2. Farms, *AD* 38 (1983) B 61; Skaleza cemetery, *ibid.* (demesman's tombstone, *SEMA* 476); tombs along road, *AD* 40 (1985) B 73–4; Photios 1982 reports settlement remains at Vredou in the hills W of the Ninoi Valley (a deme hamlet?); Ano Souli, Arapogianni 1991, cf. *AD* 42 B 1, 1987 (1992) 99–102; see Mersch 1996, 149–51, and ch. 32 n. 35, Kolonai. On the topography of the area see also Ober 1982; *AR* 2014–15, 29–30.

also a cave, with votive offerings from the fifth century, perhaps the cave of Pan mentioned by Pausanias (1. 32. 5).⁵⁸

Deme property was sold in the hekatostai sales by the demarch Mnesarchides, who may be related to Mnesarchos O., whose daughter married Phanokrates of Rhamnous.⁵⁹

Two members of the deme served as tribal epimeletai in the late 340s, Polyphilos son of Polymedes I, whose son Polymedes II was ephebe in 333/2/1, and Nikodemos son of Aristomenes, condemned for embezzlement, who owned land at Aphidnai.⁶⁰ Epichares I son of Epigenes O. served as tribal sophronistes in 333/2/1; he is recorded as (?) owing money to the temple on Delos, perhaps c.345. Epichares II son of Platon I O., diaitetes in 325/4, may be a cousin; he was commemorated with his wife Demostrate daughter of Theotimos of Pergase and their young son Platon II in the Thriasian plain.⁶¹ Phyleus I son of Pausanias I O. served with his son Pausanias II and Charidemos O. on a three-man commission honoured by the boule and demos in 336/5 (*BE* 2017. 181); Pausanias III son of Phyleus II was councillor in 281/0, and the Pausanias O. (tribe unknown) attested as hippeus c.250 may be a later member of the family. Antimachos son of Pausanias O., who was honoured (with others) by the paroikoi at Rhamnous, perhaps proposed a decree passed by the garrison there c.229, and contributed to an epidosis for the local Amphiaraiion (?) c.214, is probably the hippeus' son.⁶²

The tribal affiliation of —nos son of Kydippos, councillor for Aiantis in 281/0, and of the later Kydippos who was sent by the Tetrapolis as ambassador to Delphi, suggests that Deixenos and Kydimachos O., commemorated by a stele

⁵⁸ Python, Philoch. *FGH* 328 F 75, cf. above, nn. 49–50; Pythodoros, *IG* ii³ 4. 335. 9; cave, Travlos 1988, 217–18, Mersch loc. cit. (there is also prehistoric material); Goette and Weber 2004. Pan: Lambert 2000*a* suggests restoring a sacrifice to him in *SEG* 50. 168 A I 44–5.

⁵⁹ Lambert 1997*a* F 7 B 27; Archestrate daughter of Mnesarchos, *SEG* 30. 228, see Table 31.8. The purchasers of both plots were demotai, the first son of —bios (this would be the earliest example at Athens of the name Olbios or a compound from it, but there are several attestations at the end of the 4th and in the early 3rd c.; Lysistratos son of Bios O., mentioned by Lambert on p. 181 no. 135, belonged to Hippothontis).

⁶⁰ Polyphilos, *Agora* XIX P 26. 488–530; the chances that he also appears in *IG* ii² 2386. 3 (Polyphilos Poly—, no demotic) are not high. Polymedes II, *IG* ii³ 4. 335. 8. Polyphilos will have been in his 40s as epimeletes; the Pol— of Oinoe-Aiantis who served as (?) diaitetes in the second half of the 4th c., ii² 2393 (see Dow 1983; Clinton 1974, 22 n. 9) might be Polymedes I or Polyphilos. Nikodemos, *Agora* XIX, *ibid.*

⁶¹ Epichares I, *IG* ii³ 4. 335. 3 (on the term of office see ch. 21 n. 94); *ID* 104-22 A 16. Epichares II, *IG* ii³ 4. 35. 144; ii² 6972 (name added after those of wife and son, ch. 11 n. 45).

⁶² Phyleus I, Pausanias II, and Charidemos, *IG* ii³ 327 + *SEG* 58. 106. Pausanias III, *Agora* XV 72. 204. Hippeus, Bugh 1988 II B 190. Antimachos: *IRb* 38 (general 218/7); *IRb* 43 (215/4), paroikoi (cf. 23, 40, 42; G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, 187 n. 83); *IRb* 45 ([An]tīm[achos P]ausaniou Qīnaios), proposes decree; cf. *IRb* 41 (Antimachos only, 229 BCE); epidosis, *IRb* 167 (*SEG* 51. 234; ch. 12 n. 49; Papazarkadas 2011, 210–11).

of the early fourth century found in Piraeus, and Deixenos son of Kydikles O., named on a diadikasia list, also belonged to Aiantis.⁶³

Isod[i]kos O., who contributed to an (?) epidosis of the Tetrapolis in the first half of the fourth century, may be a descendant of the Isodikos of Aiantis named on a casualty list of c.411.⁶⁴

Trikorynthos

The deme-site was northeast of Kato Souli; the acropolis (Stavrokoraki) has Early Helladic settlement remains and (classical?) fortifications; part of the classical settlement was excavated in 1978. The area between the deme centre and the sea may have been largely marshland in antiquity, as it was in the nineteenth century, or sea;⁶⁵ however, the Kynosoura peninsula presumably formed part of the deme. The Tetrapolis sacrificed there, perhaps in Skirophorion, to an unknown deity, and also sacrificed at Trikorynthos in Metageitnion to Hera (and Kourotrophos).⁶⁶

Three tombstones of demesmen have been found in or near the deme: a stele for the son of Euthydikos at Grammatiko (Eitea X); a relief stele for Eunomos I son of Adeimantos I, represented with his wife (?) and a slave, to which the names of the wife, Chairelea, and of two sons (or of Eunomos' brother Apemantokles), were added, at Kato Souli (see Table 31.5); and a stele fragment naming [Euphi]le[τος] son of [Hen]ochides, also in the village. The two former stones may have come from the same peribolos, since a Eunomos II son of [Euthydi?]kos T. made a dedication to the Hero Iatros at Rhamnous c.300. Apemantokles, named on the stele of Eunomos I, probably served as councillor c.403/2.⁶⁷

Lysitheos II son of Lysitheos I, joint purchaser of land at Alopeke in the hekatostai sales, may have belonged either to T[rikorynthos] or to T[eithras]; if the

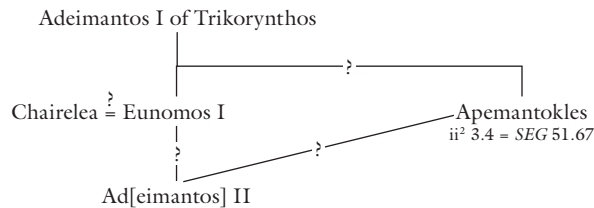
⁶³ Son of Kydippos I, *Agora* XV 72. 203. Kydippos II, *FD* III(2) 18, apparently the first embassy, between 247 and 198?; —pos son of Kydippos (the ambassador or his son) is granted proxenia *ibid.* 166, under the Delphian archon Eudoros, c.215? Deixenos and Kydimachos, *IG* ii² 6970; Deixenos, *APF* 8929, ii² 1929. 13. Similarly, Theodotos son of Apollodoros O., lessee of a temenos in 343/2 (*Agora* XIX L 6. 106–7, Papazarkadas 2011, 306 no. 30) is attached to Aiantis by the record of his brother Pythodoros as ephebe in 333/2/1, *IG* ii³ 4. 335. 9.

⁶⁴ Epidosis, *SEG* 50. 168 B 4; casualty list, *IG* i³ 1186. 60.

⁶⁵ On the connection of the name with Ajax see Polignac 2011. Travlos 1988, 216; Mersch 1996, 137–8 (possible sanctuary sites); Goette and Weber 2004, 25–6; Oikonomakou 2004. Themelis 1974 thinks that the marsh did not exist in antiquity but the coast was further inland. The date of the fortifications is uncertain. On the deme-affiliation of the highland area N of Kato Souli (cf. Photios 1982) see ch. 32 n. 37.

⁶⁶ *SEG* 50. 168 A I 18; A II 55–6, Hera and Kourotrophos.

⁶⁷ *IG* ii² 7549 and 7551; 7553, Euphiletos. ii³ 4. 30, which names a later Heniochides son of Euphiletos T. and is dated by the archon Lykiskos, was put in 344/3 by Wilhelm but redated to c.129 by Kirchner in the addenda, p. 348; this Heniochides is also attested as theoros from the Tetrapolis to Delphi, *FD* III (2) 8. 5.



Note: ii² 7551 commemorated Eunomos, showing him as standing, bearded, with a slave behind him, in dexiosis with (probably) a seated woman, his wife or (less probably?) mother. A later inscription runs: Chaïrelea, Apemantokles, Ad[eimantos] or Ad[eimantou]. Apemantokles served on the Council in 403/2. Since the name Eunomos is common, a connection with the E. son of Euthydikos who dedicated ii² 4436 (SEG 31. 177) *c.*300 is doubtful.

TABLE 31.5. Trikorynthos: Adeimantos IG ii² 7551 = CAT 2. 690

former, he or his father will probably be the Lysitheos T. who served as priest of Asklepios in 354/3 or 344/3, and made a dedication to the god in the latter year. A Theodoros son of Lysitheos (III) T. served as secretary in 267/6.⁶⁸

Rhamnous

The deme-site is well known, and thanks to the excavations of V. Ch. Petrakos it is one of the demes of which we can form the clearest impression. There is still, however, some uncertainty about the distribution of residential areas, at various periods, between the promontory, fortified by the middle of the fifth century if not earlier, and the area round the temples of Nemesis and Themis, about half a kilometre inland. There was already a temple on this site in the first half of the sixth century, and another (destroyed in the Persian wars?) was built at the end of the century. A new temple, on a different site, was built in the early fifth century, and a larger one (unfinished), on the site of the older temple, *c.*450–430, this time probably with some funds from the city. There are settlement remains both round the temple area and in and around the fort; from the late fifth century the road linking the two was lined with monumental grave periboloi, and similar monuments flanked the road leading south from the temple towards the Marathon plain. Archaic grave monuments were also found in the area; perhaps some of them were still standing when the first periboloi were built in the late fifth century. Northwest of the temples was a temenos, with vase offerings from the second quarter of the sixth century to the first half of the fifth, possibly the deme's Thesmophorion. Harbours were probably better in antiquity than today.⁶⁹ There was a cult of the Hero Archegetes, presumably the eponym of the

⁶⁸ Lambert 1997*a*, F 13 A 4, see p. 104; priest, Aleshire 1989 Stele I 19f.; 1991, no. 9407/8; IG ii² 4389–90. Lysitheos III, father of Theodoros, ii² 915, 916, arch. Menekles.

⁶⁹ The main accounts of the site are Pouilloux 1954*b*, Petrakos 1987*a*, and Petrakos 1999; see also Mersch 1996, 47–9, 180–5; Goette 1999; 2001, 245–9; Knittlmayer 1999. Air photo and reconstructions, Vlachopoulos 2010, 77. Mycenaean material has been found near the temple of Nemesis, and Geometric sherds in the precinct area (*Ergon* 1982, 5). Fortifications: Petrakos (*Ergon* 1997, 16) thinks that the site

deme, from the time of Kleisthenes' reforms if not sooner.⁷⁰ By the fourth century the settlement at the coast had an agora, a theatre (furnished with stone seats for dignitaries in the late fourth or third century), a gymnasium area, and a sanctuary of Aphrodite Hegemone, to which a bath was attached. In the 330s Rhamnous became one of the main centres at which epheboi did garrison duty, and this no doubt contributed to the liveliness of the community, as did the continued presence of garrison troops all through the third century.⁷¹

Rhamnous was the home of a phratry, still active in 314/3 (*IRb* 186–7; cf. *SEG* 52. 160, 315/4; ch. 19 n. 19), but the deme was managing the cult of Nemesis by the early decades of the Kleisthenic system.⁷² The first set of deme

was fortified from the 6th c.; excavation has now established that the gate tower of the inner wall existed by the middle of the 5th c. at the latest, although there was further work on the walls during the last decades of that century. It is not yet clear whether the outer wall already existed in the 5th c. or was first constructed in the early 4th c. (Lauter 1992, 80–1; see Mersch). Temples: Petrakos 1987*a*, 1999. It is now thought that both Nemesis and Themis were worshipped in each of the temples on the site, rather than having separate temples. Note that in the dedication *IG* i³ 1018 *quinquies* of the 470s the restoration Philod[or]os of *IRb* 75 is changed to Philod[em]os. The smaller temple built after the Persian wars (see however Mersch, p. 183) apparently continued in use in the late 5th and 4th centuries, after the construction of the larger one, at least for the storage of offerings, to judge from finds of jewellery in the excavations. The cost of the larger temple (variously dated between c.450 and 420) has been calculated at c.23 talents (138,000 dr.; Petrakos 1987*a*); this seems too much for a deme, although Nemesis' capital amounted to c.9–10 talents in the 440s (*IG* i³ 248 = *IRb* 182, see M/L no. 53). Periboloi: Petrakos 1999; Bergemann 1997, and below at nn. 87–100. The road and monuments were in disrepair in the 3rd c. and were robbed for stones, then destroyed by Philip V in 200 BCE, *PAAH* 1992, 20; on the restoration of periboloi here see ch. 11 n. 25. Archaic grave monuments, *PAAH* 1992, 39–41. Thesmophorion (?) *ibid.* 24–9, Nawracala 2014; cleaned and abandoned c.475. Vase dedications cover the same period as those from the temple area (Petrakos 1987*a*; the latter included a significant number of loutrophoroi in the third quarter of the 6th c. Harbours, *Ergon* 2006, 2009–11; Blackman a. o. 2011.

⁷⁰ *IG* i³ 1019 + *SEG* 43. 6 (*CEG* 314 = *IRb* 77) is a statue base with a verse dedication to the Hero Archegetes by an Antiphanes, dated c.480–460? by *IG* but 6th c. by Petrakos, who identifies the Archegetes with Neanias, perhaps brother of Oinoe (Paus. 1. 33. 8, see Kearns 1989 s.v. *Neanias, Archegetes*). A further dedication to 'the Hero', of the second half of the 5th c., *IRb* 78. The priest of the Hero Archegetes dedicated theatre seats in the late 4th or early 3rd c. (below, n. 79), and two horoi marking the hero's *hieraulé* are dated c.300 (*IRb* 79–80). It is quite likely that most Rhamnousians did not put a name to their hero, and that those who cared to speculate on his identity came to varying conclusions; nevertheless, his epithet indicates that he was in some sense felt to personify the community. Kolb's view (1981) that he was Dionysios Lenaios seems unlikely (for cult of the latter see *IRb* 116; *IG* ii³ 4. 292).

⁷¹ Agora, *PAAH* 1994, 10–17 (with plan); theatre, Kolb 1981; *PAAH*, *ibid.*, with 27–8; Lohmann 1995 (probably earlier than the stone seats); Goette 2014. Gymnasium, Lohmann, *ibid.*; *PAAH* *ibid.* 38–9. Aphrodite, *IRb* 32 (terminus ante, 222/1), *Ergon* 1995, 17–18, cf. *PAAH* 1994, 42–4; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 38–40. *IRb* 1, once dated 356/5, is now 301/0 or 255/4, *SEG* 56. 202 (*SEG* 43. 71 possibly still 342/1); perhaps the Nemesia, or at least the games, were founded after the creation of the ephebate (R. Parker 1996, 246, 254 n. 126; Humphreys 2009 n. 5; Haake 2011, *SEG* 61. 135). On the 3rd c. garrison see G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, Oetjen 2014. We now have a text from the period of Antigonos Gonatas which shows that the Nemesia were celebrated on Hekatombaion 19, *IRb* 7; see *BE* 1994, 299, dating c.255 (or mid-240s, Kralli 2003), Habicht 1996; and a dedication showing that torch-races still took place at the end of the 2nd c. BCE, *IRb* 151. (Friend 2015 does not add anything.)

⁷² Deme-consciousness is perhaps also shown by the dedication made to Nemesis c.475–50 (or earlier?) by 'the Rhamnousioi on Lemnos', *IG* i³ 522 *bis* = *IRb* 86 (cf. Rausch 1999*b*, Marchiandi 2008, 23–7,

accounts, written on lead, is dated c.500. The first part of the text records public money (*démosion*) spent by four hieropoioi; three of them spend 161–2 dr. each, the fourth only 100 dr. The second part records receipts from three men, two of whom (Straton and Teisamenos) are also listed as hieropoioi. The two most likely explanations seem to be that either (1) each hieropoios received a sum at the beginning of his year of office to be spent on sacrifices, and returned what was unspent at the end of the year, or (2) that each was in charge of a capital sum, the revenue from which was partly spent on sacrifices and partly added to the principal.⁷³

The second explanation is perhaps supported by a later set of accounts, on stone, dated by demarchs but describing the funds recorded as the property of Nemesis. They cover five years, probably in the 440s, during the course of which the total capital rises from c.45,000 dr. to c.56,000 dr. Years I and III record totals for ‘those who owe 200 dr.’ and for ‘the rest of Nemesis’ money’; Year II only has a general total; year IV has a total for 300 dr. allocations and an overall total; year V records 200 dr. and 300 dr. allocations and an overall total; it also includes a record of 5206 dr. allocated to the hieropoioi.

It is generally agreed that the 200 dr. and 300 dr. allocations were loans granted by the managers of the temple funds to demesmen (and others?). It may not, however, be necessary to assume that all the money so described was actually out on loan. It is quite possible that a proportion of Nemesis’ money had been put in the hands of officials who were authorized to make loans from it, of not more (and not less?) than 200 dr. in any single transaction (from year IV, it was decided that some of the loans should be issued at 300 instead of 200 dr.). Managers were responsible for the safety of the funds entrusted to them, and no doubt felt some obligation to hand back a sum larger than they had received, but they will have varied in the energy with which they sought borrowers, and may in some cases even have supplemented the capital from their own resources. However, it is also possible that in a deme as remote from the city as Rhamnous it was difficult for members of the elite to find cash sums, in the period before the Peloponnesian War, when they needed them for expenditure on liturgies, dowering

dating c.475–450; Culasso Gastaldi 2011; Clinton 2014). Note also the name of Demophanes, demarch in the 440s, *IG i³ 248 = IRh 182. 32*; a descendant, Demophanes II, was syntrierarch c.350, *APF 3658*.

⁷³ *IG i³ 247 bis = IRh 181*. On the term *démosion* see D. M. Lewis 1990. A rapid transition to deme control may have been facilitated by a large overlap between membership of the deme and earlier bodies (phratry, naukraria). Four hieropoioi (of the Tetrapolis), perhaps in imitation of the organization of the pre-Kleisthenic city (four phylobasileis, four *prytaneis tôn naukrarôn* each month, eight tamiai of Athena, ch. 18 nn. 88, 97; I do not imagine that Rhamnous itself had ever used tribal representation in appointing officials). Dion, who pays in but does not spend, may have served as hieropoios in a previous year. Teisamenos, who spends only 100 dr., also pays money in; possibly he was more generous than the other three hieropoioi in providing funds or victims from his own resources. The reverse side of the tablet carries the single word *epistatôn*, apparently in a different hand, which might be an archival classification; if so, the managers of the demosion fund were called epistatai.

daughters, paying for funerals, etc. Certainly we should not assume that demes got their income from land in the earlier part of the classical period and turned only to making loans later; in Rhamnous, at least, the development seems to be in the opposite direction.⁷⁴

The amount of money controlled by the temple (and thus by the deme) is surprising. It probably indicates that the sanctuary served as an amphiktyonic centre for the communities of the Euboian straits; kleruchs returning to Attika from Euboia, and perhaps also from Lemnos and Imbros, may have passed through the town, and merchant vessels heading for the Hellespont may have worked their way northward against the prevailing northerlies of the summer months through the Euboian channel on occasion.⁷⁵ The generosity of hieropoioi in using their own funds instead of those of the deme may also have been a factor. Given that Nemesis had these cash funds, the impetus to build her a new temple (shortly after 440?) may have come from the deme, though outside contributions will also have been needed.⁷⁶

By 339/8 the deme was responsible for land owned by the temple, which was managed by a number of 'sections' (*merê*). Two leases from this year survive, both issued by the same meros and inscribed on the same stele, for different properties: one is called the *temenos en Hermêi*, the other is characterized as a temenos with a *kêpos* (garden). The second lease has a calendar of sacrifices appended to it, naming Apollo Lykeios, Zeus Herkeios, and either [Art]emis or [Th]emis. Both leases are to run for ten years, and specify the tenants' agricultural obligations in

⁷⁴ IG i³ 248 = IRb 182; year I in Attic letters, II–V in Ionic, III–V in a single hand. It is not certain that the years are consecutive. On discussions of the loan system see M/L² 53 (however, I take *para hieropoiois* in line 33 to refer to money issued to the deme's hieropoioi rather than to cash in hand.) Cf. ch. 24 at nn. 26, 47 for discussion of possibly similar financial arrangements. No doubt, as has been suggested, a single borrower could take out more than one 200 dr. or 300 dr. loan, if he provided adequate guarantors or security; however, the system seems designed to spread the risks and responsibility of handling sacred money as widely as possible (cf. n. 77 below on deme *merê*). The Parable of the Talents (cited Humphreys 2004, 148) provides an illuminating parallel. See also J. K. Davies 2001, 117–18, and the discussion in Papazarkadas 2011.

⁷⁵ See ch. 18 n. 7; the sanctuaries of Artemis Amarsia on Euboia and of Halai Araphenides and Brauron may have attracted a similar clientèle. Pouilloux 1954b, 20, with map 2, notes that it would be dangerous to sail through the islets off Rhamnous at night. See Gernet 1909 on the importance to Athens of Euboian and Thessalian grain in the 5th c. Ships may even have used the Euboian channel for southward journeys until Kimon cleared Skyros of pirates (in the 470s) and the direct route from the Hellespont to Sounion was secured by a string of kleruchies.

⁷⁶ See M/L no. 53. The development of the Amphiaraiion at Oropos as a rival attraction, at some date between (?) 450 and 414 (see R. Parker 1996, 146–9 on the problems of dating), may possibly have prompted Rhamnous to make a counter-move, and the reconstruction in Athens of the temple destroyed by the Persians may have stimulated feelings at Rhamnous that the temple there, though apparently rebuilt after the Persian attack, had not been given a form and size (the stones were polygonal, the building small) worthy of the goddess. I am doubtful whether the position of Rhamnous as a frontier town is relevant (cf. R. Parker 2005a, 59; Oropos was perhaps under Athenian control by c.450, but its inhabitants were not given citizenship, so the 'frontier' in a sense did not move).

detail. At some time the temenos *en Hermēi* had apparently been extended, because part of it is called the new, *nea* (field). The previous tenant of this property was a Hierokles, probably a member of the prominent family (Table 31.7); Archippos, one of the two leaders of the meros, might be the Rhamnousian of that name who was eponymous archon of the city in 318/7. Rhamnous did not sell land in the hekatostai sales; apparently its leasing arrangements worked satisfactorily.⁷⁷

The remaining deme texts of the fourth century come from the Lykourgan period or later, and reflect the stimulus of the presence of the ephebes and, later, other garrison troops. The deme honoured the ephebic officers and epheboi of Pandionis of (?) 332/1/0; another dedication at Rhamnous by epheboi of the same year has yet to be published. Deinokrates of Acharnai was honoured in 338/7 for his service as general, and again in (?) 336/5.⁷⁸

At some date in the last quarter of the fourth century the priest of the Hero Archegetes dedicated five (or more) stone theatre seats to Dionysos, after having been praised and crowned by the Athenian boule and demos and by the garrison at Rhamnous. The absence of any mention of epheboi may imply a date after 322.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ *IRb* 180 + *SEG* 54. 239; see Jameson 1982, 1987; Stanton 1996; Papazarkadas 2011, especially 142–5; Pernin 2014. Whitehead 1986*a*, 147–8 (following Haussoullier) thought that the meros at Rhamnous and meritai at Kytheros, unlike the merarchoi of Athmonon (ch. 22 n. 102), were entrepreneurs who had leased land from the deme and were subletting, but more probably all three groups fulfil the same function, i.e. taking responsibility for managing a part (meros) of the deme's revenues; hence *LGPn* Stesias 5 should be assigned to R. The connection, if any, with the *merismos* system in state finances (cf. Papazarkadas s.v.) is unclear. The remains of a sacrificial calendar may indicate that (as at Erchia?, ch. 24 n. 70) each meros was responsible for part of the deme's cultic obligations. Issue of new leases of state-owned land, perhaps for a ten-year period, in 343/2 (M. Walbank 1983; A. Williams 2011) may perhaps have influenced Rhamnous (or at least one of its *merē*) to introduce a similar scheme (Papazarkadas, 59 n. 180). Hierokles, Table 31.7; if the tenant is Hierokles I he will have been a fairly old man by 339/8. Archippos, *LGPn* Archippos 49; Jameson 1982, 72 n. 20, suggests a connection also with Archippe daughter of Philostratos, commemorated by a loutrophoros of the late 4th c., *SEMA* 775, (cf. below, n. 100) but inferences from women's names are insecure.

⁷⁸ Pandionis, *IG* ii³ 4. 342; unpublished text, *SEG* 43. 61/54. 227; two fragments of *IG* ii² 1181+ = *SEG* 34. 151 (ephebes of II Aigeis) came from Rhamnous (*IRb* 99; Stanton 1996). It is possible that the deme regularly honoured all the tribal squadrons (ch. 30 n. 74). Deinokrates 338/7, *IRb* 93; 336/5 (on the date see ch. 28 n. 54), *IRb* 94. *IRb* 93 also honours the peripolarch and an epimeletes; it is not clear whether the latter holds the same office as the three or more epimeletai who, perhaps with other officials, dedicated *IG* ii² 2861 = *IRb* 91 at Rhamnous after being crowned (*IRb* 2 perhaps also had a single epimeletes, c.300; cf. also *SEG* 43. 29, ? 225/4). The latter text had at least 5 crowns; the three (?) epimeletai came from tribes V, II, and (?) VI, so they were not officers of a tribal squadron. *IOrop.* 353 (see Humphreys 2009) has general honours to epimeletai in the forts (*phrouria*) on the left side and honours to an individual epimeletes (from Acharnai; the dedicating tribe is IV Leontis) on the right side. Possibly, however, the epimeletai of *IRb* 91 were not ephebic; there were epimeletai at the Amphiarraia (*IG* ii³ 355), and the Nemesia may have had an analogous board.

⁷⁹ *PAAH* 1994, 17–18 (after 333); Petrakos 1991, figs 34–5; *IRb* 82, 116; he may possibly be Xenokra[tes son of Phan]okrates (*IRb* 117), see Table 31.8.

Megakles son of Megakles R. made a dedication to Themis (or Nemesis, see Palagia 1994) *c.*300 recording that he had been crowned by the deme for his *dikaio syné* (probity in handling public funds?), and had been victorious as gymnasiarch with teams of both boys and men; these victories were perhaps won at the Nemesia. The record of a choregic victory in comedy, probably at the Rural Dionysia, was added to the stone later.⁸⁰

Honours were granted by the deme in 303/2 to Adeimantos, appointed general of the countryside (*chora*) for two years by Demetrios Poliorketes. The deme continued to pass honorary decrees, often but not invariably in association with garrison troops, citizen or non-citizen *paroikoi*, all through the third century. The most interesting recent find is a decree of the deme passed perhaps *c.*255. A sacrifice is to be made to King Antigonos (Gonatas) at the athletic competition of the Nemesia on Hekatombaion 19; the demarch and tamias are to see to this, and funds are to come from the agora tax.⁸¹

The best-known member of the deme in the fifth century was the orator and oligarch Antiphon son of Sophilos, who clearly lived in the city, but according to the decree recording his condemnation still owned a house in his deme.⁸² Anthemion, who served as hellenotamias under the Thirty, may have belonged to Rhamnous;⁸³ if so, we would have a second oligarch from the deme. Its exposed position near the frontier might well make its landowners eager for peace.

In the early fourth century the leading family was that of the general Iphikrates, son of Timotheos, who was probably born *c.*415 (see Table 31.6). They may have belonged to the genos Praxiergidai, since Iphikrates' nephew (BS) Timotheos son of Teisias dedicated an altar for Herakles, to be used by the Praxiergidai and some associates, whose names are listed. Membership of this genos, responsible for the Plynteria ritual on the Akropolis, would imply that before Kleisthenes' reforms Iphikrates' ancestors had at some time had close associations with the city.⁸⁴

Iphikrates had ties with Thrace (possibly he had served there in his youth as a mercenary?), and married the daughter of King Kotys. His son Menestheus bears

⁸⁰ *IG* ii³ 4. 513 (the interpretation of Mantes 1990 = *SEG* 40. 178 seems to me unlikely).

⁸¹ Adeimantos, *SEG* 43. 27. The exact date of his appointment for 2 years *c.*305–301 is not yet clear; cf. G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, s.v. Sacrifice to Antigonos, *IRb* 7 (n. 71 above); the proposer is Elpinikos son of Mnesippos R., also named in *IRb* 117 (*ISE* 25, Ekphantos, 235/4; cf. Paschidis 2008 A 68). Note also (in addition to the list in Whitehead 1986*a*) *IRb* 14, a deme decree of *c.*250; *IRb* 6, honours for Kleocharos son of Kleocharides R. *c.*262 (arch. Antipatros); *IRb* 4, *c.*250?, deme (?) decree proposed by [Nikost]ratos son of Epiteles, for [Po]scidonios and troops; *IRb* 39, decree by deme and residents, *c.*220; *IRb* 95. Nemesia, *IRb* 7, cf. 17; R. Parker 2005*a*, 476; Haake 2011.

⁸² In [Plut.] *Mor.* 834 a–b = Caecilius F 102 Offenloch 1907, the demarchs of Rhamnous and Agryle (ch. 23 n. 23) are ordered to report (*apophēnai*) the houses of Antiphon and Archeptolemos.

⁸³ Anthemion, *IG* i³ 380. 7 with comm.; he belonged to Aiantis, and his demotic may have been Rh[amnousios]. Another Anthemion of Aiantis died in battle *c.*411, i³ 1186. 133.

⁸⁴ *APF* 7737. Timotheos' altar, *Agora XVIII* C113; Jameson 2000, *SEG* 49. 188; ch. 20 n. 78. Lambert 1999*a* thinks that the altar may have been shared by the Praxiergidai and Salaminioi.

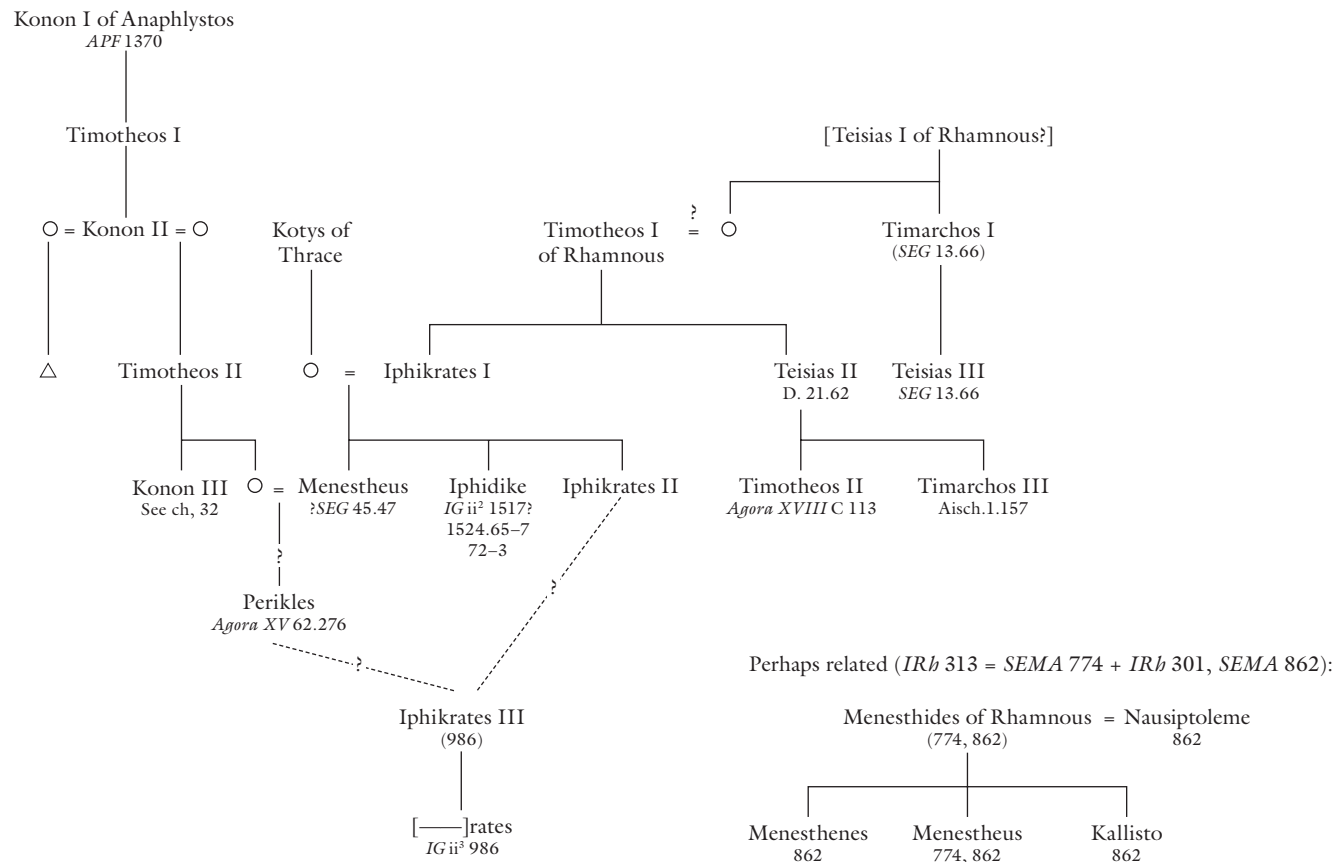


TABLE 31.6. Rhamnous: Timotheos (*APF* 7737)

a name that also occurs at R. in the family of Menest(h)ides and his wife Nausiptoleme, parents of Menesthenes, Menestheus, and Kallisto, commemorated on a relief stele of the 370s; possibly the two families had an agnatic or affinal link in earlier generations. Perikles son of Menestheus R., councillor in 303/2, might be a grandson (SS) of Iphikrates, in view of the ambitious choice of name. Menestheus (the general's son) married a daughter of another general, Timotheos son of Konon II of Anaphlystos. Iphikrates (I) had two other children: a daughter, Iphidike, who made two dedications to Artemis Brauronia, and a second son, Iphikrates II, one of the ambassadors sent to Dareios III in 333/2 (n. 34). A son of an Iphikrates R. served as ephebe in the early 250s; he may be a descendant either of Menestheus or of Iphikrates II.⁸⁵

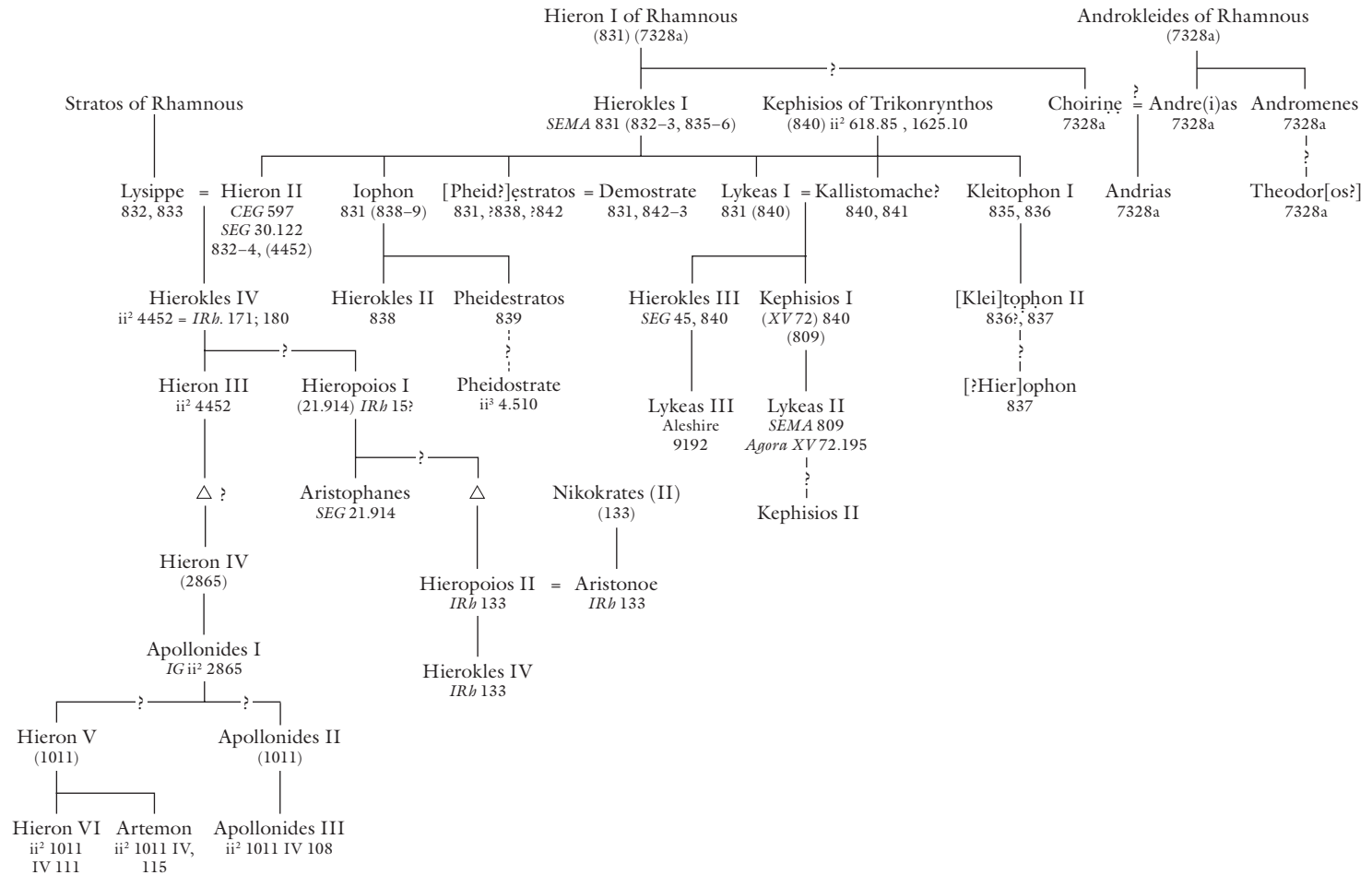
Iphikrates' brother Teisias (II) seems to have been named after a maternal grandfather, Teisias I, who also belonged to Rhamnous; Teisias III son of Timarchos I, who made a dedication in the city in the middle of the fourth century, will have been a cross-cousin (MBS) of Iphikrates and Teisias II. Teisias II, who is attested as a choregos, called his two sons Timotheos (II) and Timarchos (II), the latter name indicating that Teisias II had a close relationship with his mother's brother. Timarchos II was still a lad (*meirakion*; cf. J. Davidson 2006) c.345, when Aischines cited him as an attractive boy who, unlike his homonym Timarchos of Sphettos, never acted in such a way as to attract gossip and censure.

Phrynon son of Diognetos I R., who was captured by pirates during the Olympic truce of (?) 348/7, and persuaded the Assembly to send an ambassador to Philip of Macedon to negotiate for the return of his ransom-money, was himself elected in the following year as one of the ambassadors to Philip; he presumably had some experience in oratory and public affairs. At about the same date he made a dedication to Hygieia on behalf of his son Diognetos II; he sent the boy to Philip before he had come of age. A second son, Euphanes, served as secretary in 324/3. The Diognetos R. buried in the city with a Diodelos (perhaps his brother) was probably Phrynon's father.⁸⁶

Excavation of monumental periboloi at Rhamnous has given us an unusual opportunity to identify and reconstruct families that valued visibility in the deme. The largest of them is the lineage descended from Hieron I (see Table 31.7). The

⁸⁵ Ch. 14 n. 29. Menestheus and Iphikrates are now attested as co-trierarchs in (?) 355/4, *SEG* 45. 147 + 49. 169. Note that the names Iphikrates and Menestheus (the latter a shortened form of Menesthenes) are semantically linked; however, even if Iphikrates was attracted to the name for semantic reasons, he can hardly have been unaware of its use by a family of fellow-demesmen.

⁸⁶ Phrynon, *AO* p. 317–18; dedication, *IG* ii² 4351 (Aleshire 1991, no. 3870); Diognetos II sent to Philip, Dem. 19. 230–3; Euphanes, *LGP*N no. 19; Diognetos I and Diodelos, ii² 7343 = *CAT* 2. 224, Hamiaux 1992 no. 148. The relief shows two standing men, so they were perhaps brothers rather than father and son. *LGP*N (p. 114) suggests Di[a]delos rather than Di[o]delos, but since the name (a *hapax* in either form) may have been chosen as related to Diognetos, Di[o]delos is to be preferred. The stone was sent to Paris by Fauvel and is not likely to have come from the deme area. Note also the stele of Philochares R., strategos in 357/6, ii² 7374.



Note: It is uncertain whether the dedicant of *IRb.* 171 and lessee of 180 is Hierokles IV or a homonymous son of Hieron III.

TABLE 31.7. Rhamnous: Hieron (cf. Aleshire 1991 no. 9192)

main general points to note are (1) that although the lineage was evidently significant in the deme, could afford an impressive set of tomb monuments, and had at least one member (Kleitophon I) who served in the cavalry, none of its members is as yet attested as performing a liturgy in the city; (2) that of the six (?) marriages on which we have information, four (?) were made within the deme, and another to a woman from a neighbouring deme, Trikorynthos; (3) that although Hierokles I may have taken a lease of temple property managed by the deme, members of the lineage do not appear as proposers of deme decrees or as deme officials. Their interests, as far as they can be discerned, seem to be religious.⁸⁷

The family of the priestess of Nemesis Aristonoe, whom Hieropoios II of the Hieron lineage married in (?) the third century, can perhaps be traced back to the fourth century, to the brothers Phanokrates II and Nikokrates I, sons of Xenokrates I (see Table 31.8). Phanokrates II married Archestrate daughter of Mnesarchos of Oinoe; they were buried in a single peribolos with their son Xenokrates II and Xenokrates II's son Phanokrates III. Xenokrates II served as councillor in 281/0; a dedication by him was found near the theatre seats dedicated by the priest of the Hero Archegetes, but this is not a strong reason for supposing that he was also responsible for the seats. Nikokrates I bought land at Aphidnai confiscated from Nikodemos of Oinoe (Aiantis) and sold by the poletai, c.342/1. Nikokrates II, father of the priestess, will have been the great-grandson or great-great-grandson (SSS or SSSS) of Nikokrates I.⁸⁸

Another family that evidently maintained interests in the deme starts (for us) with the sculptor Chairestratos I son of Chairedemos I, whose professional activity began c.340. He served as councillor in 328/7 and as epimeletes for the dedication made at the Amphiarion by the councillors of that year and other men; the Chairedemos R. with whom a loan agreement was deposited in 315/4

⁸⁷ Table 31.7 supersedes the table in Humphreys 1983*a*/1993, 113, which contains errors; the table in Aleshire 1991 (table 7) is very incomplete. See also ch. 11 n. 48. For the peribolos see *PAAH* 1992, 13, fig. 4; Bergemann 1997, peribolos N 5; Schmaltz 1999. The earliest councillor documented for this family served in 281/0 (Lykeas III); however, Aiantis is poorly represented in council lists of the 4th c. Marriages within the deme: Choirine daughter of Hieron (I?), Hieron II, Hieropoios II, perhaps also [Pheid?]ostratos I; Lykeas I married Kallistomache daughter of Kephisios of Trikorynthos (*IRb* 279 = *SEMA* 840). Hieron I or II may well be the Hieron R. who lent 900 dr. against property at Marathon, *SEG* 21. 656 = Finley 1952, 95A. If Lykeas son of Ly— (R?), lessee of a house? in Kydathenaion in 343/2 (*Agora XIX* L 6. 20, cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 309 no. 45; 143 n. 204), belongs to this family, he might be a son (or DS) of Lykeas I. Religious interests indicated (vaguely) by names, becoming more specific with the introduction of the name Hieropoios, and by the marriage of Hieropoios II to Aristonoe daughter of Nikokrates II (cf. Table 31.8), priestess of Nemesis. Note that we do not know whether the priestess of Nemesis was appointed by the deme, nor whether the position was always given to a woman from a deme family. It is not certain that the priestess Pheidistrate of c.300 (*IG* ii³ 4. 513) was the daughter of Eukolos of Pitthos.

⁸⁸ Dedication *IG* ii² 2849 comm. = ii³ 4. 290. The name of Mnesarchides, demarch of Oinoe-Aiantis (Lambert 1997*a*, F 7 B 27–8) provides support for placing Phanokrates I's father-in-law in Aiantis.

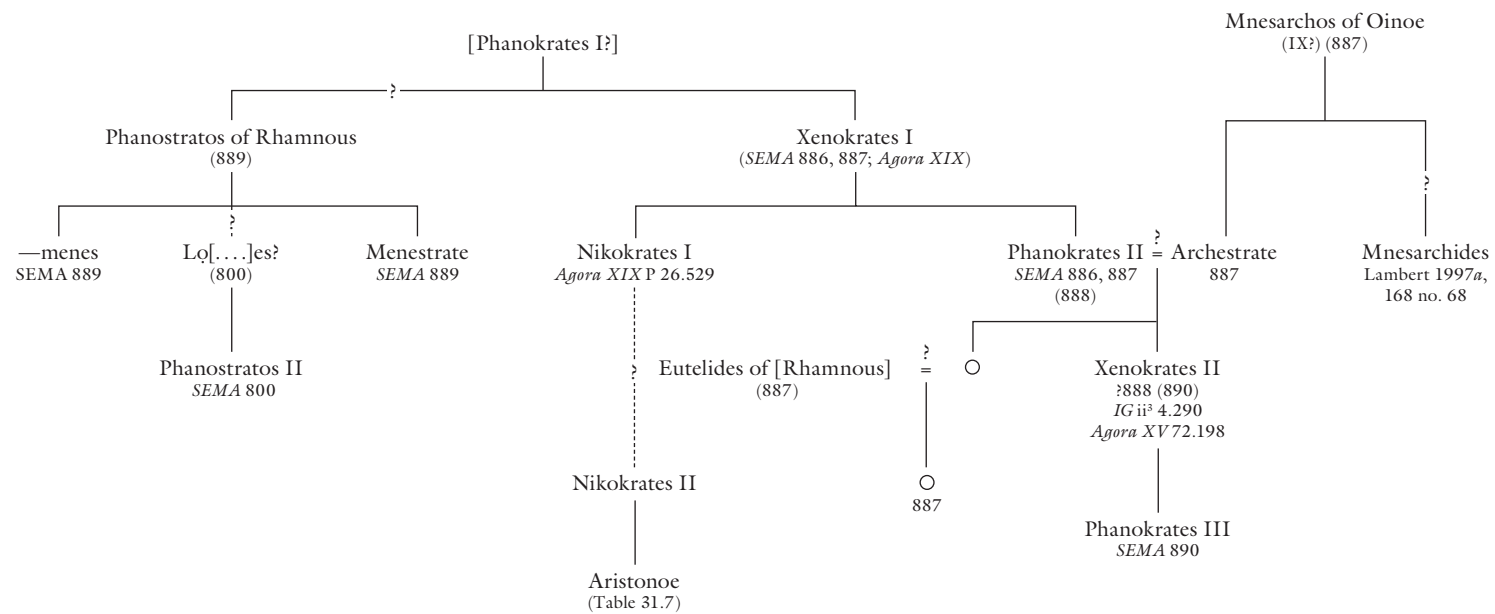
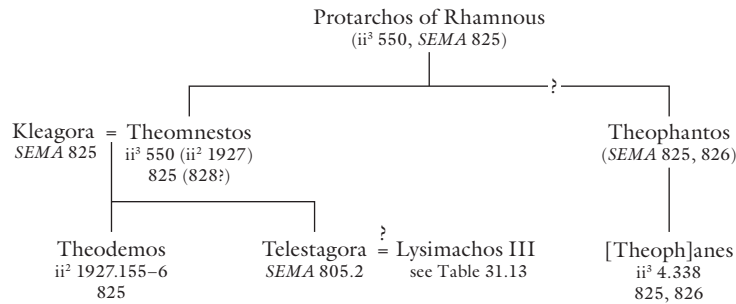


TABLE 31.8. Rhamnous: Phanokrates

TABLE 31.9. Rhamnous:
Protarchos

may be his son Chairedemos II. The latter's son Chairestratos II was perhaps the sculptor of the female figure dedicated by the deme liturgist Megakles *c.*300.⁸⁹

Theomnestos son of Protarchos R. performed the eutaxia liturgy for his tribe *c.*330; he was buried in the deme, with his (?) nephew (BS) Theophanes, with Kleagora (perhaps his wife) and with his son Theodemos, in the late fourth century (see Table 1.9). Theodemos is recorded as (?) kleruch in mid-century; possibly a sister, Telestagora, married within the deme and was buried in the peribolos of her husband's family (Table 31.13). There may be an affinal link between this family and Theophanes son of Hierophon, who made a dedication to Hermes in (?) 330/29, recording that he had been crowned by three successive sets of epheboi.⁹⁰

Nikostratos I, attested as syntrierarch *c.*350, had descendants who were prominent in the deme in the third century. One of his sons, [Phi?]litos, was buried in the deme in the second half of the fourth century; a second, Epiteles, had two sons, Nikostratos II and Epikouros. Nikostratos II proposed three deme decrees

⁸⁹ Chairestratos I, Frel 1979; *IG* ii³ 2. 360. 6. Chairestratos—a very suitable choice as epimeletes, being both a sculptor and a member of a deme neighbouring the Amphiaraion—is named third in the list of epimeletai, after Philostratos son of Philinos of Acharnai (from Kleophon's family, see ch. 28 n. 48) and Euthykrates son of Drakontides of Aphidnai (above, n. 33). Chairedemos II (?), *IG* ii² 2726 = Finley 1952 no. 127 (no provenance). Megakles' dedication (Frel thinks this is Chairestratos I in old age), ii³ 4. 513. Frel also attributes to Chairestratos I the 'Dancers' group at Delphi and other work (funerary monuments and dedications) in the deme; the portrait of the priestess Aristonoe (*IRb* 133) would be a later product of the same workshop.

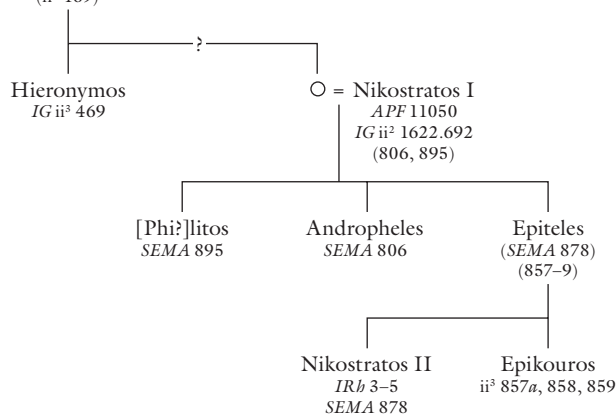
⁹⁰ Theomnestos, *IG* ii³ 550; a Theomnestos with Aristokleia daughter of Aristophanes R., *IRb* 267 = *SEMA* 828 (*CAT* 2. 291a). Theophanes son of Hierophon (*IG* ii³ 4. 338) would perhaps have been crowned (for supplying oil for them to use in the gymnasium? for taking part in their training?) by the first three sets of ephebes, those of 334/3/2, 333/2/1, and 332/1/0. The choice of Hermes indicates an association with the gymnasium. Another liturgist from Rhamnous is Kleomedon I son of Klearetos I (*APF* 8588), attested as syntrierarch in 322; his (?) sister Pardalis made a dedication to Artemis Brauronia in the late 4th c., *SEG* 21. 557. 10 (the father's demotic is not recorded, but his name appears only in these two texts); a grandson of the trierarch, Kleomedon II son of Klearetos II, served as ephebe in 267/6 (*IG* ii³ 917 III 54, arch. Menekles). Cf. perhaps Chareisios son of Theophanes R., found on Skyros, *BE* 2011, 341.

between *c.*268/7 and *c.*250; Epikouros served as anagrapheus in 293/2, during the ‘tyranny’ of the pro-Macedonian Olympiodoros. The brothers seem to have differed in their political views, or changed them at some date after Epikouros’ term in office. Andropheles son of Nikostratos, buried in the deme in the early third century, may be a third son of Nikostratos I; his name suggests a connection with the family of Oikopheles R., whose son Hieronymos served as councillor in 330/29 and proposed a decree honouring the anagrapheus Kallikratides son of Kallikrates of Steiria (see Table 31.10). Kallikratides seems to have had connections in Rhamnous; he lent 1000 dr. on security of a house with Philon of Rhamnous (who served as diaitetes in 325/4; his son Charippos was councillor in the following year).⁹¹

Antimachides R., attested as syntrierarch *c.*350, also belongs (probably) to a family that remained active in the deme. He should be a kinsman of Antimachos (I) R., buried with his (?) wife Neariste at Rhamnous, and perhaps represented on his stele as a priest; Thrasy-machos son of Antimachos II, who served on a deme commission *c.*235, will be a descendant. Thrasy-machos had two sons, Antimachos III (buried at Rhamnous) and Thrasykles, who proposed a deme decree at the end of the third century.⁹²

The name Antiphilos links two well-documented lineages. Antiphilos I, son of Theophilos, may have married a daughter of Teisonides I (known only from

TABLE 31.10. Rhamnous: Oikopheles of Rhamnous
Oikopheles



⁹¹ Kallikratides, *LGNP* no. 10; horos *Agora XIX* H 98. Philon, *IG* ii³ 4. 35. 146; [Ch]arippos, *Agora XV* 53. 12. Cf. ch. 17 on the relationship between deme activity and council membership.

⁹² Antimachides, *APF* 1100 (the connection with Antimachos son of Antimachides of Kydathenaion proposed in *APF* is not particularly likely, since the name Antimachides, though only attested in these two instances, is a regular form of derivative from the common name Antimachos). Antimachos I, *SEMA* 791, *CAT* 2. 270b; Thrasy-machos, *IRh* 17. 46, arch. Ekphantos, *c.*235; Antimachos III, *SEMA* 792; Thrasykles, *IRh* 56.

his tomb stele of the early fourth century); they seem to have had two sons and at least one daughter (see Table 31.11). The sons, Teisippos and Theodoros I, are named on a rosette stele of the second half of the century with a Mnesagora, whose relationship to them is unclear. Theodoros I married a woman called Leonike, who probably outlived him; she dedicated a statue of their son Antiphilos II in the temple precinct at Rhamnous *c.*300. Antiphilos II probably had a son, Theodoros II, whose sons Theomenes I and Theotimos served as ephebes in 246/5. Theotimos in 215/4 proposed a decree of the Amphieraistai concerning an epidosis to raise funds for repairing the hieron of Amphiaraios at Rhamnous; he was honoured as general in that year. He or a descendant may have served as councillor *c.*180. Theomenes' descendants can be traced into the first century BCE.

A daughter of Antiphilos I may have married Kleochares I son of Kleodorides I R., who had a son called Antiphilos (III) who served as councillor in 303/2 and made a dedication to Nemesis before the end of the century. The Antiphilos who headed a group of phrateres who made loans in 319/8 and 314/3 will be either Antiphilos II or his (?) cousin (FZS) Antiphilos III. Kleochares II, son of Teisonides II, was probably a nephew (BS) of Antiphilos III. He proposed a deme decree in 262/1 in honour of his second cousin (FFBSS) Kleochares III son of Kleodorides II, honouring him for his activities in the last year of the Chremonidean War, which included sacrifices, and perhaps helping demesmen to get in their crops.⁹³

Kleodorides II, father of Kleochares III, was the son of Strombichides (I?); he served as councillor in 281/0. In addition to Kleochares III, Kleodorides had a second son, Strombichos, who served on a deme commission *c.*250, and proposed *SEG* 52. 126 in (?) 244/3; Strombichos was probably the father of K[le]o[d[or]i]dēs IV, whose son (perhaps [Strombichides] II or [Kleodorides] V) served on a deme commission *c.*225. —tomios [*sic*] son of Kleodoros, who appears in the same list, probably also belonged to this family. Kleochares III had two sons, Kleodorides III, buried in the deme in the middle of the third century, and Kleippides, who served as ephebe in 246/5.

Sostratos R., who dedicated two marble thrones to Nemesis and Themis at the end of the fourth century, may have been the father of Kephisokleides I (Sostratou), who served as councillor in 304/3. Kephisokleides' mother was probably Agariste daughter of Kephisokleides of E[itea], who was buried at Rhamnous in the second quarter of the fourth century. A descendant, Kephisokleides II son of

⁹³ Phratry, ch. 19 n. 19. *IRh* 6, the decree for Kleochares III, who held office in the archonship of Antipatros (262/1), must have been passed either shortly before or soon after Athens' surrender (cf. G. J. Oliver 2007*a*, 64), in either case indicating a resolutely anti-Macedonian stance in this family. On Rhamnous in the Chremonidean War see Knoepfler 1993*a*; Oliver *op. cit.*; Oetjen 2014.

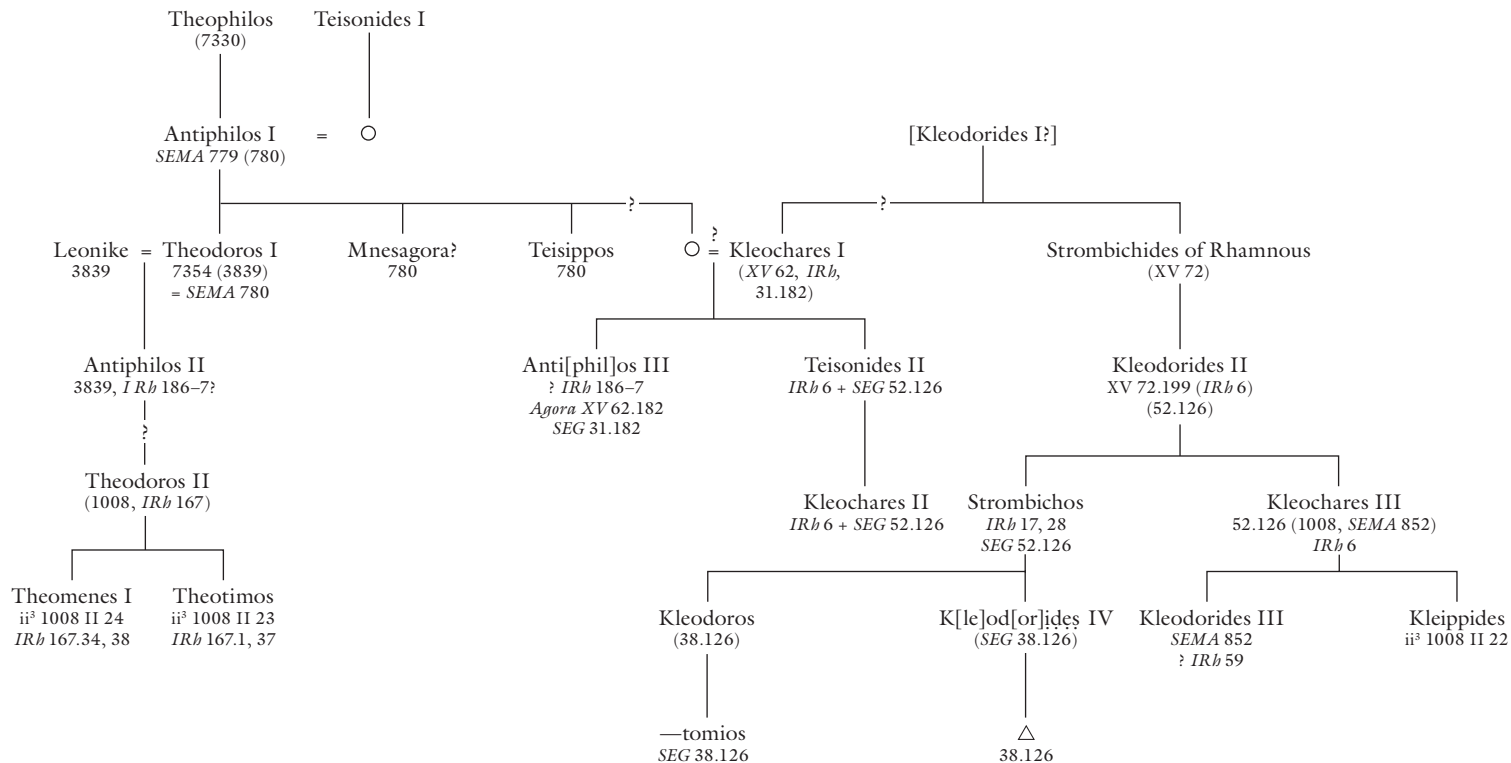


TABLE 31.11. Rhamnous: Theophilos and Kleodorides

Sostratos II R., proposed a decree passed by troops stationed at Rhamnous in the late third century.⁹⁴

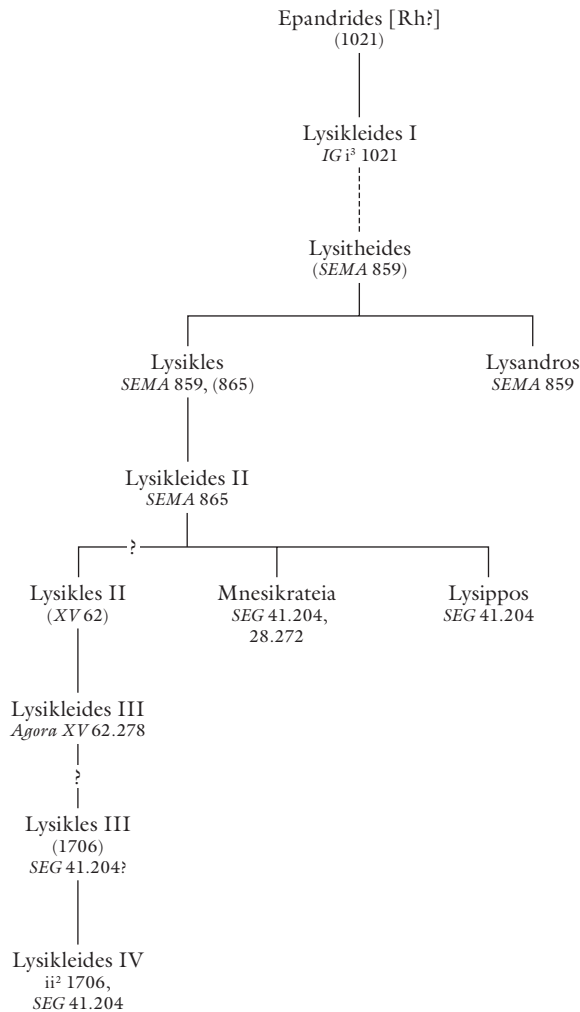
One of the older dedications in the deme—perhaps moved to a new site in the smaller temple *c.*300—was a statue of a boy, dedicated as a tithe (*aparchê*) by Lysikleides son of Epandrides, in the last quarter of the fifth century.⁹⁵ The relatively rare name Lysikleides recurs in the deme in the fourth century in a family probably descended from the dedicant (see Table 31.12). Lysikles I son of Lysitheides was commemorated at Rhamnous with his two sons, Lysikles I and Lysandros. Lysikles I had a son called Lysikleides (II), whose son Lysippos and daughter Mnesikrateia were buried in the deme. A (presumably) older son, Lysikles II, had a son, Lysikleides III, who served as councillor in 303/2. He in turn was probably the father of Lysikles III, whose son Lysikleides IV served as thesmothetes in 229/8; the names of Lysikles III and Lysikleides IV—or possibly of two later members of the family—were added in the second century to the stele of Lysippos and Mnesikrateia.⁹⁶

Names based on the root Lysi- also occur in the family of Diogeiton son of Kallias (I), whose peribolos is one of the most conspicuous monuments on the temple road (see Table 31.13). A single stone lists Diogeiton, his (?) wife Habro daughter of Archebios, their son Lysimachos I, Choronike daughter of Eudorides of Oinoe (perhaps wife of Lysimachos I), another [L]ysimachos (perhaps Lysimachos II son of Lysimachos I), Telestagora (?) daughter of Theomnestos,

⁹⁴ Sostratos *IRb* 121; Kephisokleides I, *Agora* XV 59. 56 (*SEG* 28. 154); Agariste, *SEMA* 720; Kephisokleides II, *IRb* 13. The names Kephisodoros and (?) Kephisodotos are also attested at R. in this period, but Kephisodoros seems to have connections to the family of Euphron. The son or daughter of a Kephisodotos (demotic lost) was named on *IG* ii² 6006 = *IRb* 319, a rosette stele from Rhamnous, with [Rh]odanthis daughter of Melanopos of Eitea X (her brother Hieros served as councillor for Antiochis in 334/3, *IG* ii³ 4. 81. 66, cf. ch. 32 n. 37) and with Kallistratos son of Kallistratides I R., probably her husband, and their son Kallistratides II. Kallistratos appears also in a list of demesmen of Marathon and Rhamnous who made a (?) dedication in the second half of the 4th c. (ii² 2400. 11, with Dow 1983). The restoration [Kallist]rate in ii² 6006. 10 is hardly warranted.

⁹⁵ *IG* i³ 1021 = *IRb* 88 with commentary; Lysikleides has no demotic, but was presumably a local man. The whole monument is illustrated in *MDAI(A)* 82, 1967, pl. 89.

⁹⁶ It must be admitted that Lysikleides II may have acquired his name more because of its relation to that of his father Lysikles than from reference to Lysikleides I; nevertheless, a family connection (which might have been matrilineal) is likely. An earlier thesmothetes from R., Teleskopos son of Aristokritos (328/7, see *AO* p. 396; *Agora* XVI 86), perhaps set up a dedication in the deme recording that he had been crowned (*IRb* 110, but the restoration is doubtful; cf. 111); his grandson Teleskopos II son of Aristokritos II is attested as ephebe in 267/6, *IG* ii³ 917 III 55. It is not clear whether there was any (affinal?) connection between the Lysikles family and Lysiphilos R., epimeletes of the dockyard in 368/7 (ii² 1617. 98, 1622. 553); the latter's son (or father?), [Phi?]lon son of Lysiphilos R., dedicated *IRb* 119 in the deme before mid-century. Although the name Lysiphilos is rare (otherwise attested only in Cholargos), it may have been generated here by combining the root Lysi- with the name Philon (hence my suggestion for the dedicant's name), and a connection with the Lysiphilos who dedicated *IG* i³ 705 on the Akropolis *c.*500–480 is unlikely.

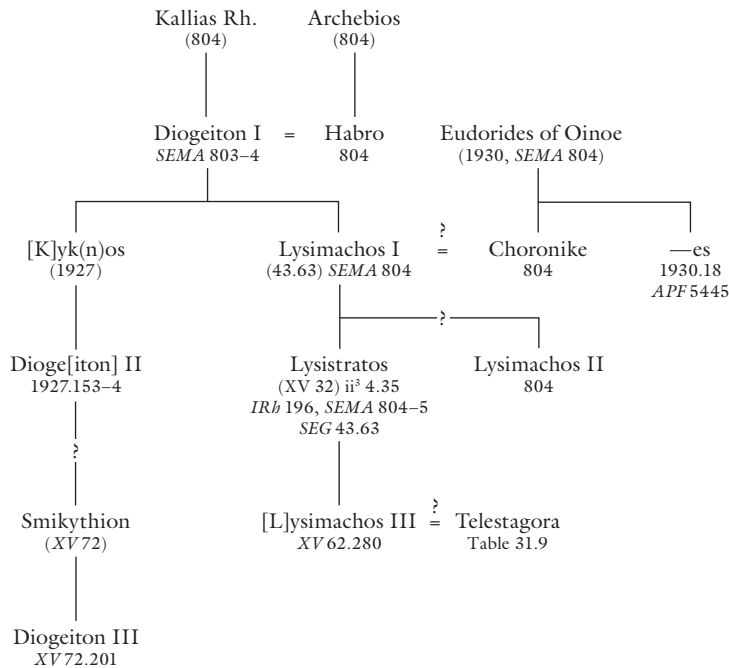


Note: Note also, perhaps, —es Lysitheou R.h., *SEG* 41.76, 3rd c. deme decree.

TABLE 31.12. Rhamnous: Epandrides

whose family has already been discussed (Table 31.9; perhaps wife of Lysimachos III), and a third [L]ysimach[os], perhaps Lysimachos III (grandson of Lysimachos I), son of Lysistratos, who was councillor in 303/2 (*Agora* XV 62. 280). Diogeiton (I) may have had another son, [K]yk(n)os (?) whose son Diogeiton II is recorded as (?) kleruch in the mid-fourth century; Diogeiton III, son of Smikythion R., councillor in 281/0, may be a grandson of Diogeiton II.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ The name Kallias appears in another R. family, but since it is so common there is only a weak possibility of a link with Diogeiton's father. Kallias son of Kallippos I R. made a dedication in the Asklepion in the city in 340/39 (*IG* ii² 1533 = Aleshire 1989 Inv. III 12); Kallippos II son of Mên . . . os is recorded as (?) kleruch in mid-century (ii² 1927. 157, see Humphreys 2010*a*). Banker's label in the fort of Lysistratos son of Lysimachos (I?), *IRb* 196.



Note: *IG* ii³ 4. 35 148-9 has two Rhamnousians called Lysistratos, unless this is an error.

TABLE 31.13. Rhamnous: Kallias

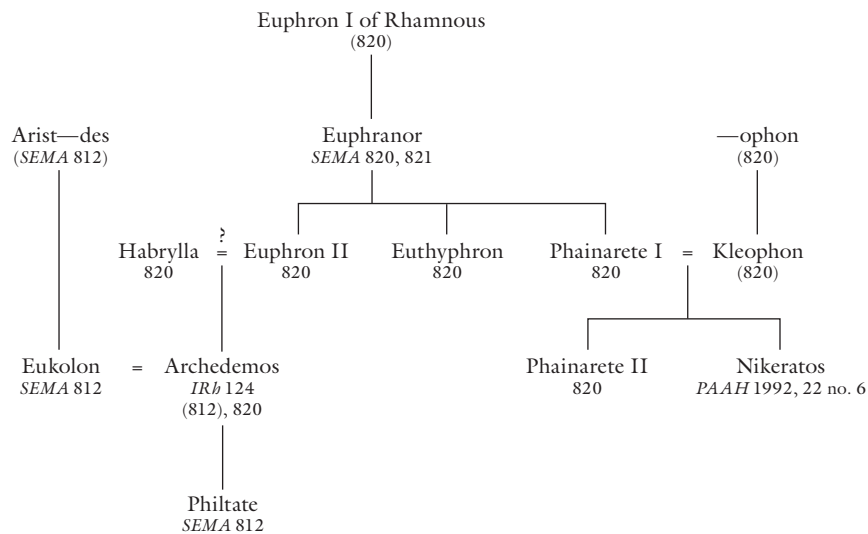
The name of Diogeiton's wife Habro might possibly suggest a connection with the family of Euphranor son of Euphron I R. (see Table 31.14), responsible for another conspicuous peribolos, since the wife of (?) Euphron II was called Habrylla; but inferences from women's names are much less secure than inferences from men's names.⁹⁸ Euphranor, according to his tombstone, lived to be 105, and saw three generations of descendants, all of whom were living when he died (this statement most probably disregards children who did not live to reach maturity). He had two sons, Euphron II and Euthyphron, and a daughter, Phainarete I, who married Kleophon son of —ophon and bore him two children, Phainarete II and Nikeratos. Euphron II had a son, Archedemos, who was named on the family stele, and on another stone of the third century, which commemorates him with his wife Eukolon daughter of Arist—des and their daughter Philtate. Archedemos may be the A. of Rhamnous on behalf of whom a Kephisodoros made a dedication (?) in the deme at the end of the fourth century.⁹⁹

Two other wealthy members of the deme deserve mention. Dromokles son of Atheneas, who also has a peribolos, may be the —mokles who lent 1500 dr.

⁹⁸ On women's names see ch. 8; though a girl was often given the name of an older kinswoman (her mother or one of her grandmothers) there was perhaps more variation in the choice of model, and in any case we are much less well informed about women's names.

⁹⁹ On Kephisodoros (*IG* ii² 4923 = *IRb* 124, *SEG* 22. 168) see above n. 94. Archedemos, *SEMA* 812, Paschidis 2008 A 36.

TABLE 31.14.
Rhamnous: Euphron



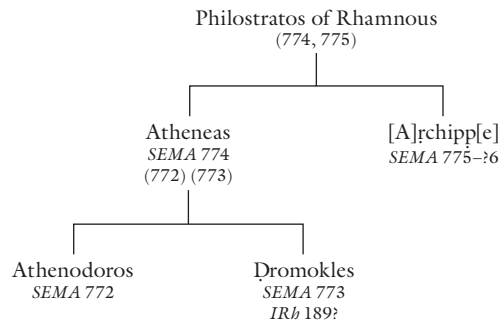
secured on property in the deme; his brother Athenodoros was also buried in the peribolos (see Table 31.15).¹⁰⁰ Pamphilos son of Theogeiton I R., secretary in 306/5, is probably also the Pamphilos R. who was councillor in 304/3, and may be the Pamphilos R. who with Pheidoleos R. allegedly lent a talent (6000 dr.) to Phainippos before c.328/7. Theogeiton II, who served on a deme commission in 229/8, may be Pamphilos' son; *his* son Timotheos served on another deme commission, c.225.¹⁰¹

Xenopeithes R., who headed a group of eranistai that lent money on security of an oikos in the second half of the fourth century, may be the Xenopeithes of Aiantis who appears in a list of lampadephoroi of the Lykourgan period.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Peribolos, Petrakos 1991, fig. 27 (Bergmann 1997, N 5a). Dromokles, *SEMA* 773; —mokles, *IRb* 189 (there seems to be space for 2–3 letters); Athenodoros, *SEMA* 772 (loutrophoros-stele). Their father Atheneas (not, apparently, Athenaios as *LGP*N no. 76 plus Dromokles 14, Athenodoros 105) was perhaps the A. son of Philostratos named on *SEMA* 774 with Menestheus son of Menesthides (Table 31.6), in which case Archippe daughter of Philostratos would be their aunt (FZ).

¹⁰¹ Pamphilos as secretary, *IG* ii² 470 etc. (*LGP*N Pamphilos 95); councillor, *Agora* XV 59. 55, 61. [278] (son of P—); loan, [Dem.] 42. 28. Possible tombstone of Theogeiton I, *IG* ii² 7353 (Pittakes). Theogeiton II, *SEG* 25. 111. 21; Timotheos, *IRb* 28. 8. Since the form of the name is different, a connection with the family of Diogeiton is perhaps unlikely; both families may at some period have lived near the sanctuary. A Pamphilos R. appears as symproedros in an initiates' decree on Lemnos in the Lykourgan period, Culasso Gastaldi 2010, 361 with 357 n. 58. On Laches R., who appears on Samos c.350, leased a house in the city in 343/2, and contributed to the (?) dedication *IG* ii² 2400, see Papazarkadas 2011, 308 no. 43. Son of the syntrierarch Nikostratos R., *APF* 11050 (probably), *IRb* 334 = *SEMA* 895. Note also that since the name is rare at this period Agapaios R., son of Pythodoros, and his son [Pytho]menes (more likely than [Anti]menes, cf. *IRb* 312), *SEMA* 769 = *IRb* 208, may be connected with the trierarch Agapaios of Eleusis, *APF* 96.

¹⁰² Horos, *IRb* 188; cf. perhaps Epipeithes son of Xenopeithes, *IG* ii² 11293 (city).

TABLE 31.15. Rhamnous:
Philostratos

Despite the rich material available on the prosopography of Rhamnous, it does not seem possible at present to put a name to the man who set up a dedication in the late fourth or early third century recording that he had been crowned by the Athenian boule and demos seven times, for service as general, *epi tôn ephēbôn*, taxiarch, ambassador (?), and in other offices. The stone is a salutary reminder that although stones from the deme give the impression of an intermarrying local squirearchy whose interests were often restricted to the local context, there were also men with wider ambitions. Nevertheless, the dedicant remained sufficiently attached to his deme to set up a record there of his achievements.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Peek 1942, no. 52; IRb 132; the title *epi tôn ephēbôn* (rather than *kosmētēs* or *sôphronistês*) may indicate a date after 307. Inclusion of reference to an embassy (plausibly restored by Peek) supports the view that the dedicant was a demesman recording the whole of his political career rather than a military commander whose laurels had mostly been won for service at Rhamnous but who did not belong to the deme.

X Antiochis

There are several minor problems in this tribe concerning location of demes. The two small demes Krioa and Eroiadai are unplaceable; they will be discussed here with the city trittys, to which only Alopeke can be assigned with certainty, but they might also have been situated somewhere in the inland trittys. The trittys assignment of the three small demes north of Pentelikon—Kolonai, Semachidai, and Eitea—is controversial. Traill (1986) puts them (with Krioa and Eroiadai) in the city trittys, and considers Aigilia and Thorai to have formed the inland trittys with Pallene. However, Aigilia and Thorai had coastal territory, and formed part of a continuous stretch of land with Anaphlystos, Atene, and Amphitrope/Besa. I take the view here that the demes north of Pentelikon belonged to the inland trittys, with Pallene, and that Aigilia and Thorai were in the coastal trittys.¹

CITY TRITTYS

Alopeke

The general location of the deme, south of the city and east of Xypete, does not seem to be in doubt, but it is not clear whether its main centre (it may well have contained more than one village) was in the area of Koutsopodi/Katsipodi and Brahami, or further west, closer to the Athens–Phaleron road. In any case the deme will have covered a considerable extent of territory between Athens and Phaleron. It was probably the base of a phratry, which may have had a sanctuary at Koutsopodi, and perhaps of a sanctuary of Herakles and Antiochos, used by the tribe for worship of its eponymous hero. Whether this sanctuary is to be

¹ Cf. ch. 21 at n. 18, where it is suggested that Pallene perhaps turned out to be a smaller deme than expected, and some demes from the area north of Pentelikon were added to Antiochis to compensate for this. Amphitrope and Besa were not both coastal, but it is generally agreed that they were contiguous with each other and with Anaphlystos; (see below at n. 54), on the coastal trittys. On the view taken here, Antiochis had a small city trittys and a large coastal trittys. Speculations about political gerrymandering by Kleisthenes (Stanton 1984*a*, cf. 1984*b*) do not seem to me to correspond either to the process by which the deme system was formed or to the knowledge available before registration was completed. Stanton 1994 suggests that Eitea, Eroiadai, and Krioa were in the inland trittys.

identified with the sanctuary of Herakles at Kynosarges is controversial.² The hieromnemones of Herakles who sold property at Alopeke in the hekatostai sales, and themselves belonged to the deme, may have been tribal officials.³ There is no evidence of activity by the deme itself.

The leading family in the deme at the time of Kleisthenes' reforms was clearly that of his brother Hippokrates and the latter's son Megakles IV (we do not know Kleisthenes' deme; another brother, Aristonymos, belonged to Xypete).⁴ Alopeke also contained a leading family of the *genos* Kerykes, represented in 507/6 by Hipponikos I, probably named for his father's victory at Olympia in 564, and nicknamed Ammon. Hipponikos' son Kallias II held the office of Torchbearer (*daidouchos*) in the Mysteries of Eleusis, which may well have been held previously by earlier members of the family, and was probably passed via Hipponikos II to his son Kallias III. Kallias II was nicknamed Lakkoploutos, which may imply that he already had mining interests; his son Hipponikos II certainly did. Kallias III inherited a house in Piraeus, the scene of Xenophon's *Symposium* (1. 2).⁵

Aristeides 'the Just', son of Lysimachos A., already prominent enough to be eponymous archon in 489/8 and ostracized in the 480s, probably could not compete in wealth with the horse-racing grandees of the other two families, but was ambitious and able to afford a political career.⁶

² See the discussions of topography in Billot 1992 (especially p. 128); 1993; 1994, 932; S. Privitera 2002; Eliopoulos 2010 (ch. 24 n. 8). Billot argues that the gymnasium of Kynosarges was not in Alopeke, but NE of it, near the S gates of the city (but not necessarily on the site of the site of the Hadrianic gymnasium, which is in Odos Diamantopoulou, just S of the Ilissos, *A to Z* 144 B 3, see Travlos 1970; *AD* 46 B 1, 1991, 32–3); the sanctuary of Herakles and Antiochos would be SW of this, near the old Fix brewery, where inscriptions set up by the tribe were found (ch. 21 n. 77; *A to Z* 144 E–Z 1); several Alopeke tombstones have been found in this area (below, n. 26). On early excavations of the gymnasium area see D. W. J. Gill 2011, 165–7.

³ Lambert 1997a, F 13 A 7; Lambert 1999a suggests that *IG* ii² 2345 = *SEG* 47. 187 (which I regard as a phratry list, see ch. 19 n. 174) records a set of thiasoi worshipping Herakles, to which these hieromnemones may also have belonged (one is probably the son of a man named on ii² 2345), and which may have been connected with the *genos* Salaminioi.

⁴ *APF* 9688. See Table 4.8; ch. 15 n. 22 for ostraka directed against members of the family, and for the question whether Kallias son of Kratios of Alopeke, against whom many ostraka were cast, belonged to it. It is not clear whether Hippokrates and Aristonymos had inherited portions of a continuous estate stretching across what became the border between Xypete and Alopeke, or separate pieces of property. There is no strong reason to attach Hegesias son of Hippokrates A., (?) kleruch (*IG* ii² 1927. 162, see Humphreys 2010a) to this family.

⁵ *APF* 7826; it is very unlikely that Athenians associated the name Ammon with mining (the discussion in Zorat 1990 is rather confused; see also Bosworth 1994), and it should be remembered that *lakkoploutos* ('hole-rich', 'pit-rich') is primarily a variant of *lakkopróktos*, big-ar-se.

⁶ *APF* 1695 V. One ostrakon for Aristeides (with patronymic; Brenne 2001, no. 32) assigns him to Koile; possibly he had a house there (ch. 22 at n. 40). Another ostrakon names an Aristeides son of Xenophilos, who might possibly belong to the same family (a Xenophilos A. is attested as a member of the Areiopagos in 305/4, *IG* ii² 1492. 94, 129), but this is far from certain; the son of Xenophilos, however, is attested as choregos according to a passage of Panaitios cited by Plut. *Arist.* 1. According to

After the 470s the éclat of the deme diminished. Megakles V, son of Megakles IV, continued to race horses, winning at Olympia in 436; he perhaps served as secretary of the treasurers of Athena in 428/7, and as ambassador in 426, but did not make a name for himself in politics. His son Meletos may have been rich enough to pay 3255 dr. for a house that belonged to Theomenes of Xypete in the sale of property confiscated from the Thirty, and certainly bought property of Theomenes on Salamis for 145 dr; possibly he was acting as a family friend. Megakles VII, represented as an elderly man with his (?) wife Hiero on a lekythos from the Kerameikos, dated not long after 350, was presumably the son either of Megakles VI, *kalos* c.430, or of Meletos.⁷ Aristides' son Lysimachos II was undistinguished; only Hipponikos II, son of Kallias II, held a major office, serving as general in 426/5, and remained in the centre of political life, marrying the ex-wife of Perikles. His father Kallias had also been active, in the 460s, as ambassador to Persia and probably to Sparta; the family were proxenoi of Sparta at Athens. Kallias III is represented in Xenophon's *Hellenika* (6. 3. 2ff.) as ambassador to Sparta in 372/1, making a diplomatic speech in the old style, largely concerned with reminding his hearers of his family's and his own earlier contacts with the city.⁸

In the 440s, however, Alopeke produced another leading politician, Thoukydides son of Melesias, whose father had been a wrestler and a trainer of wrestlers; Thoukydides may have married a daughter of Kimon, and was regarded as having taken over Kimon's position as Perikles' opponent after Kimon's death, although he does not seem to have held any significant position. His son Melesias II is portrayed in Plato's *Laches* (179c) as an *apragmôn* like his friend and fellow-demesman Lysimachos II; he became a member of the Four Hundred and was sent by them to Sparta as ambassador in 411.⁹

Plutarch, Demetrios of Phaleron saw an inscription commemorating a choregic victory by an Aristides, and attributed it to the son of Lysimachos; he was criticized for this by Panaitios, who pointed out that the lettering was Ionic, and said that only two men called Aristides were attested as choregoi, the son of Xenophilos and a later man for whom Arcestratos (*fl.* c.431–404) was producer. Cyriacus of Ancona claimed to have seen the latter text (see *IG* ii² 3027) which may have been rediscovered as *IG* i³ 962 (see i³ *ad loc.* and on 969 *bis* a–b, missed by Agelidis 2009 no. 36; Molyneux 1992, 307ff.).

⁷ Megakles V–VI, see *APF* 9688; Meletos, *Agora* XIX P 2 d 19, c 1–4?; Megakles VII, *CAT* 2. 933 = *SEMA* 86 (Proukakis-Christodouloupoulos 1970, 91–4). Megakles VI and Meletos may well have had oligarchic sympathies.

⁸ Lysimachos II, Plat. *Laches* 179c (cf. *Theaitetos* 151a); on later members of the family see *APF* 1695 III–IV. On the date of Kallias' embassy or embassies to Persia see Badian 1993, Humphreys 1999 with bibliography; *APF* 7826; *AO* 84 (446/5); ch. 16 n. 13. Note that in the generation of Hipponikos II the Lokrion who was *kalos* in the 460s might be related to (a) the Lokr— of *IG* i³ 1032. 483 (rather late for the *kalos* if the list records survivors of Aigospotamoi, cf. ch. 21 n. 41), and (b) Lokrion A., councillor (?) c.330, *Agora* XV 46. 55 (not council? Appendix 1).

⁹ *APF* 7268; Melesias I, Wade-Gery 1932. Thoukydides is said to be a *kêdestês* of Kimon in *A.P.* 28. 2, Plut. *Per.* 11. 1, and *gambros*, which should mean ZH or DH, in schol. *Arist.* III 446 Dindorf 1829; since Th. was younger than Kimon, this, if accurate, should mean DH. However, Ar. *Ach.* 708–12 says

Another of Alopeke's rich quietists was Sokrates' friend and fellow-demesman Kriton. He had a farm, not necessarily in his deme, from which he made payments in kind to the sykophant Archedemos, employed to protect his interests in court; he does not seem to have been actively involved in the oligarchic regimes of the late fifth century, but is portrayed in Plato's *Crito* as ready to smuggle Sokrates out of prison and across the border to Thessalian friends. His son Kritoboulos and (?) grandson (SS) Archestratos son of Kriton II are attested as liturgists.¹⁰

Sokrates himself, also of Alopeke, was a quietist, though not rich. In social terms he was a parasite, a licensed joker who was invited to the symposia of richer friends and was not expected to reciprocate. He is greeted courteously in Plato's *Laches* (180e) by Lysimachos II, who claims to be a friend of his father but had not previously met Sokrates himself; the latter's associates were younger men. He had joined the circle of Kallias III son of Hipponikos A. when Kallias, in his early twenties, inherited his father's property and began to keep open house for Athens' smart set, including his step-brothers, the sons of Perikles, and their kinsman Alkibiades. The sons of Lysimachos II and Melesias II (Aristeides II and Thoukydides II) had met the philosopher in the gymnasium (*Laches* 181a).¹¹

The pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Theages* claims that an associate of Sokrates, Timarchos, had planned to kill Nikias son of Heroskamandros, presumably in the period preceding the *coup* of the Four Hundred, or during the rule of the Thirty. A Heroskamandros is attested as the father of Xenoklejs of Alopeke, who died at Potidaia, presumably as a kleruch, between 429 and 404; the kleruch's grandson (SS), Xenokles II son of Polyaratos A., is represented on a votive or funerary monument as a cavalryman. Heroskamandros A., thesmothetes in 225/4, will be a descendant.¹²

that in his youth Th. could have outshot with the bow even his father's *syngeneis*, which might mean that Melesias had married a Thracian woman, perhaps a sister of Miltiades' wife Hypsipyle (*syngeneis* can be used of affines as well as kin). In this case Kimon and Th. would have been cousins (MZS), and *kēdestēs* would be loosely used, which is not impossible (the Ar. passage is not noticed by Wade-Gery or *APF*). Cf. ch. 14 n. 20. Melesias as ambassador, Thuc. 8. 86. 9 (identity contested by *HCTV* 289). His brother Stephanos served as secretary c.(?) 422–420 (Humphreys 1974; *AO* 195, xli).

¹⁰ *APF* 8823. Farm and relationship with Archedemos, Xen. *Mem.* 2. 9, cf. Plato *Euthyd.* 291c; Plato, in the *Crito*, is by implication more critical of Kriton's unscrupulous attitude to law than Xenophon. Rich quietists, L. B. Carter 1986. Archedemos belonged to Pelekes (M. H. Hansen 1987a, 209), and seems to have had a homonymous (?) grandson who had a political career (Aisch. 3. 139).

¹¹ On parasites see Xenophon's portrait of Philippos in *Symp.* 11–16, 21–3, 50. Sokrates' father Sophroniskos I was supposedly a maker of terracotta figurines, D. L. 2. 18, but the enterprise (if there is any truth in the tradition) may have been of a respectable size. Sokrates also had a matrilineal half-brother, Patrokles son of Chairedemos; if he was the Patrokles A. who served as athlothes for the Panathenaia in 406/5 (*IG* i³ 378. 16), he was presumably well-to-do (the name Patrokles is attested in four other demes in the classical period, and Plat. *Euthyd.* 197e does not give Patrokles' demotic). On Kallias III's associates see Table 13.1.

¹² [Plat.] *Theages* 129b; the dialogue may have been written c.200 BCE (Souilhé 1930a), in which case the introduction of the name Heroskamandros presumably has some connection (hardly a question of

Horse-raising traditions were kept up in the deme in the fourth century by Thoudes, who served in the cavalry *c.*350 and is probably the Thoudes son of Thoudiades attested as councillor *c.*321, and the father of Nikariste; and by Lykias son of Menekleides, represented on his mid-century loutrophoros as a bearded man with a horse, possibly a cavalry officer.¹³ Demetrios son of [Anti]phanes (or [Demo]phanes, *SEG* 3. 115, cf. *APF* 3655), phylarch *c.*330, was perhaps the brother of Theodoros son of Antiphanes, who served as councillor in 334/3 and may have proposed a decree honouring Phyleus of Oinoe (IX) in the previous year; Theodoros II A., who served in the cavalry *c.*250, may belong to this family. The father of Demetrios and Theodoros may be Antiphanes son of Aresias, named as thiasos-leader in a (?) phratry epidosis-list mainly of men from Alopeke; this Antiphanes' sister Pheidylla was commemorated by a stele of high quality found in the deme.¹⁴ Thebaios son of Lysiades made a dedication to Hermes, perhaps in the Kolonos Hippios area, in the third century, to commemorate his service as phylarch; his father may be the Lysiades son of Chion II A., who manumitted a slave woolworker living in Melite, perhaps a member of his household, in the Lykourgan period, his grandfather (FF) may be the Chion of the (?) phratry epidosis list, and his great-grandfather (FFF) the Lysiades I son of Chion I commemorated on a stele of the fourth century perhaps found in the city.¹⁵

Python son of Pytharchos II A. served as phylarch in 282/1; Physon son of Pytharchos II, represented on a lekythos of the middle of the fourth century with his (?) wife Timoklea, may be his grandfather or great-uncle. Another lekythos, from Brahami, representing an armed warrior, Antiphon, shaking hands with a man leading a horse, Niketes, may have been set up by one of Alopeke's cavalry families; a Niketes A. served in the cavalry *c.*250, and an earlier Niketes A. was commemorated by a stele in the middle of the fourth century. There may also be some relationship with Antiphon son of Solon A., councillor in 334/3. Phoryskides II A. also served in the cavalry *c.*250;

reliable oral tradition) with the thesmothetes, ii² 1706. 50. Xenokles I, *IG* i³ 1512; Xenokles II, *IG* ii² 5574 = *CAT* 1. 362. Cf. also Demosthenes son of Heroskamandros A., ii² 5553, perhaps son of the thesmothetes. Aristogeiton son of Nikias A., commemorated by a loutrophoros of *c.*340–317 from Ambelokipi, *IG* ii² 5550, is hardly relevant.

¹³ Thoudes, Bugh 1988 I B 89; *Agora* XV 55. 41; Nikariste *IG* ii² 5571 (epistyle, no provenance); Lykias, ii² 5562 = *CAT* 261, no provenance (the beard suggests that, though presumably he died childless, he was old enough to hold office, cf. chs. 11, 21 n. 121).

¹⁴ Demetrios' father might be Demophanes A., trierarch before 356 (*APF* 3655, *IG* ii² 1622. 331); in this case he would presumably still have been a minor when his father's debts were paid *c.*342/1, and Themistokles (IV) of Phrearrhioi, who paid them, would have been his guardian, perhaps his MF or MB (see *APF* 6669 VII). Theodoros I, *IG* ii³ 4. 81. 56, ii³ 327. 5 (the restoration of patronymic and demotic is far from cogent); Theodoros II, Bugh 1988 II B 251; Antiphanes son of Aresias (not Araxias as *IG* ii² 2345), *SEG* 47. 187. 45 (thiasos eponym); Pheidylla, *SEMA* 88, *CAT* 2. 294a. A son of Demetrios A. was councillor in 303/2, *Agora* XV 62. 11. The attribution to A. of the sculptor Demetrios, active in the (?) early 4th c. (ch. 26 n. 67), is recorded as conjectural by *LGPN* Demetrios 162.

¹⁵ Thebaios, *PAA* 8, 1933, 70–1, *SEG* 47. 197 (added online by *LPGN*, missed by Bugh 1988; Spence 1993, etc.; erroneous reference to *PAAH* in Traill 1986, 81 n. 7; the provenance is Aimonos–(not Kimonos as *SEG*)–Eukleidou–Tripoleos. Lysiades I, *IG* ii² 5565; Chion II, *SEG* 47. 187. 85; Lysiades II, *SEG* 18. 36 B 267.

Aristeides son of Phoryskides I, named on the thiasos-list, will be an earlier member of the family.¹⁶

Theophilos son of Meliton A., who served as epimeletes on Lemnos in the 340s or early 330s, was probably the Theophilos called as supporting speaker by Hyperides' client Lykophron when the latter was indicted by Lykourgos for adultery in (?) 333. Lykophron (whose deme is unknown) had spent conspicuously on horses and had served as hipparch on Lemnos for three years; Theophilos, in addition to being well placed to testify about this service, must have been a well-known and respected figure.¹⁷

Only two generals from Alopeke are recorded in the fourth century, Diokles and (?) Sopatros. Diokles, who may possibly have been a descendant of the son of Themistokles of that name, who was adopted by his maternal grandfather Lysandros A., served in Euboia in 357/6; Sopatros held office in 329/8.¹⁸

The main figure in the deme in the Lykourgan era was perhaps Pytheas son of Sosidemos, who served as commissioner for the water supply from 334/3 to 331/0, and as councillor c.330; a trapeza found on the Sacred Way may come from his tomb. Pytheas and Nikostratos sons of Archonides A., named on a stele of the middle of the century, may possibly have been his kin; Nikostratos' son [. . .]stratos served as councillor c.321.¹⁹

Aristomachos son of Kritodemos I A. seems to have been fairly prominent in politics in the 350s–340s. His father, perhaps a kinsman of Sokrates' friend Kriton, had been killed after the battle of Aigospotamoi; he and his brother Kritodemos II are both attested as trierarchs, and his sister married the speaker of Lysias 19. His daughter married a son of Diodoros of Paiania, and was commemorated with her husband on a (?) trapeza found in that deme; the husband's family had mining interests.²⁰

¹⁶ Python, Habicht 1997; Physon, *IG* ii² 5580 = *CAT* 262 (the ? councillor Physon A. of c.330, *Agora* XV 46. 52, may be a son if both list and stele are accurately dated); Antiphon and Niketes I, ii² 10702 = *CAT* 2. 220a (son and father?); Niketes (I?) ii² 5572; Niketes II, Bugh 1988 II B 177; Antiphon son of Solon, *IG* ii³ 4. 81. 55; Phoryskides II, Bugh II B 212; Aristeides, ii² 2345. 67. Phoryskides son of Aristomenes, secretary in 248/7 (Diomedon) belonged to Leukonoion (Table 26.3). See also Papazarkadas 2011, 317 no. 87.

¹⁷ Hyp. 1 *Lyk.* 20; the speech has been dated c.333 (see Engels 1989, 192–4), but there are also arguments for a date before 338.

¹⁸ Diokles, *APF* 6669 VI, Dem. 21. 174. Diphilos son of Diokles, *SEG* 47. 187. 66, may be his son, and father of Zoilos son of Diphilos A., commemorated at the end of the 4th c. on *IG* ii² 5557. Zoilos' homonymous grandson, *IG* ii³ 1146 (226/5, Ergochares); a later Diphilos son of Diokles A. c.100 BCE, *SEG* 44. 137 (Matthaiou 1994, 182). The Diokles (A.?) of *SEG* 47. 187. 54 belonged to a different thiasos; he could be a DS of the general, but the name is common. Sopatros, see *AO* 393–4.

¹⁹ Pytheas, Humphreys 1985a; Habicht 1989; Lambert 2004b, 108 (daughter's tombstone, *SEG* 54. 150); *IG* ii³ 338 (honours proposed, but not yet awarded, while he was still in office), *SEMA* 87 (trapeza; *pace* Marchiandi 2011, 155, there is no evidence for a peribolos); *Agora* XV 46. 53; Pytheas (II) and Nikostratos ii² 5573 (no provenance); son of Nikostratos, *Agora* XV 55. 34. Dillon 1996 thinks that Pytheas I's commission only lasted one year, but he ignores Habicht 1989. Ch. 19 n. 194.

²⁰ *APF* 1969; see also 5951 (A), speaker of Lys. 19; 3953, Diodoros of Paiania, ch. 25 n. 38. The only demesmen of Alopeke with attested mining interests are Hipponikos II son of Kallias II and Antimachos,

Plangon daughter of Promachos (A.?), who died before marriage and was mourned by her mother and the mother of her fiancé, was commemorated by a stele that also names a Lakedaimonios; either she or her sister Kallisto may therefore have been the sister of the Lakedaimonios who was acquitted of a charge of asebeia brought by Euboulides of Halimous at some date before 346/5. Their brother Satyros A.—also described with reference to Lakedaimonios, who was evidently a well-known man—acted privately as arbitrator for Phrynion of Paiania *c.*370, and testified to this for Apollodoros of Acharnai in the late 340s.²¹

Exekestides son of Nikokrates I A. served as archon basileus in the late fourth century; his paredroi were his son Nikokrates II and Kleainetos son of Menon, perhaps a fellow-demesman or an affine, since the name Kleainetos is attested in the deme in the third century. Kleinias son of Exekestides A., (?) kleruch in the middle of the fourth century, may be a second son.²²

Mnesitheos A., leader of a group of eranistai who made a loan of 6000 dr., must have moved in wealthy circles; he perhaps appeared as a witness for Demosthenes against Meidias.²³

Most of the wealthy members of Alopeke will probably have had houses in the city or Piraeus, even if they also had estates in the deme. Plato represents the sons of Aristeidēs

who leased a mine in the 330s, *Agora* XIX P 15. 8, and served as councillor in 334/3, *IG* ii³ 4. 81. 54. Cf. Papazarkadas 2011, 308 no. 42.

²¹ Plangon, *CEG* 587 = *SEMA* 2326 (Plangon | Promachou | Lakedaimonios); Kallisto, *IG* ii² 5558, from the Kerameikos (stele, lost); Satyros, [Dem.] 59. 45, 47. It is fairly certain that Lakedaimonios brother of Satyros of Alopeke (*ibid.*) is the Lakedaimonios whose sister was accused of asebeia (Dem. 57. 8); whether he is also the Lakedaimonios whose name appears on Plangon's stele is controversial. Threpsiades 1952 thought that Lakedaimonios' name was a later addition, and the distinctive epigram for Plangon supports this view, although *CEG*, reading Lakedaimonio<u> where the stone has Lakedaimonios, thinks the names were simultaneously inscribed (the name is cut in letters similar to those of Plangon and her father; the spacing is more cramped, but design considerations could explain this. M. J. Osborne and Byrne 1996, 138 no. 3191, emend to Lakedaimoni<a>). Since Plangon died young, it is perhaps likely (*pace* Whitehead 1986*a*, 411 no. 19) that the woman accused of impiety was Kallisto. Plangon, to judge from the probable age of her (?) brother Satyros, should have been born in the 390s–380s and thus have died in the 370s–360s, while the case to which Dem. 57. 8 refers in 346/5 is likely to have been more recent.

²² Exekestides and paredroi, *IG* ii³ 4. 95 (for the date see *AO* p. 412; *LGP*N date needs correction); see ch. 15 at n. 6. Kleainetos, cf. Diophanes son of Kleainetos A., ephebe in 266/5, *IG* ii³ 917 III 60 (Nikias of Otryne); Kleinias, ii² 1927. 164–5, see Humphreys 2010*a*. Note also Diophanes son of Diophanes A., witness to a torture challenge presented by Apollodoros of Acharnai to Stephanos of Eroiadai, [Dem.] 59. 123 (witness testimony); Diophanes, Euteles, and Aristylla, buried on Salamis, *SEMA* 83; and Diophanes son of Euteles A., councillor (?) *c.*320, *Agora* XV 55. 43.

²³ Horos, from Teithras, *SEG* 23. 96 = Finley 1952, 2nd ed. no. 163 A; witness testimony, Dem. 21. 82 (MacDowell 1990 argues from the unconventional terminology that the testimonies in this speech are late additions, but in this passage Kallisthenes of Sphettos can be linked to a ? grandson, Kallisthenes son of Kallippos, councillor in 303/2, *Agora* XV 62. 82; one might also think of emending the demotic of Diognetos of Thorikos, the third witness, to Thorai, since the daughter of a Diognetos of Thorai was buried *c.*320, *IG* ii² 6215).

I and Melesias I as men who were to be found in the city; Lysiades II son of Chion II, as we have seen, freed a female woolworker, perhaps a domestic slave, living in Melite. Sokrates too lived in the city. Zoilos son of Diphilos I and his son Timon were buried in the Kerameikos, though admittedly this is not necessarily evidence of residence. The Morsimos A. whose daughter Sostrate married a demesman of Athmonon (and was buried with her husband in his deme), if he was the Morsimos who treated patients with eye problems and wrote bad tragedies, presumably practiced his occupations in the city or Piraeus.²⁴

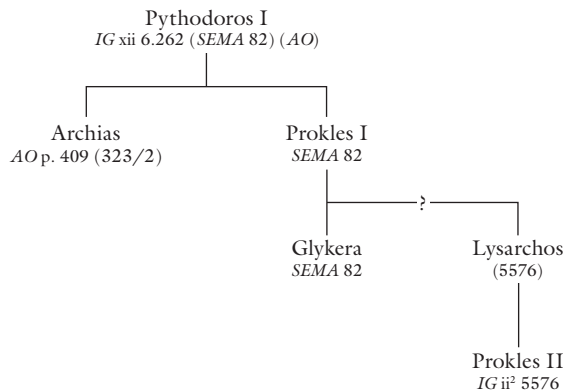
Pantaretos II A., who led a group of *eranistai* who lent 1900 dr. secured on a house in Mounichia, may have lived in Piraeus, and may be the grandson of Pantaretos I son of Antiphilos I A., who served as *amphiktyon* on Delos in 393–389; Antiphilos II and Pantaretos II appear in the *thiasos*-list from Alopeke. Dieuchides A. was buried in Piraeus, in the first half of the fourth century. Diogeiton A. served as *kleter* for an *apographe* served on Theosebes of Xypete, and possibly lived in that deme; a funerary inscription seen by Rangaves in the northwest part of the city may commemorate his son Poseidonios.²⁵

Leptines son of Olympiodoros, who was *choregos* for a boys' choir at the Dionysia of 331/0, and is named in the *thiasos*-list from Alopeke, seems to have been buried in the deme, as were Pheidylla daughter of Aresias A., whose father appears on the same list and whose brother perhaps served as *phylarch*, and Meixiades son of Kydias, who may perhaps have been related to Kydenor I A. and his son Kydenor II. The latter served as secretary in the early fourth century.²⁶

²⁴ Sons of Aristeides and Melesias, Plat. *Laches* 179a–d; Lysiades II, *SEG* 18. 36 B 267; Zoilos, *IG* ii² 5557 (end of 4th c.); Timon, ii² 5581 (3rd c.); a descendant, Zoilos II son of Diphilos II, served as secretary in 226/5, ii³ 1146. 2–3 (arch. Ergochares). Sostrate, ii² 5349; Morsimos, *TGF* 2nd ed. I no. 29 (the name is only attested with a demotic in Alopeke, but the names of Morsimos' grandfather Philopeithes, father Philokles, and son Astydamos are not found there; ch. 29 n. 66). Note also Hierokleides son of Timostratos A., who proposed *IG* ii³ 294 and 297 in 349/8, perhaps as councillor, and may be represented with his father or son on ii² 11705 = *CAT* 2. 347c (lekythos, no provenance); he is probably also named on a curse tablet, *Agora* XXVIII 55–7 = *SEG* 44. 226, as *synegoros* of a Menekrates son of Krates, possibly *APF* 9940. Menekrates' father may be named on *SEG* 47. 187. 42. Autolykos son of Epilykos, named on the same curse tablet, may be the FF of Autolykos son of Lykos A., secretary in 305/4, *IG* ii² 478+ = Reinmuth 1971 no. 17.

²⁵ Pantaretos II, *IG* ii² 2743 = Finley 1952 no. 70; Pantaretos I, *ID* 97. 3; Antiphilos II and Pantaretos II, ii² 2345. 52, 57 (Humphreys 1990a; Lambert 1999a); Lambert suggests that Pantaretos was also the proposer of *IG* ii² 44, but does not provide a parallel for the form of the demotic [*Alopek*] *ieus* at this date. Dieuchides, ii² 5554; Diogeiton, *Agora* XIX P 5. 16, 367/6 (a *kleter* should probably be someone known and respected in the area in which he served his summons); Poseidonios, ii² 5575, see *AEE* 207 (Rangaves read POSDNIOS DIOONOS, so the father's name might have been Dion—not attested in Alopeke—or Diogenes, name of a son of Diogeiton who served as councillor in 334/3, *IG* ii³ 4. 81. 51). My suggestion (Humphreys 1990a) that the brothers Diodotos and Diogeiton with whose property Lys. 32 was concerned belonged to Alopeke was perhaps rash, but if correct would give us another Piraeus-based family.

²⁶ Leptines, *APF* 9045; *SEG* 25. 177; 47. 187. 22 (Leptines Olympiodoro, Lambert 1999a); *SEMA* 85, *AD* 20 B 1, 1965, 108 with pl. 71c (re-used in a later tomb on Odos Sarkadinou). The tribal priest L. (no demotic) of *SEG* 3. 117 might be a descendant. Pheidylla, *SEMA* 88, from Odos Demetrakopoulou (on the family see n. 14 above). Meixiades, *IG* ii² 5566, from Katsipodi; Kydenor II, ii² 49. 1, 7.



Note: Pythogenes and Glaukippos of Alopeke, IG xii 6. 262 X 23, 26, may be related to this family: cf. IG ii³ 997, Pythogenes Glau[kippou?] A.

TABLE 32.1. Alopeke: Pythodoros

Two A. tombstones were found in the area of Ambelokipi, where the deme was once thought to be situated, those of Aristogeiton son of Nikias (n. 12 above) and of Prokles II son of Lysarchos, ii² 5576 (kioniskos, 3rd c.), who was probably a member of a well-known family; his great-uncle (FFB) Archias son of Pythodoros served as secretary in 323, and Archias' father may be the Pythodoros A. now attested as a councillor on Samos c.350, IG xii 6. 262 X 24. SEMA 82, Prokles son of Pythodoros A. with his daughter Glykera (see Table 32.1).

Krion

There is no evidence on location; the name—place of rams (?)—might suggest a hill area, perhaps somewhere in the inland trittys.²⁷

The deme had one family prominent enough to attract some votes in the ostrakophoriai of the 480s: Timokrates I son of Aristaichmos I made a dedication on the Akropolis c.510, and his sons, Aristaichmos II and Kydrokles, appear on ostraka. Antiphon I, the next attested member of the family, was probably a grandson of Aristaichmos II or Kydrokles; he was still alive as an old man in 353/2. His son Timokrates II served as trierarch in (?) 366/5, and won a chariot victory at Olympia in (?) 352. He was the target of Demosthenes' speech *Against Timokrates*, delivered in 353/2, and was an associate of Androtion; he and his son Polyeyktos acted as witnesses for Meidias in 348, and Polyeyktos

²⁷ Milchhöfer 1892 noted that in Hes. *Theog.* 374–5 Krios is father of Pallas, which might suggest a site near Pallene; however, as Kearns 1989 (179) pointed out, the Athenian Pallas is always son of Pandion. *Krios* (LSJ s.v.) is also the name of a kind of vetch, but in compounds the meaning is always 'ram'. Perhaps city, D. M. Lewis 1976, 311.

appears again in the Demosthenic corpus as an associate of Phainippos in the 320s. Timokrates II had a sister who had married a rich citizen of Kerkyra at some date before 353/2. This is an interesting example of an aristocratic family that kept up archaic patterns of behaviour—horse-racing, marriage alliances outside Attika, preoccupation with Persia as a threat to Greeks—even in the fourth century.²⁸

A stele with a verse epigram, found in the western part of Athens, celebrates the wifely virtues of Nikoptoleme daughter of Nikokles of Hekale, married to Polymnestos son of Polyaratos K. The names of Polymnestos, his brother Polykrates, and a Philitia, also appear on the stele.²⁹

Eroiadai

Since there were two demes of this name, both small and unlocated, it is difficult to identify demesmen. Phormisios, son of the oddly-named Charoiades (for Char-Eroiades?), is recorded as (?) kleruch in the middle of the fourth century; Charoiades I son of Euphiletos (deme unknown), who served as secretary at some date between c.440 and 425, may be an ancestor, and [An]tiphanes son of Charoiades, who was a member of a two-man college in 358/7, may have been a brother.³⁰

Philodemos son of Autokles E. is attested as trierarch and as one of the guarantors of ships sent to Chalkis in 340; he proposed a rider in 340/39 to a decree in favour of the island of Tenedos, which Athens needed to conciliate in view of its strategic position near the entrance of the Hellespont and the advance of Philip in that direction. He was one of the architects commissioned to repair the fortifications of Piraeus in 337/6, and may have had trading interests in addition to professional skills; he may also be the [Phi]lodem[os] of Eroiadai attested as councillor in the 350s or 340s.³¹

²⁸ *APF* 13772. Timokrates I, *IG* i³ 619; Aristaichmos II, Brenne 2001, 130, *Agora* XXV 20; Kydrokles, Brenne 2001, 146, *Agora* XXV 610–626 (two sherds with demotic). Timokrates II, Dem. 24 (202–3 on the Kerkyraian marriage); 21. 139, 42. 11. Timokrates appears to have been a proxenos of Kerkyra. On Androtion's policy see Jacoby's introduction to *FGH* 324 (IIIb *Suppl.*).

²⁹ *IG* ii² 6551 = *CEG* 603 (seen by Pittakes on the N side of the ancient city, near Athena St between Euripidou and Eirenes, *A to Z* 124 ΓΔ 1); Kirchner indicates only the name of Philitia as a later addition, but *CEG* more plausibly suggests that ll. 1–3 were all added (the stone is lost). Possibly a reading *Kr[io]eis* should be considered in *IG* xii 6. 262 X 33.

³⁰ Phormisios, *IG* ii² 1927. 212, see Humphreys 2010a; Charoiades I, *IG* i³ 156. 11; Antiphanes, ii² 1696. 5. Wilhelm's suggestion that this last text was a list of paredroi of the eponymous archon was rightly rejected by Dow 1976; although the pairs of names are dated by archons, the absence of demotics suggests to me that the men listed served as officials of a fairly small group, based on a city sanctuary (the stone was found at the foot of the N side of the Akropolis).

³¹ *APF* 14488; *IG* ii³ 313, 429; *Agora* XV 22. 11.

INLAND TRITTYS: THE DEMES NORTH OF PENTELIKON

There are fairly strong reasons for locating Eitea, Kolonai, and Semachidai in this area, although only for Eitea is there epigraphic evidence, in the form of a deme decree from Grammatiko.³²

Semachidai

There was apparently a cult of Dionysos, with priestesses drawn from a local genos; the story that Semachos, eponym of the genos and deme, had entertained the god suggests rivalry with Ikarion, which had a similar myth. Philochoros says that the deme was in Epakria; this may imply that its members belonged to the (?) phratry Epakreis, and also implies a location north of Pentelikon.³³

The leading family in the deme in the late sixth century—perhaps responsible for its independent status—may have been that of Komonides, who dedicated a statue to Athena on the Akropolis c.500–480, if (as seems likely) he was an ancestor of Komaïos son of Komon S., attested as councillor in 334/3 and as syntrierarch and (?) cavalryman in the 350s. Komaïos' son —s served as councillor in 304/3.³⁴

Kolonai

Since there are strong arguments for locating the Kolonai of Leontis (also) in this area, if Kolonai-X is to be placed here we have to assume that an area called Kolonai, containing two or more villages, was divided between the two tribes.

³² See the sections below on the individual demes, and n. 1 above on the question why and how Antiochis acquired an 'enclave' of demes in this area.

³³ *FGH* 328 F 206. Arguments have been made for locating Semachidai in SE Attika, on the basis of the mine-name Semacheion at Laureion (*Agora* XIX P. 26. 221) and the evidence that at least one family from S. owned property in the area (Xenokles son of Antigenes I S. owned land that was confiscated in the late 4th c., perhaps for a mining offence, *Agora* XIX P 42. 3; Antigenes II S., who acted as arbitrator for the Salaminioi in the middle of the 3rd c. *ibid.* L 4b 6, may have been his son). However, the arguments for a location N of Pentelikon are stronger; possibly the family of Xenokles and Antigenes had set up a shrine of Semachos which gave its name to the mine. Genos, see ch. 20 n. 48; R. Parker 1996 p. 326, 330; sources cited by Jacoby in his commentary to Philochoros *FGH* 328 F 206. Epakreis, chs. 19 n. 16, 21 n. 138. Hollis' restoration (1990) [*Sema*]chidas in Kallim. *Hekale* F 47. 18, if correct, would also indicate a site N of Pentelikon. Traill 1986, 139 suggests locating the deme at Vredou (i.e., presumably, the unnamed site W of that hill on *KvA* XIX). Possibly Melainai, Klopidae, Phrynesioi, and Pentele should also be assigned to Antiochis, as hamlets in this area; there may be a case for assigning Mygdaleza to Semachidai and placing Anakaia (ch. 30 n. 57) further W, closer to Dekeleia. (For Melainai and Klopidae see Lambert 1997a, F 10 B 17–20 and pp. 196–7; for Phrynesioi and Pentele see Traill 1975a, 92. Pentele would have been a hamlet of Kolonai, transferred with it from Antiochis to Ptolemais).

³⁴ Komonides, *IG* i³ 914; Komaïos, *APF* 8693, *IG* ii³ 4. 81. 70, Bugh 1988 II A 45; son, *Agora* XV 61. 330.

The Antiochis deme was transferred to Ptolemais in 224/3 with Pentele, which ought to indicate an area not too far from the mountain. Ano Souli may be a possible site for it.³⁵

Evidence for demesmen leads away from the deme site, wherever that was. Philippos son of Iasidemos I and his brother Iasidemos II (councillor c.350) probably lived in the city area; Philippos, attested as syntrierarch in (?) 366/5, dedicated a crown to the Twelve Gods and Agathe Tyche. Epicharinos son of Euthykrates, councillor in 334/3, may have lived on Salamis, since a descendant, Chairedemos (III) son of Epicharinos (II?) proposed a decree of the demos on the island c.250; Charikles and Chairedemos II, sons of Chairedemos I K., named in a list of orphans whose fathers died in (?) 411/10, may be earlier members of the family.³⁶

Eitea

A deme decree of Eitea passed in 332/1 was found at Grammatiko; it is much more likely to belong to Eitea-X than to the homonymous deme in Akamantis, a tribe that had no demes north of Pentelikon. Some slight support for the attribution of Eitea-X to this area is also supplied by the marriage of a sister of Hieron son of Melanopos (councillor for Eitea-X in 334/3) to a demesman and resident of Rhamnous.³⁷ Grammatiko had metal mines that were still worked

³⁵ See ch. 26 nn. 73, 78, on Hekale and Kolonai; a Kolonai is mentioned with Aphidnai, Acherdous, and Melainai in Euphorion's *Dionysos* (Barigazzi 1963). Possibly Kolonai-IV was at Kalentzi and Kolonai-X at Ano Souli (for finds in the latter area see ch. 31 n. 57). The reference in *IG* i³ 430. 43 to the sale of a pyrgos at Kolonai, belonging to one of the Hermokopidai, probably denotes a farmhouse with tower, and does not provide grounds for Traill's location (1986, 139) at Varnava; the tower at Varnava in any case is thought to be Frankish (Lohmann 1993a, 72; Lock 1986, Langdon 1995; Lohmann 1995, 516, however, mentions a late classical farm, cf. Traill 1986, 139 n. 42; note also Camp 1991, 201), and Kahrstedt (1932) thought that Varnava would be in the territory of Oropos (see however Ober 1985). Traill, loc. cit. n. 44, doubt whether remains at Kalentzi are enough for a deme (but in any case this is an area of small villages). On Philostratos of K. (we do not know which) see ch. 26 n. 78.

³⁶ Iasidemos II, *Agora* XV 22. 4; Philippos *APF* 14398 (dedication *IG* ii² 4564, misprint in *APF*). Epicharinos I, *IG* ii³ 4. 81. 63; Chairedemos III, ii² 1225. 1; Charikles and Chairedemos II, *Agora* XVI 106A, cf. Matthaiou 2011a, 71–81. Cf. also M. C. Taylor 1997.

³⁷ *AGC* 21, X8/Y7 no. 4. Deme decree, *SEG* 28. 102 (Schwenk 1985 no. 42, M. Meyer 1989a A 104, Lawton 1995 no. 43). Traill 1986, 140–2, wonders, on the basis of tomb monuments from Rhamnous that may belong to Eitea-V, whether both the demes called Eitea were in this area, but the stones in question are late Hellenistic, and by this period Rhamnous probably had a fairly mixed population. Hieros, *IG* ii³ 4. 81. 66 (erroneous date, *LPGN* no. 2); his sister Rhodanthi, *IG* ii² 6006. Note also Agariste daughter of Kephisokleides E., also buried at Rhamnous, *SEMA* 770 (ch. 31 n. 94); she may have been related to Sokrates son of Kephisokles of Eitea-X, councillor in (?) 335/4, *Agora* XV 43. 223–4. Cf. also *IRh* 190, land mortgaged to Aristonous E., 239/8 (Lysias). The restoration Mnesiergos [Boo]nos in *Agora* XV 72. 260 (Eitea-X) is questionable, since Boon father of Himeraios may have belonged to Eitea-V (*IG* ii³ 4. 7; ii³ 946. 4). On Sounieus son of Demetrios (II?) E. see Lambert 2010a.

until World War II, and has a river, which would fit the etymology connecting the deme name with *itea*, willow (cf. ch. 27 n. 11).

The deme had a sanctuary of Basile, in which its decree was to be set up by the tamias.³⁸ The proposer was Timokrates son of Timokles II, perhaps a descendant of the Timokles (I) E. who served as tamias in 423/2. The decree praised Hippokles son of Demokles for his *areté* and *dikaïosyné*, and awarded him a gold crown of 500 dr. His daughter Samakion was buried in the Kerameikos, perhaps with a mercenary cavalryman from Argos.³⁹

INLAND TRITTYS: SOUTH OF PENTELIKON

Pallene

The general position of Pallene in the valley between Hymettos and Pentelikon, through which the main route from Athens to the Mesogeia passes, is well established. Temple foundations near the church of Agios Athanasios, on the southwest end of Pentelikon, about $\frac{3}{4}$ kilometre north of the modern road, have been plausibly identified as belonging to the temple of Athena Pallenis. The area has a number of medieval and early modern churches in which ancient stones (some brought from Athens) have been re-used, and it is now largely covered by modern building; nevertheless, there is said to be evidence of ancient settlement in the area round the temple.⁴⁰

The earliest temple on the site is thought to date from the middle of the sixth century, and may have been built to commemorate Peisistratos' victory over his opponents c.548; offerings go back to the seventh century. Since the cult of Athena Pallenis drew its parasites from a wide area, one might have expected Pallene to become a large deme, perhaps incorporating a number of surrounding villages. However, this does not seem to have happened; Gargettos, c.3 miles from the temple site, became a separate deme.⁴¹

³⁸ Mines, *Ergon* 1995, 15. Basile: also worshipped at Erchia (ch. 24 n. 69), where she received a holocaust and wineless sacrifice on Boedromion 4, possibly in association with the Genesia; she may have represented Persephone in her role as queen of the underworld.

³⁹ Tamias, *LGPNTimokles* 16; 17, *SEG* 28. 45. 37, [Timo]kles father of [Timokr?]ates E., (very dubious restoration) belongs to V Akamantis. Samakion, *IG* ii² 6007, found with 8370 = *CAT* 1. 429, Menes son of Kallias of Argos, represented as an armed rider (Bergemann 1997, peribolos A19a).

⁴⁰ Map, Goette 1997, fig. 2; churches, Bouras a. o. 1969. Goette's lists of texts found in the area (cf. also Goette 1998) shows clearly that stones were brought from Athens (e.g. the text concerning Athenian relations with Phaselis, *IG* i³ 10, and a decree for a Thessalian, ii² 26; see Humphreys 2004, 156 n. 67 and ch. 22 n. 99 on the Kallias decrees i³ 52).

⁴¹ On the cult of Athena Pallenis, see preliminary reports on the archaeological material in Goette op. cit., and *BCH* 119, 1995, 856–8; *AD* 54 B 1, 105–11; 60 B 1, 2013, 134–7; Goette 2001, 236–7;

Prosopographically the deme is not particularly distinguished, although Ameinias P. served conspicuously as a trierarch at Salamis. The eponymous archon of 440/1, Morychides, was probably the father of Lysistratos Morychidou P., secretary to the treasurers of Athena in 425/4.⁴² Habronichos I P. had an aristocratic name, but his descendants do not seem particularly prominent; his son Aristoteles I, who served as diaitetes in 371/0 or 363/2, married Kleitomache daughter of Meidyliides of Otryne, and had three sons, one of whom, Aristodemos, father of the speaker of [Demosthenes] 44, worked as a herald in Piraeus. Aristoteles II son of Philippos P., councillor in 281/0, was probably a grandson of the speaker.⁴³

Teisarchos P., whose son appears in a diadikasia list of c.380, may have been the Teisarchos denounced by Teukros in 415 for involvement in parodying the Mysteries.⁴⁴

Philotades I P., hellenotamias in 430/29, was perhaps the father of Philostratos I, epistates under the restored democracy in 411/0, whose son Philotades II served as councillor in 354/3; another son, Nikostratos, was secretary in 363/2, and his son Philostratos II is attested as councillor and hieropoios in 335/4.⁴⁵

Kleopeithes son of Theopompos, councillor in 334/3, may be the son of Theopompos P. who as epimeletes of a religious association sold a chorion at Pallene in the hekatostai sales for 50 dr. The purchaser, [—c.5–7—]enes son of Charias, also belonged to Pallene;

Mes.-Arg. 309–16, 331–41. Though it might be claimed on the theory of D. M. Lewis (1963) that Pallene was deliberately ‘enclaved’ and separated from neighbouring demes in order to break local ties based on cult, the system of parasites appears to have been adjusted (or, if post-Kleisthenic, designed) to fit the deme system (R. Parker, 1996, 330–1, thinks that the range of demes involved had widened in (?) the 5th or early 4th c., but we have no firm evidence that it was originally narrow; if the archontes are thought to come from the demes originally involved, the inclusion of Acharnai shows that this was not merely a small local amphiktyony). On possible deme sites in the area of Charvati see ch. 24 n. 91; it seems more likely that they belonged to Aigeis, linking Gargettos with Teithras, than that they were assigned to Antiochis (as hamlets of Pallene or as Krioia and/or Eroiadai). There is also some uncertainty about the area between Pallene and Paiania.

⁴² Ameinias, *APF* 683; Morychides and Lysistratos, *AO* pp. 90, 130. Dedication commemorating victory of a Palleneus (name lost) with pyrrhichistai, Goette 2007, fig. 7.

⁴³ *APF* 5638; Aristoteles I, *IG* ii³ 4. 24. 20; Aristoteles II, *Agora* XV 72. 227 ([Dem.] 44. 10 gives the impression that the speaker did not have brothers and that his uncles, FB, were childless, but we should not necessarily believe him. Chs. 7 Case 12; 24 at nn. 17–18).

⁴⁴ *APF* 13467; Andok. 1. 15. Teisarchos Euph—, commemorated by a marble lekythos of the 4th c. found in the area of Ag. Ioannis Rentes (*SEMA* 2451), might be a descendant, in which case he may also be related to Euphiletos son of Euphranor P., (?) kleruch in mid-century, *IG* ii² 1927. 202–3 (cf. Humphreys 2010a; the name Teisarchos is also attested in Halimous, but there are no links there for the patronymic).

⁴⁵ Philotades I, *IG* i³ 281. 4; Philostratos I, [Plut.] *Mor.* 833d–834b; Philotades II, *IG* ii² 136. 10; Nikostratos, ii² 109 (M. J. Osborne 1981–3, D 11 etc.), *SEG* 21. 241, *ID* 88. 29–30; cf. grave stele of Archestrate wife of Nikostratos P., Skilardi 2005, 131–5, *CEG* 543, Korres 2009, 157 fig. 10. 17, and perhaps dedication to *Hera Gē[th]omenē* by Archestrate daughter of Euripides P., Peek 1942, 51 no. 79 (city). Philostratos II, *Agora* XV 43. 210, *IG* ii³ 416. 31–2, 58, 60 (it is not certain that the latter text refers to 335/4). Cf. possibly Nikostratos son of Gniphon, cursed on *SEG* 44. 226 (n. 24), whose brother Chairestratos was councillor in 334/3, *IG* ii³ 4. 81. 40; Chairestratos son of Thoucharion, kleruch (?) in mid-century, *IG* ii² 1927. 204 (Humphreys 2010a). Also on *SEG* 44. 226, Kallistratos son of Pausistratos, perhaps the Kallistratos P. who was diaitetes in 325/4, *IG* ii³ 4. 35. 165.

his brother Hieron contributed 250 dr. towards the payment of the naval debts of Konon III of Anaphlystos and others in 326/5. Their father, Charias son of Hieron, was honoured by an unidentified group c.350, and leased a mine in 350/49.⁴⁶

Another piece of property at Pallene, probably owned by a similar group, was bought by [—c.7–9—]pos son of Molpis P. for 100 dr.; since the name is rare, he was perhaps a descendant of the Molpis who was archon in Piraeus under the Thirty.⁴⁷

A scatter of grave monuments has been found in the general region of the deme,⁴⁸ but they provide little sociological information; most of our information on the activities and interests of demesmen comes from outside the deme. Nikon son of Autoboulos P., buried with a wife from Melite near the Sacred Way, had a daughter, Philesia, buried at Rhamnous with a husband (?) from Thorai; descendants were active on Delos in the second and first centuries BCE, and a later Nikon II son of Autoboulos II took part in the Pythais of 106/5. Kallippos P., named as creditor on a horos of the early fourth century found in the Agora, had a son or grandson, Kallippos II, who served as trierarch before 323; the Kallippos P. who was one of the witnesses of Theophrastos' will, c.287, was perhaps a younger member of the family. Lykinos P., a hanger-on of the general Timomachos of Acharnai, made a dedication in the city to Hermes Enagonios in the middle of the fourth century; either he or a homonym was trierarch before 323/2.⁴⁹

Leochares I son of Leokrates I P., who served as one of five epimeletai responsible for work on the temple of Zeus Soter in Peiraios, and was perhaps also the Leochares P. recorded as syntrierarch in (?) 366/5, may have been the father of the Leokrates (II) attacked by Lykourgos in 330. Leokrates II was unmarried, and therefore relatively young, when he left Athens (with a hetaira) in 338, after the battle of Chaironeia. His father had dedicated a bronze statue in the temple of Zeus Soter (Lykourgos I. 136). Lykourgos insists that

⁴⁶ Kleopeithes, *IG* ii³ 4. 81. 41; son of Theopompos and [—c.5–7—]enes, Lambert 1997a F 13 B 6–8; Hieron, *APF* 7545; Charias, *SEG* 32. 72 (from the Agora, *Agora* XVI 106 D; the proposer belonged to Trikorinthos), *Agora* XIX P 18. 16–17 (Charias Hieron[os Palleneus?]).

⁴⁷ Lambert 1997a F 13 B 3; *FGH* 324 F 11 (the name Molpis on a RF vase of the late 6th c., BArch 200531, may be fictional). On [Hippostra]tos son of Etea[rchides] P., whose father proposed *IG* ii³ 309, see Papazarkadas 2011, 306–7 no. 34.

⁴⁸ Aristion II son of Antiphanes P. was commemorated by a loutrophoros found at Koropi, *IG* ii² 7110; [Aris?]tion son of Aristonymos, antigrapheus in the first half of the fourth century (*IG* ii³ 4. 48. 67) may be his grandfather (FF), Aristonymos' daughter Aristion (*SEG* 51. 161) his FFZ, and Melisto daughter of Antiphanes, whose kioniskos was re-used in a church at Irakli, his sister. Another sister, Pamphile, made a dedication to Asklepios (ii² 4411) at the end of the 4th c. (Aleshire 1991, no. 11522). The rosette stele of Phanodike daughter of Glaukon P. (before 350, ii² 7132) was found at Koropi, but her brother Eidas was buried in the Kerameikos (ii² 7133 with Peek 1942 no. 373, cippus, mid 4th c.). The stone of Theophanes P. was found (with ii² 5947, for a Gargettian) on a hill with two chapels, N of the point where the Mesogeia road passes the N spur of Hymettos (see Goette 1997, no. 13 = Peek 1942 no. 179, *SEMA* 538). Note also (in addition to further stones in ii²) *CAT* I. 289 = *SEMA* 534, Euthesion P., relief stele of youth with rabbit and dog; *SEMA* 743, daughter of Thrasyboulos P., from Koropi. On the stele of Demainetos De— of (?) Pallene, from the Liopesi–Markopoulo road, see ch. 25 n. 22. This was an area in which stones were moved quite extensively for postclassical building.

⁴⁹ Nikon *IG* ii² 7129; Philesia, cf. *SEG* 22. 177; Nikon II, *FD* III (2) 9. 12 (non-gennete); see also *LGP*N Nikon 84–5, Dionysios 594–5. Kallippos I, *Agora* XIX H 100; Kallippos II, *APF* 8079; Kallippos (?) III, D. L. 5. 57. Lykinos, [Dem.] 50. 53, ii² 4572, *APF* 9207 (*APF* and *LGP*N regard the trierarch as a younger man).

Leokrates' income was derived from owning a bronze-smith's workshop, but he evidently also had connections in maritime trade, which he exploited during his years of absence from Athens. The family probably lived in Piraeus. Leochares II, archon in 228/7, will be a descendant.⁵⁰

Archebios son of Archenautes P., councillor in 334/3, is probably the Archebios P. who served as proedros in Samos in 346/5, and as councillor about the same period; Archeneos, attested in the same Samian council list, and Archonides, another kleruch, may belong to the same family (a descendant, Chaireas son of Archeneos, proposed a decree for a friend of Ptolemy III in 226/5, and his son Archonides had proposed a decree concerning relations with Attalos of Pergamon in 229/8).⁵¹

Other members of the deme moved within Attika. Kephisios son of Kephisodemos I P. freed a slave bailiff or farmhand (*geórgos*) living at Hagnous, in the Lykourgan period,⁵² and at least one of the two demesmen called Epikrates had mining interests, owning land at Nape and heading a syndicate that in the 330s was exploiting one of the most profitable mines in the region; it came under attack for operating illegally. Rumour had it that he was worth 600 talents (3,600,000 dr.). He may have been the Epikrates who proposed the arrangements for the new ephebic system, c.335.⁵³

COASTAL TRITTYS

Strabo lists Aigilia and Thorai as coastal demes, and I include them here in the coastal trittys, though this makes the trittys a large one, occupying a continuous stretch of territory from modern Phoinikia to the Legrainia valley, and appointing twenty-seven councillors in the fourth century. Anaphlystos, Amphitrophé, and Besa all contained mines, and may have registered immigrants as demesmen in

⁵⁰ Leochares I, *IG* ii² 1669. 3; *APF* p. 344; see Humphreys 1985*a*, n. 40. Leokrates' sisters were married by 338 (ch. 7 Case 12), so the sibling-group will have been born in the 360–350s. Leochares II, *LGP*N no. 17.

⁵¹ Archebios, *IG* ii³ 4. 81. 38, *IG* xii 6. 261, 262 X 17; Archeneos, *ibid.* 16; Archonides I, *IG* xii 6. 252. 5; Chaireas, *IG* ii³ 1146. 9 (Paschidis 2008 A 74); Archonides II, ii³ 1136. 8.

⁵² *SEG* 18. 36 A 110; Kephisios I's (?) grandsons Kephisios II and Timokrates, sons of Kephisodemos II, served as ephebes in 266/5, *IG* ii³ 917 III 63–4 (Nikias Otryne).

⁵³ See discussion in *APF* 4909. Epikrates son of Menestratos P. served as amphiktyon on Delos in 377/6–375/4 and as diaitetes in (?) 371/0 (*IG* ii² 1635. 10, ii³ 4. 24. 27); he probably proposed *ID* 88. 15, a decree for Pythodoros of Delos, in 369/8. Either he or Epikrates son of —otes owned land at Nape in 367/6, *Agora* XIX P 5. 70–71, and is attested as syntrierarch between 356 and 346. It is not certain that the Epikrates who in 354/3 proposed a law instituting a tax on money-changing, the proceeds from which were to be used for sacrifices for Hephaistos (Dem. 24. 26–9, Faraguna 1992, 345; *Agora* I 7495, unpublished), belonged to Pallene; even if this law is thought to be prompted by mining interests—which is not obvious—an Epikrates son of Isokrates of Euonymon is also attested as a registrant and lessee of mines, *LGP*N no. 56. Epikrates son of —otes was councillor in 335/4, *Agora* XV 43. 214; he is presumably the E. of Pallene who was prosecuted for mining offences (Hyp. 4 *Eux.* 35); and should therefore be the Epikrates who proposed the ephebic law, who reputedly owned 600 T. (Harpokration s.v. *Epikrates*).

the early decades of the Kleisthenic system, since there was an expansion of mining activity from the 480s onward. The precise assignation of sites to demes within the area is contested; problems will be discussed deme by deme, but it may be noted here that the main difficulties concern Thorai (and Aigilia), where the text of Strabo requires emendation, and Amphitrope, placed by many scholars at Metropisi, but by Lohmann in the southern part of the Legraina valley.⁵⁴

Aigilia

Traill (1986) places Aigilia at Phoinikia, which would give it the coastal plain northwest of Mt Olymbos, with the Lagonisi peninsula and a site near its base with Bronze Age fortifications, Katsoulieri. The plain has yielded archaic grave monuments, including the well-known statue-base of Kroisos.⁵⁵ A dedication that made its way to Kalyvia Kouvaras (Prospalta) may also have been set up in the deme; the text records that Timosthenes son of Meixonides I A. and his sons Meixonides II and Kleostratos erected a statue (*agalma*) and [altar] to Dionysos to commemorate their victory (or victories) as choregoi in the Rural Dionysia. Timosthenes was not a deme resident, but a trader, a client of the banker Pasion of Acharnai, with whom he deposited money (or other valuables) and two silver Lycian cups weighing 237 dr., in 372/1; he testified for Pasion's son Apollodoros concerning this transaction in 362.⁵⁶

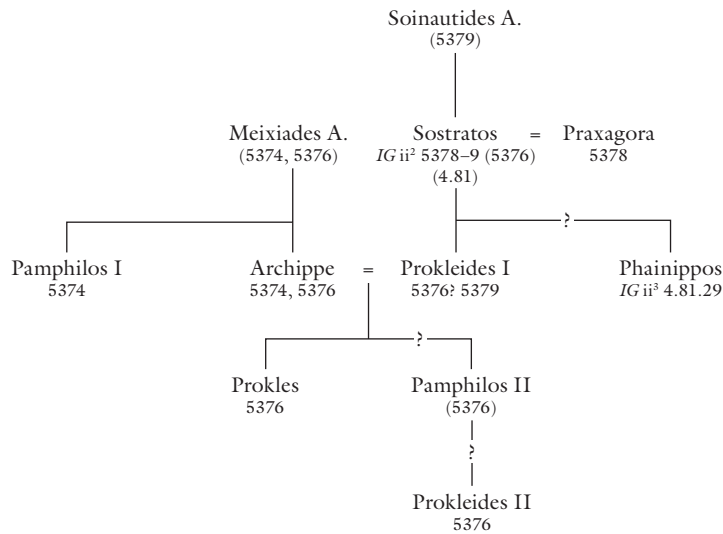
Meixonides' family may possibly have been affinally linked to another Aigilian group, known from a collection of monuments that probably stood on a single plot in the Kerameikos.⁵⁷ It seems to have contained the graves of Sostratos son of Sonautides A. and his wife Praxagora, their son Prokleides I (see Table 32.2), his wife Archippe daughter of Meixiades A., Archippe's brother Pamphilos I, Prokles, son of Prokleides I and Archippe, and Prokleides II son of Pamphilos, either Archippe's nephew (BS) or perhaps her grandson (SS). Phainippos son of Sostratos A., councillor in 334/3, may have been a brother of Prokleides I.

⁵⁴ Nn. 60, 103.

⁵⁵ Traill 1986, 144–6; Traill assumes that Thorai, at Trapouria, had no coast, but see below, n. 60. Philippou-Angelou 2000 puts A. at Pheriza, WSW of Olymbos. Archaeological data, see Mersch 1996, 175–6 (grave-lined road, Lauter 1993, 111 n. 349; MBA fortifications at Katsoulieri, Lohmann 1993a, 65 n. 471); Kroisos base, *IG* i³ 1240 (540–30), Kakavogianne and Petrocheilos 2013, Thonemann 2016, Mersch p. 34; *AD* 56–59 B 1 370–1, burials. Megakles Sogenidou A. on an ostrakon, Brenne 2001 no. 169.

⁵⁶ *IG* ii³ 4. 502 (Agelidis 2009 no. 62); the name of Kleostratos suggests a possible (affinal?) link with Kleostrate daughter of Nausistratos A., named on a curse tablet with her father, her brother Nikonymos, and others (Table 14.2), *SEG* 24. 262. Timosthenes, [Dem.] 49. 31–3. Kleostratos served as secretary in 343/2, *IG* ii³ 306–8. Aigilian tombstones from Piraeus, *IG* ii² 5369, 5375, 5380.

⁵⁷ Bergemann 1997, peribolos A 6a (*IG* ii² 5376, *CAT* 3. 460). The link is suggested by the name Meixiades; Meixippos A, commemorated c.350 by a relief stele of unknown provenance, ii² 5372 = *CAT* 2. 368d, may also be connected.



Note: The name of Prokleides II was added to ii² 5376; the reconstruction above seems to me more likely than that he was a son of Pamphilos I.

TABLE 32.2. Aigilia: Soinautides

Another councillor of that year, Archedemos son of Pheidiades A., is named on a horos found on the Akropolis as creditor for 500 dr. secured on a house. He served as diaitetes in 325/4, and was thus 51 when he was a councillor.⁵⁸

The richest and most prominent member of the deme in the Lykourgan period was clearly Klearchos II son of Nausikles I. Nausikles, son of Klearchos I of Oe, appears to have been adopted into Aigilia, perhaps as son of an epikleros, and to have returned subsequently to his deme of origin, leaving his son Klearchos II to take his place in his adoptive family. Klearchos seems to have inherited from his genitor as well as his pater; he served as co-trierarch with his genitor in 334/3. He is attested again as trierarch, in his own right, in 326/5, and was a member of the Pythais sent to Delphi, probably in that year; he was one of the ambassadors sent to Nikanor in 318 (cf. Paschidis 2008 A 9). Goette (1989) has argued that an impressive monument set up in the Kerameikos area *c.*325 for a man who had received seventeen crowns during his lifetime may have been set up by Klearchos in 325 to commemorate Nausikles. Some of the family's wealth may have come from mining.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ *IG* ii³ 4. 81. 31; horos, *IG* ii² 2730 = Finley 1952 no. 77 (a good example of the movement of stones to the Akropolis); diaitetes, ii³ 4. 35. 168.

⁵⁹ *APF* 10552, chs. 28 n. 76; 2 n. 67 on adoption. By this date Nausikles could perhaps have bequeathed his estate to Klearchos by will, without adopting him, if there were no counter-claimants in a position to make strong objections; if Goette (1989) is correct in his interpretation of *IG* ii² 3206 (there are problems concerning the form of the monument, and one would like to know where the crowns were dedicated), it would have been an astute move for Klearchos to bolster his claim to the estate by a conspicuous act of filial piety. Mining: see *APF*. The only other members of Aigilia attested as having mining interests—in both cases as landowners, in 367/6—are Kleokritos, *Agora* XIX P 5. 46, and Pyrrhakos, *ibid.* 80. Pyrrhakos may have had links with Delos, see ch. 20 n. 82.

Thorai

Strabo locates the Astypalaia peninsula, evidently that of Agios Nikolaos at the entrance to the Anavyssos bay, after Thorai, which should mean that there were some coastal hamlets on the eastern side of Mt Olymbos that were attached to that deme; its main centre was perhaps at Trapouria, north of the mountain.⁶⁰

Eupolis Th. is named on one early ostrakon. A Kleitophon Th. was general in 441/0; possibly the moderate oligarch of 412/1, Kleitophon son of Aristonymos, belonged to the same family.⁶¹ Aristoteles son of Timokrates had had a relatively successful career under the democracy, being elected general for 431/0 and (?) nauarchos for 426/5, but had also served as general under the Four Hundred in 411; he may have been the Aristoteles who was a member of the Thirty.⁶² By 412 Konon of Anaphlystos was becoming a rival for military office, a threat to the ambitions of Aristoteles, and perhaps also of his fellow-demesman Drakontides son of Leogoras, who had served as general in 433/2.⁶³

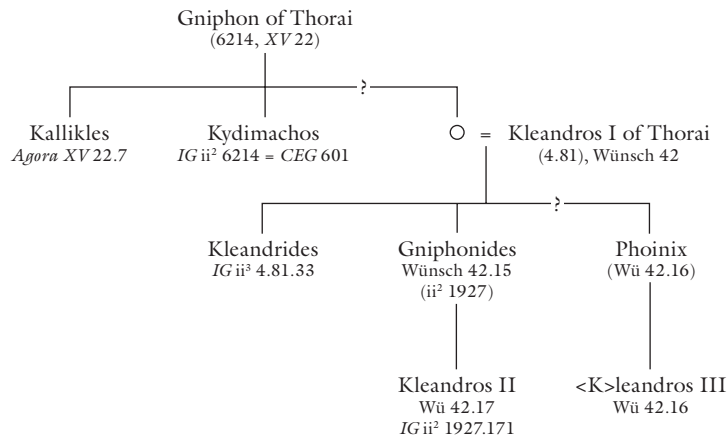
One family group can be reconstructed in some detail (see Table 32.3). Gniphon Th. had two sons, Kallikles, councillor c.350, and Kydimachos, commemorated by a stele with an epigram saying that he reached old age and lived to see grandchildren. They may also have had a sister who married Kleandros I of Thorai, since the latter is named on a curse tablet with his son Gniphonides, his SS Kleandros II, <K>leandros son of Phoinix, perhaps a kinsman, and another demesman of Thorai, Euxenos; Kleandros II is recorded as (?) kleruch

⁶⁰ See Traill 1986, 144–6; Lauter 1980 (234–5, evidence for habitation on the coast). Traill locates Thorai at Trapouria and thinks it had no coast, but this is inconsistent with the argument from Strabo's account of the relation between Thorai and Astypalaia (9. 1. 21/C 398). There is a Hellenistic sanctuary in the hills above Trapouria (Lauter; possibly already used in 4th c.? cf. ch. 26 n. 81). It is agreed by most scholars that Strabo's text must be emended to place Thorai next to Aigilia and not between Anagyrous and Lamptrai (ch. 23 n. 60).

⁶¹ Eupolis, *Agora XXV* no. 112; Brenne 2001, 83. Kleitophon, *FGH* 324 F 38; K. son of Aristonymos, *A.P.* 29. 3, 34. 3, with P. J. Rhodes 1981*a* (associated with Theramenes, and with Sokrates); a later Aristonymos Th., Bugh 1988 II B 28 (Melite is another possible affiliation for the oligarch, see *LGPN* Kleitophon 16).

⁶² Aristoteles; also hellenotamias in 421/0 (see *AO*, s.v.) and named on an ostrakon from the Kerameikos (Brenne 2001, 36, Arist[oteles] Timokratos). Cf. Aristagora daughter of Aristoteles of [Thor]ai, *IG* ii² 7834a = *Agora XVII* 140, c.300 (kioniskos). In 426/5, when Aristoteles possibly held a naval command, Hipponikos of Alopeke was serving as general from X Antiochis (Mattingly 1997 suggests that the —les Timokratous of 426/5 may have belonged to Rhamnous).

⁶³ Konon was perhaps already general in 414/3, see *APF* 13700. Drakontides, *APF* 4551; he was councillor and epistates in 446/5, so perhaps too old to be a competitor of Konon. There may have been an affinal link with Drakontides of Bate, of the Eteoboutidai. Note also Amy[n]andros? Th., possibly a member of the Amyndridai, *IG* ii² 6210 (mid 4th c., no provenance); ch. 20 n. 38.



Note: Prokles son of Gniphon I, *IG* ii² 12523 (relief of galloping horse-men: phylarch dedication?) and his son Gniphon II, *Agora* XIX L 10.44 (guarantor), may belong to Phlya, cf. *APF* 14339 with Habicht 1997.

TABLE 32.3. Thorai: Gniphon

in mid-century. Another son of Kleandros I, Kleandrides, was councillor in 334/3.⁶⁴

A relief stele, of unknown provenance, seems to have been set up in the second half of the fourth century to commemorate Demophilos son of Demetrios Th.; the names of his sister Demetria, his father, and his brother Boulis were added, and at the time of the latter's death two of the sculptured figures were identified by the names Protonoe (Demetrios' wife?) and Boulis. Boulis served as councillor in 328/7.⁶⁵

Antiphates Th., who served as syntrierarch before 356 and incurred a debt paid in 342/1 by Onomakles of Hekale, may possibly be attested as a kleruch on Samos c.350, with a Herm[o]kle[s] whose name recurs in Antiochis in the late second century.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ The maritime metaphor in Kydimachos' epigram ('sailing to a prosperous and fortunate harbour in life'), and the reference to burial in his native land, seem to imply a life of travel, as a mercenary or trader. Curse tablet, Wünsch 1897, 42 (dated 4th c. by Wilhelm 1904, 14; I do not know why *LPGN* Euxenos 25 dates it 3rd c.); only Euxenos has a demotic, either to distinguish him from a homonym, Euxenos son of Keton, or to make clear to the powers below the target indicated by the abusive expression 'son of the sea-monster' (cf. 'Lionface', l. 20). Of the other men named on the tablet, Konon (*LPGN* 56) may be Konon III of Anaphlystos; Kydias might have belonged to Halimous, and Thallos (*LPGN* 29) to Lamptrai. A Nikostratos son of Gniphon appears on another curse tablet, *SEG* 44. 226, but he may have belonged to Pallene, n. 45, or Phlya, ch. 29 n. 84 (the demotic and patronymic of Kleandros II are supplied by *IG* ii² 1927).

⁶⁵ *IG* ii² 6212 = *CAT* 3. 470a; Scholl 1996 no. 356 (dating the stele and relief in the 320s; ii² has it in mid-century). Boulis, *IG* ii³ 360. 17, ii³ 357 (redated to 328/7; see *AO* p. 397, Schwenk 1985 no. 53).

⁶⁶ *APF* 1259; in *IG* xii 6. 262 X 28 we may have the demotic Th[or]a[ieis]; l. 30 Anti[phates?].

Eudemos Th. appears on a mining inscription of the early fifth century, and the daughter of a demesman of Thorai may have married Timesios of Sounion, who owned property in Nape.⁶⁷

Anaphlystos

A location in the area round the bay of modern Anavyssos is not in doubt, but there is some question how much of the plain the deme controlled; part of the inland end perhaps belonged to Phrearrhioi. The sea level may have risen since antiquity.

On the west side of the bay and plain, the peninsula of Agios Nikolaos was occupied in the early and middle Bronze Age, but it is unclear whether there is evidence of use in the classical period.⁶⁸ The hill Velaturi/Vigla, projecting southeastwards into the plain from Olymbos, may have been the site of a settlement. There is more extensive evidence of activity, especially from burials, further north at Agios Panteleimon, at the southern end of the valley of Olymbos; it is likely that there was a village in this area, but it may have belonged to Phrearrhioi rather than Anaphlystos. The same is true of remains at Mokrisa and Ari, at the northeast end of the plain.⁶⁹ Further S on the E side, however, in the valleys between Mesochori and Kataphygi, there are burial areas, in use from the eighth century, and farms, that should belong to Anavyssos; there may have been a deme centre in the area of Agios Georgios—from which we have a fourth-century dedication to Hermes—and/or Nea (Palaia) Phokaia.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Eudemos, *SEG* 37. 39 (re-used as cover for a grave of the first half of the 5th century); wife (?) of Timesios, *SEG* 54. 337, *SEMA* 611; Table 26.9. There is presumably a connection with the kioniskos *Agora* XVII 139 = *IG* ii² 6210a, Amphikrateia daughter of Menon of Thorai.

⁶⁸ Lohmann 1993a, 60–6; the grave monuments *IG* i³ 1242–3 were found on the Agios Nikolaos peninsula, but may have moved there in postclassical times.

⁶⁹ Vigla: Mersch 1996, no. 9. 7. Ag. Panteleimon, *ibid.* no. 2, ch. 26 n. 81. Lohmann 1993a, 66–70, argues that Anaphlystos, with more than one habitation nucleus, was the only deme in the plain. In addition to the necropolis excavated c.1965–73 there are archaic periboloi (Arapogianni 1991) and an unpublished classical farm. See also Lohmann 1984; Traill 1986, 146; *AD* 49 B 1, 1994 (1999), 67–8. The territory of Anaphlystos did include some mines, e.g. *Agora* XIX P 26. 275–6, 288. On Mokrisa and Ari see ch. 26 n. 81; Lohmann 1993a, 74–9; *AD* 60 B 1, 2005 (2013), 183–8.

⁷⁰ Mersch 1996 nos. 9. 4–5 (cf. no. 3, tumuli near Ag. Georgios), burial-mounds apparently constructed over graves of the 8th c. and remaining in use for further burials through the 6th c. (ch. 10 n. 9); cf. Lohmann 1993a, 69, unpublished burial area. Farms, Lohmann, *ibid.* Ag. Georgios and Nea Phokaia, see Pritchett 1965, 135–7; deme centre in this area, walls earlier identified as harbour works may have been on land in antiquity due to rise in sea-level (presumably seismic); possibly site of the fort mentioned by Xen. *Poroi* 4. 43; Lohmann, 66–70, doubts sea-level change, says there is no evidence of fortification here and Vigla is a more likely location. Dedication to Hermes, early 4th c., by a Lysandros, *IG* ii² 4550. There is also cult evidence from two caves and (?) a hill site near Palaia Fokaia (Mersch, 9. 8–9).

In general one can say that the area was already (re)settled by c.950, and had conspicuous grave monuments in the sixth century. Rivalries between local leading families may have produced the tribe-alignments of the Kleisthenic system,⁷¹ in which Phrearrhioi joined Sounion and the Potamos demes in Leontis, while Aigilia, Thorai, Atene, Besa, and Amphitrope were grouped with Anaphlystos.

An archaic dedication from Anavyssos was perhaps set up by a cult group, and there seems also to have been a phratry in the area. So far there is no record of collective activity by the deme.⁷² The only reference to its eponymous hero, Anaphlystos, tells us that he and Sphettos were the sons of Troizen; this genealogy perhaps suggests the period of the late fourth and early third century, when references were made to the reception of Athenian refugees in Troizen at the time of Xerxes' invasion.⁷³

Two families of Anaphlystos are attested as prominent in the fifth century, those of Timotheos I (Table 31.6) and of Tolmaios. Timotheos I son of Konon I dedicated a bronze statue on the Akropolis in the 450s; his father Konon I may well have been the eponymous archon of 462/1. Konon II, son of Timotheos I, may have held his first major command as strategos in 414/3, and served again frequently between 410/9 and 405/4. He survived the battle of Aigospotamoi and escaped to Cyprus, where with the help of King Evagoras of Salamis he gained command of a new Persian fleet in 397, and used it to combat Sparta in the Aegean; he returned to Athens in 393 and, using Persian money and private resources, rebuilt the Long Walls linking Athens and Piraeus. Evagoras and his descendants had already been granted Athenian citizenship c.407, and one of them seems to have registered in Anaphlystos, so Konon's links with the royal family may have begun before that date.⁷⁴

⁷¹ PG burial, Mersch 1996 no. 9. 1. Archaic monuments (cf. above, Aigilia, n. 55), *IG* i³ 1241, 1245 Olympos, 1242–3 Ag. Nikolaos, 1242 *bis* Vontas, 1244 near Ag. Panteleimon; Mersch no. 9. 14 Vlachika/Mandria; cf. below n. 99 (Besa), archaic mother/child relief fragment, which may possibly have moved up from a burial in the plain? (Mastrokostas 1974; ch. 21 p. 5: was part of the plain already linked with Sounion in the naukraric system? ch. 18 at nn. 96–101).

⁷² *IG* i³ 972, see ch. 20 n. 45; Faraguna 2015, 650; phratry, ch. 19 n. 7.

⁷³ Paus. 2. 30. 9; one would like to attribute the genealogy to Philochoros, a demesman of Anaphlystos who sympathized with the anti-Macedonian policy of Kallias and Phaidros of Sphettos (ch. 27 n. 25). However, discussion of the evacuation of Athenians to Troizen went back to the 320s, when Troizenian refugees were taken in and granted citizenship at Athens (Hyp. 3 *Athenogenes* 32–3, cf. M. J. Osborne 1981–3 T 72). Cf. also *IG* ii² 2796 + Peek 1942 no. 49, a decree of the demos of Troizen for Hagnonides son of Nikoxenos (of Pergase), who would have visited Troizen during his exile in 319/8, and ii² 971, reference to a decree proposed by Stratokles of Diomeia (c.307–300) granting citizenship to a Troizenian. The inscription of the Themistokles decree (M/L 23) on a stone set up at Troizen, dated to the early 3rd c. by its letter-forms (Habicht 1961a, cf. Knoepfler 2010c), may belong to the period after (?) c.272, when Spartan troops drove a Macedonian garrison out of the city (Tarn 1912, 163).

⁷⁴ *APF* 13700. Timotheos' dedication, *IG* i³ 863; Keesling 2003, 253–4 n. 13; new fragment, *SEG* 36. 146. Restoration in *SEMA* 113 very dubious. On the relation between Konon and Evagoras see Lewis and Stroud 1979; *IG* i³ 113 = M. J. Osborne 1981–3, D 3 and D 86. The Cypriote name Pnytagoras,

Timotheos II, who also had a successful military career, owned a house in Peiraios and a farm in the plain near Athens; either he or his son Konon III also acquired a large house in the city. Konon III might be the Konon of A— who appears in the mining records as owning property in Sounion, and the Konon who owned an ergasterion in Anaphlystos, an ergasterion on the Bambideios hill, and property at Thrasymos; the Konon son of Konon who registered a mine at Amphitrope c.320–19 may be his son (but see ch. 26 at n. 66). Konon III is attested frequently as trierarch in the period c.356–326/5, and served as general for Piraeus in 334/3 and 333/2 (his ancestry, rather than his own record, perhaps making him a suitable figure for the early years of the ephebate); he went with Phokion and Klearchos I of Aigilia as ambassador to Nikanor in 319/8. It has been suggested that he had a daughter who married Demetrios of Phaleron.⁷⁵

Autokles son of Tolmaios seems to have been somewhat older than Konon II; he served as general in 425/4, 424/3, and 418/7, and may have been elected also in the intervening years, for which no other general from Antiochis is attested. He may have been a younger relative of Tolmides son of Tolmaios, who was general repeatedly between 457 and 447. A daughter of Autokles may perhaps have married Strombichides I of Euonymon (general in (?) 413/2 and 412/1) and transmitted her father's name to a son. Autokles II son of Hippon A., councillor in 304/3 and creditor on a horos for a loan of 2200 dr., was presumably a descendant of the general; Autokleides A., councillor (?) during the Lykourgan period, may also belong to the family.⁷⁶

Since potters did not usually include demotics in their signatures, a red-figure krater of c.410–400 representing a torch-race, in which the leading runner wears a headdress with the name of the tribe Antiochis, signed by Nikias son of Hermokles of Anaphlystos, is an interesting example of pride in tribal victory.

borne by Evagoras' eldest son, occurs twice in Athens: a doctor, Aristokrates son of Pnytagoras, was commemorated by an epigram in the early 4th c. (*CEG* 500, *SEMA* 1581, no provenance), and Philokrates son of Pnyta[goras] of Anaphlystos served as councillor in 304/3 (*Agora* XV 61. 317). The doctor, if he belonged to Evagoras' family, would perhaps be a brother rather than a grandson of the king. On the name see Masson 1956.

⁷⁵ *APF*, loc. cit.; cf. March 2008. The expensive *pyrgos* of Timotheos (Ar. *Plout.* 190) is perhaps more likely to be a farm than part of the Long Walls (as suggested in *APF*). Konon's associate Aristophanes son of Nikophemos (Lys. 19, *APF* 595) may also have belonged to A.; cf. Aristophanes A., trierarch at Samos in 410/9, *APF* 2086, and Nikophemos A., councillor in 304/3, *Agora* XV 61. 320. On Konon III see also Paschidis 2008 A 8.

⁷⁶ Autokles, *APF* 2717; Strombichides, *ibid.* 4386, see Table 16.1; Autokles II, *Agora* XV 61. 311, *IG* ii² 2693 = Finley 1952 nos. 19–20; Autokleides, *Agora* XV 46. 66. Autokles' horos was found at Keratea; either Autokles originally lent 2200 dr. (on a house and land; not 1200 as *APF*) and subsequently half the loan was paid off and Aris[tophon?] of Teithras became joint creditor with Autokles, or Autokles and Aris[tophon?] made a joint loan of 1100 dr. and Autokles was subsequently persuaded to take full responsibility and double the loan. He would probably be the general's SSS or SSSS.

Nikias' son Diotimos was commemorated by a stele of c.360. Theodotos son of Nikias II A., if he was a kleruch in mid-century, may be a brother of Diotimos.⁷⁷

In contrast and perhaps in conscious opposition to the families of Konon and Autokles, which profited from democracy and empire, a fellow-demesman, Pythodoros son of (?) Polyzelos, was formally responsible for setting up the rule of the Four Hundred; he may also have prosecuted Protagoras.⁷⁸

On the other hand, Pyrrhandros (II) A., ambassador to Thebes in 378, may have been selected for this role because his family had made contacts in Boiotia in 404/3. He was still alive in 330, and since the name is not so far attested in any other deme he was probably the Pyrrhandros who made a dedication, perhaps to Asklepios, in the middle of the century. The Pyrrhandros who died in battle c.411, though his demotic is unknown, could well have been the ambassador's grandfather.⁷⁹

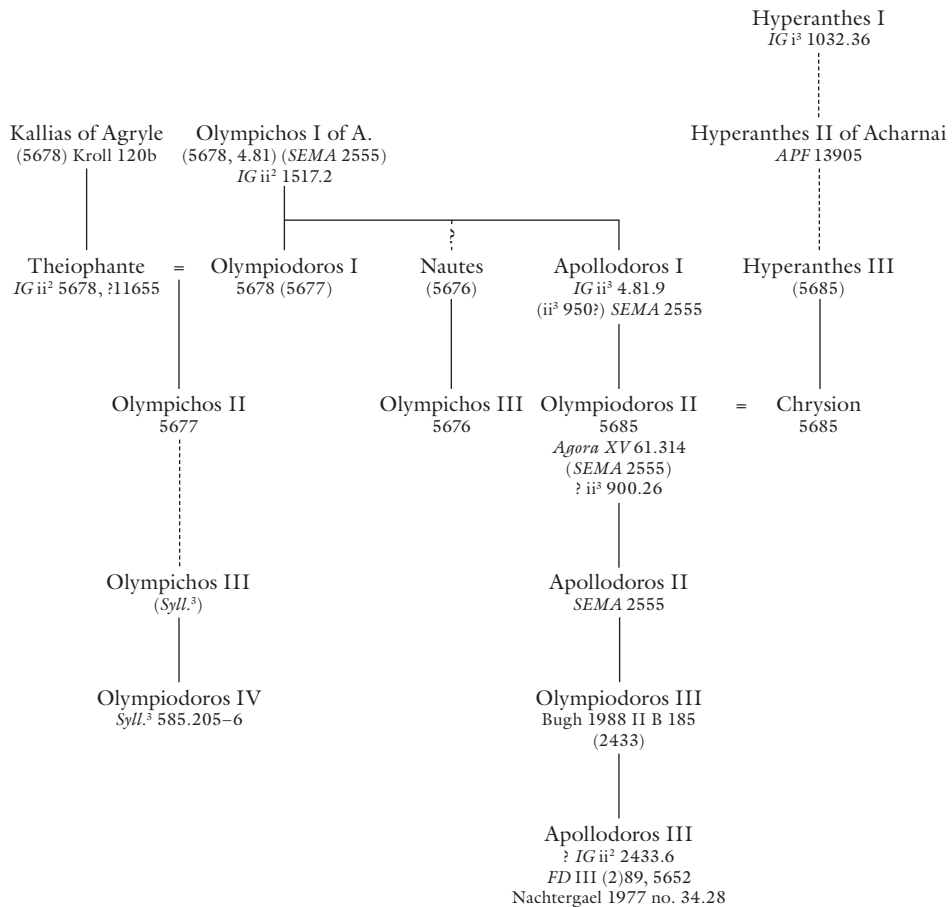
Anaphlystos' last political figure, in our period, is the historian and mantis Philochoros II. His father Kyknos son of Philochoros I served as councillor in 334/3; since the name is rare, he may perhaps have been a grandson (DS) of Kyknos of Rhamnous (the father of Diogeiton). A family connection with northeast Attika might help to explain the historian's interest in the Marathon Tetrapolis. The historian's penchant for old institutions and early history was combined with fervent anti-Macedonian patriotism, for which he lost his life after the Chremonidean War. He had a brother called Demetrios, who made a dedication in Piraeus in the late fourth century, and who may have been a councillor in 281/0.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Krater, BM 98.7-16.6, BArch 217462. Diotimos, *IG* ii² 5662 (no provenance); Theodotos, ii² 1927. 190-1, see Humphreys 2010a. His fellow-demesman Kalliades son of Mnesiphanes (1927. 188-9) may well be the father of Theosebeia daughter of Kalliades A., named with her husband Thoutimos son of Aristogeiton of Aphidnai on a stele dated between c.340 and 317 (both names inscribed in same hand so probably simultaneously, ii² 5752).

⁷⁸ *A.P.* 29. 1-3; see P. J. Rhodes 1981a, 370, 437.

⁷⁹ Pyrrhandros A., *IG* ii² 43. 76-7 (also to Byzantion, ii² 41. 20, in the same year, with different colleagues, and proposer of ii² 44 concerning alliance with Chalkis). Dedication, ii² 4384 (not included in the Asklepios dossier by Aleshire 1991); still alive in 330, Aisch. 3. 139. He spoke in an Assembly debate in 347/6 (*AO* p. 322). Pyrrhandros I, *IG* i³ 1190. 8. A speech attributed to Hypereides 'concerning the estate of Pyrrhandros' (F XLIX/160 Jensen 1917) contained a reference to the ill-treatment (*kakôsis*) of parents or epikleroi; if this is our Pyrrhandros, perhaps there are allegations that he had been ill-treated by his children (any daughter of P. would not technically have become an epikleros until his death, by which time she would probably be over 50 and have adult children).

⁸⁰ Jacoby, comm. *FGH* 328 (III B Suppl. I-II; on the suggested connection with Kleidemos see ch. 29 n. 10). Kyknos, *IG* ii³ 4. 81. 7, 71-5; Kyknos (?) of Rhamnous, *IG* ii² 1927. 153-4 (see Humphreys 2010a). Demetrios, ii² 3835. Demetrios A., *Agora* XV 72. 238; we also have as councillors in 334/3 two other men called Demetrios from A., sons of Pythippos and of Kallippos (*IG* ii³ 4. 81. 8, 14), and the councillor of 281/0 may be a grandson of one of these. Kyknos may have married the daughter of one of them.



Note: Dow 1983 considered IG ii² 2433 ‘almost certainly ephebic’, so the entry here is perhaps [Apollodoros] III rather than Apollodoros II.

TABLE 32.4. Anaphlystos: Olympichos

We can partially reconstruct two relatively large Anaphlystos lineages, both probably based in the city area (see Table 32.4). The first is known mainly from a group of grave-monuments from the Kerameikos, which may well have stood in a single peribolos. Olympichos I perhaps had three sons: Olympiodoros I, commemorated in the middle of the fourth century with his wife Theiophante daughter of Kallias of Agryle (their son Olympichos II was also buried in the Kerameikos); Nautes, whose son Olympichos III was buried in the Kerameikos in the late fourth century; and Apollodoros I, who served as councillor in 334/3. Apollodoros’ son Olympiodoros II served in the council in 304/3, and descendants appear as ephebes and members of the cavalry in the third century. Olympiodoros II was probably the husband of ChrySION daughter of Hyperanthes III of Acharnai, who came from a trierarchic family.⁸¹

⁸¹ Cavalry, Bugh 1988 II B 185, Olympiodoros A., c.250. Other cavalry families in A.: CAT 3. 210, a lekythos representing a Charias with a horse, a standing young woman, Hippostrata, and

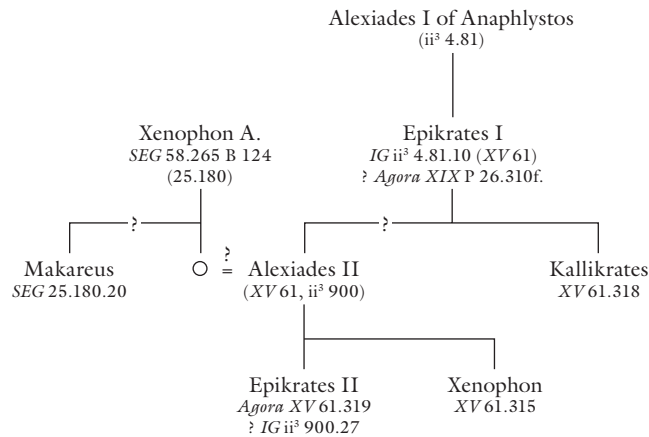
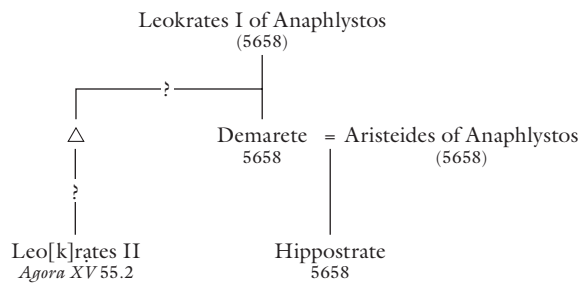


TABLE 32.5. Anaphlystos: Alexiades



Note: Eurymaides A. and Charias A., both named on *IG* ii² 5658, set up to commemorate Demostrate, may possibly be an earlier husband and son.

TABLE 32.6. Anaphlystos: Leokrates

The other sizeable lineage stems from Alexiades I (see Table 32.6). His son Epikrates I served as councillor in 334/3, perhaps late in life; he may be the Epikrates son of A—who registered a mine at Thrasykos c.340. He seems to have had two sons, Alexiades II (only attested indirectly in the patronymics of his sons) and Kallikrates, councillor in 304/3. Two sons of Alexiades II, Epikrates II and Xenophon II, were councillors in that year, and Epikrates II may have served a second term in 273/2. Xenophon II probably

an old man, Eurymaides, should probably be linked with *IG* ii² 5658, a stele from Liopesi set up for Demarete daughter of Leokrates of Anaphlystos, but also naming Aristideides A., his daughter Hippostrate, Charias A., and Eurymaides A. Demarete seems to have been Aristideides' wife, Hippostrate perhaps the wife of Charias, and Eurymaides—whose name occurs only in these two instances—Charias' father (the interpretation in *CAT* is not persuasive). *SEMA* 2555 came from Xenophontos 10, near Syntagma Square; it is not clear why a stele set up by a family from Anaphlystos in which there were two intra-deme marriages should be found at Liopesi (Paiania). The Leokrates A. who possibly served in the council c.321, *Agora* XV 55. 2, was perhaps a nephew (BS) of Demarete. Moschos son of Antiphanes A. proposed *SEG* 3. 115, a cavalry decree honouring Demetrios son of ...phanes of Alopeke (above, p. 1183), possibly an affine. His father was trierarch in 356/5, *IG* ii² 1612. 106.

derived his name from Xenophon I A., named on a curse tablet of the Lykourgan period, whose son Makareus freed a slave purple-dyer living in Peiraios in (?) the 320s; Alexiades II may have married a daughter of Xenophon I.⁸²

Eratrostratos son of Nausikydes A., named as leader of a phratry group that lent money against property in the deme, may have been a local resident. He served in the council in 334/3 and again in 304/3. Possibly he belonged to the family of the Nausikydes commemorated on a loutrophoros of c.420 found at Merenda, who in turn may be, or be related to, the [Na]usikydes who died in battle on or near Lemnos.⁸³ The son of Theophilos, who sold a chorion at A. for 800 dr. on behalf of a religious association in the hekatostai sales, may also have belonged to this phratry.⁸⁴

Nikodemos A., who served as secretary in 320/19, was perhaps not discontented with the regime that had disenfranchised Athenians with less than 2000 dr. of property; his son Nichomachos, however, appears as councillor in 304/3, after the restoration of democracy. Another of the councillors of this year, Antiphanes II son of Dionysios, came from a trierarchic family; his grandfather Antiphanes I is attested as syntrierarch in 356, his uncle Moschos son of Antiphanes I served as taxiarch c.330, and another uncle, —as, was (?) councillor c.320.⁸⁵

It is perhaps not surprising for a coastal deme facing westwards that a number of members of Anaphlystos moved to Piraeus. In addition to Timotheos II, Demetrios (brother of Philochoros), and Makareus, —boulos son of Peisikles, who rented property in Peiraios c.333, may have belonged to A., since the name is rare and only attested elsewhere on the two grave monuments of Boethos son of Peisikles A., one set up in Piraeus and the other perhaps in the city.⁸⁶ Two sisters from Anaphlystos, apparently epikleroi, were buried in Piraeus with an epigram recording their equal division of their inheritance and the survival of one of them to see grandchildren.⁸⁷ Chairippe daughter of Chairias (son of Euortios) A. was also buried in Piraeus, with Leon of Kydathenaion, presumably her husband; her sister Praxagora married into Oion and was perhaps commemorated with two daughters by a relief stele first recorded in the monastery of St John Theologos on Hymettos. Their father Chairias served as amphiktyon on Delos in 341/0 and seems to

⁸² One would expect Makareus to free the slave after his father's death, which would imply a date for the curse tablet *SEG* 58. 265 (B II 124) before the manumission record.

⁸³ Eratrostratos A. (no patronymic), *IG* ii² 2723 = Finley 1952, no. 41 (Nikon A., also named, does not appear elsewhere); with patronymic, *IG* ii³ 4. 81. 6, 86; *Agora* XV 61. 310 (possibly a grandson, Eratrostratos II). Nausikydes, *IG* i³ 1315 = *CAT* 2. 189, with his (?) father Elpines; Anaphlystos is the only deme in which both names are attested, but Elpines appears only in the 2nd c. BCE. [Na]usikydes, i³ 1506 = *CEG* 82, 450–25.

⁸⁴ Lambert 1997a, F 13 B 10.

⁸⁵ Nikodemos, *IG* ii² 381–2; Nikomachos, *Agora* XV 61. 313. Antiphanes II, *ibid.* 312; Antiphanes I, *APF* 1227 (with p. 395); Moschos, *SEG* 3. 115; —as, *Agora* XV 55. 24.

⁸⁶ —boulos, *Agora* XIX L 9. 66; Boethos, *IG* ii² 5655 = *SEG* 44. 183 (anthemion stele, rediscovered in Plaka, possibly moved to Athens by a collector?) and 5654, cippus, Piraeus (possibly grandfather and grandson).

⁸⁷ *IG* ii² 5673 = *CEG* 541, c.350. The first distich of the epigram refers to both sisters, the second only to one, but they were cut simultaneously. Kaibel suggested that the grandmother died first and was buried by her sister in a tomb that they would eventually share, but it is equally possible that when the grandmother was dying she asked to have her sister (who had died earlier) commemorated also on her monument.

have been succeeded during his term of office by his son Chairephon, who is attested as (?) kleruch in mid-century.⁸⁸

Atene

Atene is the subject of an extensive survey report by H. Lohmann, with a prosopography attached. It is now generally agreed that the deme-name Axeneis or Azeneis in Strabo's text, placed between Anaphlystos and Sounion, should be emended to Ateneis.⁸⁹ Lohmann assigns the two small coastal plains of Thymari and Charaka to the deme, with the island Gaidouronisi and the inland plain of Agia Photeini. He is doubtful whether there was any settlement in this area at the time of Kleisthenes' reforms, and has found no evidence that the deme ever had a nucleated centre; the habitation evidence consists of scattered farms, most numerous in the fourth century, when there seems to have been intensive production of olives and oil.⁹⁰ At this period there would have been about fifty farms, adequate to support a three-councillor deme, given that there will have been non-resident demesmen; eight of these farms were substantial installations with towers, and the smallest would have farmed about six hectares of land. After the early third century the area seems to have been almost deserted.

Atene does not appear as a mine location in the records of the poletai, and the area designated by Lohmann contains no mines. There is therefore no

⁸⁸ Chairippe, *IG* ii² 6584 (anthemion stele); Praxagora, *SEMA* 111, with Koumanoudes 1970*a*, 82, no. 6, perhaps a rediscovery of part of *IG* ii² 7005 = *CAT* 188 (a relief stele, mother and daughter, fragmentary inscription, recorded by Fourmont and Fauvel). Chairias, *ID* 42. 6; Chairephon, with the same colleagues as his father, *IG* xii 5. 113. 6–7 (ch. 17 n. 7); ii² 1927. 186–7 with Humphreys 2010*a*. Also buried Piraeus: ii² 5671, Ktesias son of Theodoros A. (after 350), perhaps the son of Theodoros Mnesarchou A., buried on Salamis in the first half of the century, ii² 5667.

⁸⁹ Lohmann 1993*a*. Str. C. 398/9. 1. 21 (Axeneis in Parisinus Gr. 1397, 10th c., and its marginalia of c.1300). A location in SE Attika is supported by *IG* ii² 2776 (though Lohmann's interpretation of this text is unsatisfactory in details).

⁹⁰ Lohmann 1995 concedes that some farms have produced a little 6th c. evidence; sanctuary material in the area goes back to the 7th c. (cf. id., 1993*a*; there was a peak sanctuary on Profitis Ilias, above the Agia Photeini plain, another small sanctuary on the hill Kassidis, and cult at one or two caves, one dedicated to nymphs (cf. also Mersch 1996, 195–8. Bintliff 1994*b*, 231–2, is sceptical about the absence of archaic settlement). Thirty-six farms have been found, others will have existed on land now covered by modern buildings; the larger farms would have had c.25 ha. of land. There seems to have been some reworking of slag at Charaka in the 3rd–2nd c. BCE (Lohmann 1984); there are also many amphora-fragments, suggesting that the bay was used for shipping oil to Piraeus—perhaps also, I would think, to other ports in SE Attika, for use as food and lamp-fuel, and for bathing, in mining areas. Lohmann 1993*b* gives a detailed account of one of the larger farms, at Thymari, occupied from c.420 to the 260s, producing meat, wool, and honey for the market. One wonders what was happening in this area at the time of the Solonian crisis; was it controlled by rich families from Anaphlystos, or were the land-hungry unaware of its potential? Cf. also Goette 2001, 201.

obvious reason why settlement should increase in the early fifth century, although it is possible that the Atene plains were occupied by men whose hopes of finding silver were destined to remain unfulfilled. It is worth remembering also that according to Herodotus (6. 90; cf. Figueira 1991, 83–93) the Athenians settled a group of dissident Aiginetans in southeast Attika in the early fifth century; possibly they formed at least part of the nucleus of the deme.

It must be admitted that onomastics provide no support for this hypothesis. Most Ateneis known to us have conventional Attic names, and the family with the most striking names, which was also the wealthiest family in the deme, that of Oionochares and his son Oionias, may be attested in Athens before 490.⁹¹ Oionias was denounced by Andokides in 415 for parodying the Mysteries, and was condemned; the total value of the property confiscated from him and sold by the poletai amounted to 81 talents and 2000 dr. (i.e. 488,000 dr.), and this may not represent the whole of his estate. The preserved references all relate to land in Euboia—in the Levantine plain, at Diros, and on the Geraistos promontory. These were presumably all areas of Athenian kleruchy, and this information sheds a surprising light on the institution; presumably Oionias or his father had bought land either from kleruchs who wished to return to Attika or from Euboians who wanted to move further away from areas of Athenian settlement.⁹²

The only epigraphic evidence so far available about deme residents leads to a family of Sounion. Glykanthis daughter of Phrasikles of Sounion was commemorated on a large stele found at Agia Varvara north of Megale Vigla, in the mountains separating Sounion from the Legrainia valley (Amphitrope?). Euphradion of Sounion's daughter, also called Glykanthis, is named on a part of a naiskos found at Agia Photeini. The two women may have been cousins (FBD), both named after their paternal grandmother.⁹³

⁹¹ An Oio— made a dedication on the Akropolis c.525, *IG* i³ 904; however, names deriving from skill in reading omens may have been commoner in the archaic period than later. The name Oionikles occurs in Crete (*LGPNI*). Given the rarity of names with this root in Attika it seems possible that Oionichos, mentioned by *Ar. Eq.* 1287 and *Kratinos* (*PCG* 4, 286 F 338 comm.) for his disgusting sexual habits (he was therefore probably young and aristocratic) was a brother of Oionias.

⁹² *IG* i³ 422. 217–18, 375–8; he may also have owned land at Oropos, i³ 428. For recent work on the mechanics of exploitation in 5th c. Athenian kleruchies see Magnetto, Erdas, and Carusi (eds) 2010. Erxleben 1975 assumes that Oionias bought from kleruchs. Note that if any substantial amount of his estate was in Atene, its sale might have made a difference to the archaeological evidence for settlement. The precise location of Diros on Euboia is unknown; on the Geraistos promontory see Seifried and Parkinson 2014.

⁹³ See Table 26.8. Glykanthis III daughter of Phrasikles, *IG* ii² 7448; Glykanthis II daughter of Euphradion, *SEMA* 611. Lohmann, who published the stone (1993*a*, 46–7, 451), considered it Hellenistic or early imperial; *SEG* 43. 92 argues for a date before Demetrios of Phaleron's legislation, or in the early 3rd c. at the latest.

The horos on which Ergophilos and Ergochares A. appear as creditors for 2300 dr., with Autodikos of Oion-Hippothontis, has no recorded provenance, but is not likely to have come from the deme area. Their names suggest that they were related, probably either as father and son or as brothers.⁹⁴

The descendants of Nausias A., secretary in the early fourth century, can be followed to the end of the third century. Nau<s>ias II son of Nikostratos I, who acted as guarantor for a lease of sacred property by his (?) son Nikostratos II N[ausiou II Ateneus?] in 343/2, may have been the secretary's grandson. Nausias III, who served as thesmothetes in 216/5, may have been a great-grandson (SSS) of Nikostratos II; his son Nikostratos III was honoured at Oropos c.200, and was commemorated in the early second century by a relief stele representing him as a beardless banqueter.⁹⁵

There is some clustering of kin in council service in Atene; Gnathios son of Euphiletos I served with his son Euphiletos II in 334/3, and two brothers, sons of Lysiades, served c.321. The third councillor in that year was a son of Menippos, perhaps Theophilos, who served as treasurer in 344/3, or a brother.⁹⁶ Kleotimos A. served as one of the epistatai for Brauron in 334/3; he may be the Kleotimos (no demotic) who leased sacred property, possibly at Marathon, in 343/2, and was presumably related to Kleotimides A., attested as syntrierarch in (?) 366/5.⁹⁷

Besa

The general location of this deme, in the upper end of the Legraina valley, in the area of Synterini and Demoliaki, is not in doubt. Lohmann (1993*a*) suggests that the deme centre was at Pousipelia, which has a spring, a medieval chapel,

⁹⁴ IG ii² 2705 = Finley 1952 no. 46. Autodikos lent an additional 500 dr. The Atenians may conceivably have been related to Ergomedes of Sounion (Table 26.9), whose family had connections in the deme. Note that the Eurektes whose female ward freed a slave living in Keiriadai, IG ii² 1570. 4, probably belonged to [At]e[n]e and not Pallene, cf. Eurektes A., tamias in 432/1, IG i³ 294, etc.

⁹⁵ Nausias I, IG ii² 76 (demotic A [-6-]); possibly also restored as [Nausias Gl]aukipou Ateneus, secretary in ii² 158 ([Nausias] may be one letter too short for the stoichedon pattern). Nausias II and Nikostratos II, *Agora XIX* L 6. 125–8 (no demotics; Papazarkadas 2011, 311 nos. 55, 58); it is more likely that father guarantees son than vice versa, but see ch. 6 Table 2. Nausias III, ii² 1706. 93; Nikostratos III, ii² 5706, *IOrop* 68. Note further on Atene prosopography: Lysikrates son of Lysanias, (?) kleruch (ii² 1927. 181–2, see Humphreys 2010*a*), whose dikast-ticket is Kroll 1972 no. 127 (Class VI), is not the Lysikrates of Lambert 1997*a*, F 13 A 9, who belonged to Aphidnai; the relief stele of a son and daughter of Chairephanes A., ii² 5712, is republished with new readings as *Agora XVII* 81; it was originally set up for a son of Chairephanes who died young (loutrophoros relief) and the names of his sister and her husband, Thrasylochos son of Xenokles of Euonymon, were added (*APF* 11221, cf. ch. 23 n. 19).

⁹⁶ See ch. 17 n. 19. Gnathios (IG ii³ 4. 81. 23–4) was commemorated by a relief stele, recorded in Athens, with his (?) wife Hediste daughter of Chari[demos] of Ikarion, *SEMA* 122; sons of Lysiades and son of Meni[pp]os, IG, ii² 1443. 5 (IG, followed by *LGP*N, has Meni[sk]os, but apart from the prosopographical link, the name Meniskos is very much rarer in the classical period than Menippos).

⁹⁷ On Kleotimos see Papazarkadas 2011, 308 no. 41, *APF* p. 318; the lessee Kleotimos of *Agora XIX* L 6. 128 cannot be the son of the trierarch Kleotimos, since his patronymic is shorter. Brauron, IG ii² 1524. 47.

and perhaps public buildings—a *lesché*, and a bath-house that was perhaps built in the fourth century, rebuilt in the Hellenistic period, when a sanctuary was founded near it, and later used for industrial purposes. There are further classical and Hellenistic remains north of the spring. Mine records refer to a mine bordering on the agora, another adjoining the Herakleion, an Archegeteion, and an Aphroditeion.⁹⁸ Farms and mine installations would have spread along the valleys from which the deme got its name, northwards to Barbaliaki and Synterini, and also down the Berzeko valley south of Kamareza, if that area also belonged to Besa.⁹⁹

Kallias of Lamptrai is recorded as owning a house and tower in Besa, and Nikandrides of Potamos a house. Curiously, only one demesman of B. has so far appeared in the mining records, the son of Pheres (?), as a landowner, probably in his own deme.¹⁰⁰

The most colourful members of the deme, presumably resident in the city, are Ktesias and his son Kranaos, who according to the speaker of Isaios 4 (§ 9) tried to claim the two talents left by the mercenary Nikostratos, first by alleging that they had won a lawsuit in which he was ordered to pay them a talent, and subsequently—when this claim was rejected for lack of evidence—by asserting that he was their freedman. Ktesias served as thesmothetes in 370/69, and appears in comedies of Anaxilas and Philetairos as a notorious glutton. A descendant, Kranaos II son of Ktesiphon B., proposed honours for a priest of Asklepios in (?) 244/3.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Lohmann 1993*a*, 83–95; Eliot (1962) and Traill (1986) put Besa at Synterini. *Agora* XIX P 9. 31, perhaps P 27. 35, agora mine; P 27. 12, [22], Herakleion mine; P 27. 34, Aphroditeion; P 5. 72–3, Archegeteion (Besa does not seem a promising name for a deme eponym, since the word remained in use as a term for a deep valley). On *leschai* see ch. 20 n. 3.

⁹⁹ Barbaliaki has mine workings, two towers, perhaps a farm, and graves; the archaic mother and child relief came from this area (Mastrokostas 1974); Synterini has mine-installations (*ergasteria*). Kakavogiannes 1989, 2001, reports new finds of *ergasteria* (washeries, smeltery), of the early 5th c. in the Bertseko valley, which on Lohmann's locations should presumably be attributed to Besa (or *Amphitrope*?; Kakavogiannes thinks this area is the *Maroneia* of the mine records; cf. also Themelis 1989); *AD* 60 B 1, 2005 (2014), 189–90; Mussche 1994*a*. *Agora* (?), Kakavogianne and Anetakis 2012, 198.

¹⁰⁰ Kallias, *Agora* XIX P 5. 62, 73–4; Nikandrides, P 27. 24; son of Pheres, P 18. 23, 350/49; cf. perhaps *CAT* 3. 347*a* = *SEMA* 2489 (Iekythos, no provenance; *CAT* doubts whether it is ancient), Pheres I and Pherenike with their son Pheres II (the name Pherenikos is attested in Antiochis in the Hellenistic period).

¹⁰¹ *PCG* 2. 291, 293, Anaxilas F 25, 29; F 29 associates Ktesias with Kranaos. Philetairos, *PCG* 7, 323 F 3. The speaker of Is. 4 does not produce any evidence to support his allegations, and may have been playing for laughs. Kranaos II, *IG* ii³ 1020 (arch. Lysiades), Aleshire 1991 no. 8730. Aleshire points out that identification with the dedicant [Kr]anaos of stele IV 29 (before or in 274/3? See Aleshire 1989, 205–15) is hazardous.

Nikias son of Athenion B. was commemorated by a stele found ‘south of Hymettos’; his father’s (?) dikast-ticket was found on the Akropolis and his brother Mnesimachos is recorded as (?) kleruch in mid-century.¹⁰²

Amphitrope

As has already been noted, this deme has traditionally been located at Metropisi, northeast of the Anavyssos plain. However, Traill (1986) puts Poros at Metropisi and Amphitrope at Pousipelia; Lohmann puts Amphitrope further south in the Legraina valley, with its deme centre at Poussitadi. The area appears frequently in the poletai records as a mine location, and an inscription of the Roman period mentions its glens (*béssai*).¹⁰³

An early member of the deme appears on an ostrakon of the 480s.¹⁰⁴ The best-attested of its wealthy families, descended from Euthykrates I, seems to have made its money from mining. Euthykrates I owned a workshop at Thorikos in (?) 342/1, and apparently had two sons, Archestratos I and Euthykrates II, one of whom leased mines in (?) 341/0 and (?) 339/8; they may be the sons (*paides*) of Euthy[krates] mentioned as owning land in the latter year. Both of them are attested as trierarchs in the 330s, and Archestratos gave 2000 dr. to the corn-fund in 326/5, credited against a naval debt incurred by Hyperides. Euthykrates II was probably Athenian naopoios at Delphi in 334/3; the orphaned children of a Euthykrates, whose estate was leased against the security of land in Eleusis, will have been his sons. Archestratos II, probably a grandson of Archestratos I, married [Lysistra?]te daughter of Polyeuktos of Bate, priestess of Athena Polias, at some date before c.259–255 (archon Alkibiades); the gravestones of their son Euthykrates IV and his son Polyeuktos are preserved.

¹⁰² IG ii² 5906; Kroll 1972 no. 104 (class V; the attribution to Athenion is problematic; see Kroll pp. 203–5). Mnesimachos, ii² 1927. 195, see Humphreys 2010*a*.

¹⁰³ Ch. 27 n. 51. It is argued by Traill and by Lohmann (1993*a*, 79–83) that there are not enough mines in the Metropisi area, that this area communicates with the Keratea (Kephale) valley rather than with the Anavyssos plain or the valleys of the Sounion peninsula, and that the name Metropisi, rather than being a corruption of Amphitrope, may be formed from the Albanian word *pousi* for a well (the two etymologies do not exclude each other). Bessai, IG ii² 2776. 117. See the map in Lohmann 1993*a*, 9 fig. 2; cf. Lohmann 1984, 1994. The peak sanctuary of Megalo Rimbari, in use from the late 6th to the end of the 4th c., with fine pottery dedications, would on Lohmann’s interpretation belong to A. Farm and tomb finds, Lohmann 1994. Goette 2000, 11 puts Amphitrope at Legraina.

¹⁰⁴ [Pr]oxenos A., Brenne 2001, 239.

Polyeuktos' daughter Theodote probably also served as priestess of Athena Polias in the early second century; we cannot, however, necessarily conclude that her ancestors in Amphitrope belonged to the *genos* Eteoboutadai, since she may in this period have qualified by matrilineal descent. The cavalryman Polyoktos [*sic*] of the middle of the third century may be Theodote's father.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ See chs. 5 n. 65, 20 n. 131; *APF* 2419; D. M. Lewis 1997, 196 (1955). Euthykrates I, *Agora XIX* P 26. 236–40 (*em Philomélidón*); son of —krates A. leases, P 27. 3, P 28. 31; *paides* of Euthy[k]rates], P 28. 12–13 (*paides* does not imply that they were minors, only that they held the land in indivision). Euthykrates II, *CID* II 79 A 1, 14, cf. 119. 25; orphans, *IG* ii² 2647 = Finley 1952 no. 125 (the *horos* was found at Eleusis, which would be the location of the lessee's property, not that of the orphans). The Euthykrates whose property was denounced by Teisis of Agryle, probably for mining offences, and who was according to Hyp. 4 *Eux.* 34 worth over 60 talents (360,000 dr.) sounds like E. II, except that the orphans evidently retained something (Archestratos does not seem to have suffered). Archestratos II, Euthykrates IV, Polyeuktos, *IG* ii³ 1026. 27 (arch. Alkibiades), 5610 (kioniskos, Akropolis), 5613 (kioniskos, no provenance). Polyoktos, Bugh 1988 II B 223 (for confusion in spelling between Polyeuktos and Polyoktos see Threatte 1980, 348, and ii² 3472. 5). There is no reason to connect this family with the Polyeuktos A. whose son Tauriskos was commemorated by a stele base (? 'mensa') of the mid 4th c. with a relief loutrophoros, found in the city, ii² 5614 (in view of the loutrophoros, Hierokleia daughter of Euainetos of Alopeke, named on the stele, should be Tauriskos' mother rather than his wife, and [Apole?]xis son of Tauriskos A., whose name appears in a mid-century list of uncertain character, ii² 5723, may have been Polyeuktos' brother, ch. 11 n. 43). For cavalrymen from A. we now also have Theophilos son of Chairippos I A., phylarch in the late 3rd c. or early 2nd c., *SEG* 46. 148, whose son Chairippos II was councillor *c.*169, *IG* ii³ 1333. 27, etc.

Appendices

APPENDIX ONE: LISTS

I already discussed a number of ‘lists’ with tribe and deme headings in Humphreys 2010*a*, pointing out that apart from lists of kleruchs they are all dedications. This was recognized in *IG* i³ 515, and is partly recognized in *IG* ii³ 4 (1), but unfortunately in that volume some corpora have been split up, due to the decision not to include lists for which terms referring to dedication are not preserved. I group here comments on dedications by diaitetai, epheboi, and councillors scattered elsewhere in the book.

DIAITETAI

It seems likely that *IG* ii³ 4. 24 is to be dated 371/0; not much hangs on the difference between that year and 363/2. Koumanoudes and Matthaiou 1987 publish a new list perhaps to be dated *c.*330. *IG* ii³ 4. 31 = *Agora* XV 493 may also list diatetai (archon Pytho[dotos], 343/2, or Pytho[delos], 336/5; Humphreys 2010*a* n. 40), as may ii³ 4. 33 and ii² 2373, 2388, 2393, and 2398 (Dow 1983); but prosopography does not help to supply dates for these.

EPHEBOI

Alipherê 2015 has republished Reinmuth 1971 no. 9 (Leontis, 333/2/1), with questionable restorations in column III, which would have a line-length of 36 stoichoi in ll. 3–9 and 42 in ll. 10–19, as against 26 in columns I–II; she does not explain this discrepancy. The restoration of a dedication to the hero [Leos] in l. 33 is also doubtful.¹ She fails to note the parallel dedication *SEG* 54. 227. If the didaskalos of I 34–5 was [Leokr]ates son of A[is]çḥṛajōs of Pallene, he might be a nephew (BS) of Leokrates son of Leochares, trierarch in 366/5 (*IG* ii² 1669. 3, *APF* p. 344); this might provide a slight indication that a didaskalos could be a relatively young man. However, the restoration is highly speculative.

Humphreys 2010*a* suggested that Reinmuth 16 and *SEG* 36. 155 were lists of epilektoi rather than epheboi. *IG* ii³ 4. 334 (Reinmuth no. 8), perhaps Pandionis, perhaps 333/2/1, is very poorly preserved and difficult to interpret. There may have been a painted crown round ll. 1–4. *IG* ii² 2408 = *IEleus* 82 (*SEG* 39. 184–5), partly duplicates *IG* ii³ 4. 336*a* = ii² 3105 (but is not indexed in ii³). One

¹ *IG* ii³ 4. 25 (*Agora* XV 13), also dedicated to Leos, was re-used in the Propylaia area.

of the lochagoi is Aischines' son Atrometos, which should probably put the list in the 330s. *IG ii² 2401* may also be ephebic.

COUNCILLORS

Of the texts in *Agora XV* 1–56, nos. 24 (*IG ii³ 4. 61*) and 33 are individual dedications. Charinos son of Charonides of Euonymon (24) was crowned by the Council and his *d[émotai]*; his (?) SS Charinos son of Epichares was councillor in 304/3 (*Agora XV* 61. 168), and he may have made a dedication to Ammon.² The dedicant of no. 33 was crowned by the Council of 344/3, his fellow-tribesmen (at least twice), his fellow demesmen, and (?) the cavalry. We do not know the date of his dedication, presumably set up near or even after the end of a successful career. No. 45 (*ii³ 4. 51*) is a dedication by the councillors of Teithras for 331/0 or 330/29, set up in the deme. No. 49, *IG ii³ 360*, is a dedication by councillors and others.

Agora XV 1 = *IG i³ 515* is undoubtedly a dedication by the councillors of Erechtheis for 408/7, but does not conform to the quota-numbers of later lists (*XV* 6 = *IG ii³ 4. 51*, *XV* 14+29 = *ii³ 4. 54*), has gaps in ll. 18–20 (Anagyrous), 16 (Kephisia), 31 (Upper Pergase), and 33 (Lower Pergase), and does not seem to provide a total of 50. These irregularities may be due to the difficult military situation, or possibly to the practice at this time of only registering councillors who had served a turn of duty in the Tholos (ch. 21 at n. 27).

Agora XV 10 = *ii³ 4. 21*, 12 = *ii³ 4. 48*, and 47 = *ii³ 4. 83*, are discussed in Traill 1986, 31–47, but his interest is in the relation between lists and trittyes rather than in dating or prosopography. *XV* 13a = *ii³ 4. 53* (*SEG* 28. 148) is dated 371/0.

XV 16 may not be a Council list (P. J. Rhodes 1980); it has 4 representatives from Sypalettos (quota 2), and Autobob(u)los of Sypalettos (l. 6) appears as councillor in *XV* 18. 6 (*SEG* 28. 150) and *XV* 43. 162–3; we are told that no one could serve on the Council more than twice, but the councillor of *XV* 43, 335/4, may be a grandson. *IG ii² 7486* seems to have been set up c.400 to commemorate Autosophos I son of Autoboulos I, who would have died as a small child (Table 29.7); it is a question whether the gap in time between *SEG* 28. 150 and *XV* 43 is long enough for the councillors to be FF and SS. The councillor Arimnestos of Phlya (l. 3) may have a son listed as (?) epilektos in *SEG* 36. 155. Leaios and Chairigenes of Aixone, ll. 10–11, had sons who were active in the deme in the 320s, *SEG* 46. 154 and *IG ii² 1199*. This might bring *XV* 16 down to near mid-century.

² *IG ii² 1642. 36*, cf. *SEG* 21. 562. It is not certain that the dedicant belonged to Euonymon; nor can we be sure of the date.

XV 20 appears to come from a dedication by the whole Council. In Melite, the son of Antikles (l. 9) might be a brother of the well-attested Neoptolemos, *APF* 10652, who was already active in politics by 348; P[an]tāinos son of Euthy—, l. 11, could be a son of either Euthydomos I or, more probably, Euthydomos II (Table 29.1). Arist[o]medes II son of Aristopho[n] of Azenia, *APF* 2108, was a syntrierarch before 356/5 (*IG* ii² 1612. 289). Aristophanes II, son of Aristophon, is listed on *IG* ii² 2385; Aristophanes III, son of Aristomedes I, appears on *Agora* XV 492, perhaps a list of kleruchs of c.360 (Humphreys 2010a). One of these two, or Aristomedes II, should be the Aristo— of Azenia who was diaitetes in (?) 330/29 (Koumanoudes and Matthaiou 1987). Spoudias son of Philistides, also of Azenia, had a son who was councillor in 303/2, *Agora* XV 62. 266. Ex[e]k[ia]s son of Exe— of Anakaia may be the son or father Exekestos son of Exekias A., member of a tribal board (*IG* ii³ 4. 63).³

XV 32 = *IG* ii³ 4. 26 was cut by the same hand as XV 55 (Tracy 1995, 131, c.330–317). Stephanos son of Demylos of Probalinthos, l. 59, was diaitetes in 325/4, *IG* ii³ 4. 35, but we have other examples of elderly councillors (ch. 17 n. 15). As *Agora* XV points out, Teisamenos son of Pythionikos of Kydathenaion seems to have served again in 304/3, XV 61. 69. On the other hand, Aischylides son of Aristarchos of Myrrhinous, l. 30, may also be listed (without patronymic) in *Agora* XV 42. 178. His father or son freed a slave in (?) the 320s, *SEG* 18. 36 A 398ff. Autokrates son of Aischines of (Upper) Paiania had a son who was ephebe in 305/4, *IG* ii² 478. 37 (Antigonis). For Philochares son of Philokydes, also of Paiania, see Table 25.3. Isodemos son of Isodemos of Kydathenaion, l. 53, must be related to Isodemos son of Isophilos, ephebe in (?) 332/1/0, *IG* ii³ 4. 342 (Reinmuth 1971, no. 10), but the relationship (FB?) is uncertain. Chairestratos son of Chairestratos of Paiania had a brother, Charmantides (*APF* 15502) who was a choregos before (?) 360.

XV 44: archon-date confirmed, *Hesperia* 70, 2001, 3.

XV 46 apparently comes from a dedication by all ten tribes. It has occasional patronymics, some abbreviated, and unexplained gaps. Prima facie the appearance of Boethos of Phaleron in l. 35 should indicate a date in or before the 350s, since the name of Ktesiphon son of Boethos was added to *IG* ii² 7612, which was set up in (?) the 350s for Ktesikrates son of Ktesiphon, who appears as (?) a kleruch on *IG* ii² 1927. Repetition of the name Boethos in the family is of course possible. The other possible prosopographical links depend on common names in large demes.

³ The date of ii³ 4. 63 is tied up with the history of Sophokles' descendants, the life of Misgolas of Kollytos (ch. 24 n. 6: born c.390, still alive in the late 320s?), and the disputes recorded in Isaios 6 (ch. 7 Case 1).

XV 47 = IG ii³ 4. 83: the stone is known only from a drawing by Spon; *LPGN* does not accept the rearrangement of Traill 1986. Charias son of Aristokles of Steiria, l. 36, had a son who held a sufficiently high military office to be crowned by his troops in 306/5, IG ii² 1954 = ii³ 4. 319. Polydamas son of Aristodamas of Myrrhinous, l. 27, had a father who registered and leased a mine and owned land c.340, *Agora XIX* P 26. 356–63. Stratonides son of Sosigenes of Paiania, l. 4, may well be the Strat[onides of Paiania] who was prytany-secretary for Pandionis in 320/19 (IG ii² 383b, p. 660, 5–6; no other name in Strat- fits). In this case either he served a second term as councillor (not improbable in the period of reduced citizenship) or XV 47 belongs to 320/19 (and Charias was an elderly councillor). Archikleides of Paiania, father of Archidamos (l. 7), was councillor in 343/2, IG ii³ 307–8. Euetes son of Archidamos, commemorated on IG ii² 7044, may belong to a different line of the family. Alkimachos (II) son of Andron of Paiania, l. 9. is probably grandson (SS) of Alkimachos I, XV 12 = ii³ 4. 48. 53, and cousin (FBS) of Alkimachos III son of Alketes, trierarch in the Lykourgan period (*APF* 623 needs revision). Andron son of Alkimachos (I?), who manumitted a slave in the 320s, could be his father. The relation of Lysippos son of Philinos of Paiania, l. 10, to the Phanotheos son of Lysippos P. who registered a mine in 341/0, *Agora XIX* P 27. 60, is unclear.

XV 52 [Sostratide?]s son of Ekphantos of [Eupyridai], l. 5, was probably secretary *kata prytaneian* in 329/8 (and thus was not a councillor in that year: P. J. Rhodes 1972, 135). Chalkideus of Sounion, father of Andromenes (l. 24), was an oath-swearer for the Salaminioi in 363/2 (*Agora XIX* L 4b). Thoutimides son of Phantias of Sounion (l. 26) may be the Thouti— S. who leased a mine c.340, *Agora XIX* P 29. 12. Diophanes son of Diopeithes S., l. 25, should probably be a younger kinsman of the Diophanes S. who is recorded as a landowner in *XIX* P 5. 59, 367/6 and may be the son of the Diopeithes S. who led kleruchs to the Chersonese c.343 (*APF* 4487). Pyrrhos son of Euthymachos of Potamioi Deiradiotai had a son, Euthymachos II, who was ephebe in (?) 334/3/2 or 330/29/8 onwards (Panakton 1992-400).

XV 53 was assigned to 324/3; Alessandri 1982 has questioned the restoration [*arch*]ón in l. 9, but the date is supported by the appearance of [Euphane]s son of Phrynon of Rhamnous (ll. 17–18) as secretary in IG ii² 362.

Traill 1986, 142 n. 46, expressed some doubt about the classification of XV 55 as part of a list of councillors. Its main interest is the appearance of Hipponikos (IV?) son of Kallias (IV?) of Alopeke in l. 44. His putative grandfather (FF) H. III was adult by 399 (*APF* 7826) and can hardly have served as councillor much after 350. H. IV may however be the H. who purchased two ergasteria in Melite c.340, *Agora XIX* P 26. 455, and his father may be the Kallias, involved in a lawsuit, who was cursed with a Hipponikos and a Hippolochides (of Lousia?

APF 1395 p. 47) on Wünsch 1897 no. 65 (with Wilhelm 1904). See also S. D. Lambert 1999*a* n. 51.

XV 56 = *SEG* 34. 127: the number of councillors for [Chol]leida[i], probably at least 4, suggests a date after 307/6, since Cholleidai had only 2 councillors in the fourth century, and 5 in *XV* 74 and 88 = *IG* ii³ 930 and 1030. Traill (*SEG* 34) takes Potam— in l. 28 as a patronymic rather than a deme heading and restores *Potam[ónos]*; *Potam[ou]* or *Potam[mou]* might be better. Archinos son of Aphthonetos I of Kettos, ll. 25–6, was the father of Aphthonetos II, secretary in (?) 255/4 (Kleomachos), *IG* ii³ 991–3, which may indicate a fairly late date for *XV* 56. Epikrates (III) son of Olympion of Kerameis, ll. 54–5, was probably a cousin (FBS) of E. II son of Demokrates II, whose homonymous grandfather (FF) proposed a decree in (?) the 380s (*IG* ii² 1928. 4); E. II's son was an epimeletes of the Mysteries in (?) 267/6 (Menekles). Stephanos son of Empedion of [Chol]leida[i], ll. 38–9, won a victory at the Isthmia before his half-brother Diophanes won as a beardless pankratiast, *CEG* 758 = *IG* ii³ 4. 583.⁴ Androsthenes son of Andropeithes of Kerameis, ll. 50–1, would be the grandson (SS) of the homonym commemorated on *IG* ii² 6315.

Finally, *XV* 68 may date to the 320s (Traill 1986, 2003). Nikias son of Echestratos of Acharnai, l. 22, may be commemorated by the (?) trapeza *IG* ii² 5824.

⁴ See ch. 12 n. 90. Matthaïou 1999*b* (misinterpreting the text) does not discuss dating.

APPENDIX TWO: THE *HEKATOSTAI* RECORDS

These texts, re-edited in Lambert 1997*a*, record the proceeds of a 1% tax levied on sales of land in Attika by corporate groups, ‘territorial’ units (demes and komai) on stelai 1–2, other corporate bodies (genê, phratries, orgeones) on stelai 3–4. The tax was dedicated on the Akropolis, probably to Athena. It is now generally agreed (*pace* Lambert) that the rest of the proceeds went to the selling groups, who would presumably use the money to generate income by making interest-bearing loans. The purchasers, where we can identify them from other texts, seem to have been wealthy men (being an argument from silence, this is not worth much), sometimes the selling officials themselves, although not all purchasers of deme land belonged to the owning demes.

Given that the sellers should have owned the land they sold, it is somewhat puzzling that two or perhaps four items sold by the deme Poros are listed as ‘threshing-floors called *dêmosiai*’, ‘a *chôrion* called [—]*sia*’, and ‘an *eschatia* called *d—*’. These are local names, parallel to ‘common’ in English; for some reason (privatization more of a danger in mining demes?) residents in Poros felt it necessary to emphasize their rights of access.¹

While new readings have somewhat complicated the picture since the discussion in D. M. Lewis 1973, it remains true that almost all the prices are either round-figure multiples of 50 dr., or are divisible by 12.5 (the exception is 440 dr.). This has always suggested to me (Humphreys 1985*a* n. 59) that purchasers were expected to pay a ‘fair price’ based on rents calculated as 8–8.5% of capital value (8.5% at Ephesos *c.*297, *IEph* 4A; 8% in Roman Attika, *IG* ii² 2776). There was an element of noblesse oblige in the operation.

In return for their outlay, the purchasers got a public acknowledgement of title, provided by the tax records. Similarly, in the Lykourgan period and later, liturgists dedicated phialai that were publicly recorded (*IG* ii³ 550, *SEG* 43. 26); public records of manumissions were also set up (E. A. Meyer 2010; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 2013).²

¹ Threshing-floors could be privately owned ([*Dem.*] 42. 6), but the Salaminioi collectively owned one and planned to make another in the third century (*Agora* XIX L4 B 18–24), an archaizing text of the Roman period refers to a sacred threshing-floor (*IG* ii² 3194), and the name of the festival Haloa suggests that there was another at Eleusis. Papazarkadas (2011, 234) seems to think of a contrast between secular and sacred public land, but there is no evidence (or likelihood) of sacred ownership of land in these sales. Both Lambert and Papazarkadas fail to see that *kaloumenon* indicates local oral tradition.

² Faraguna 2003*b* discusses other evidence for records of land sales.

With this background, it is *prima facie* tempting to connect our texts with *IG ii*² 1471. 10–15, which records ‘gold phialai made from the *chrêmata* [which brought up] [*ha anekomisen*] Archippos *archôn* as *hekatostên*’.³ Archippos was eponymous archon in 321/0. This text is however very strange. It is, as far as I know, the only reference we have (apart from the Kylon affair) in which an eponymous archon is recorded (in the nominative case) as taking an action himself rather than dating the actions of others; and this action does not seem to correspond to anything we know from literary texts (*A.P.*, *lexica*) about the archon’s routine functions. Nor does it seem to fit what we know of the period from autumn (Metageitnion or Boedromion) 322 to spring 318, when Athens was under Macedonian control and many citizens had been disenfranchised. The Council was disorganized, the anagrapheus became a powerful figure in Assembly business, and Assembly decrees were probably carried through by a small junta (G. J. Oliver 2003), but we have no evidence of extra powers for the archon, or for other activities on the part of Archippos.

Moreover, it is unlikely that the disenfranchised poorer citizens would have been potential lessees of public land—except perhaps in Peiraios, where leasing procedures were tightened up in 321/0 and some leases were very cheap (*IG ii*² 2498, see Papazarkadas 2011 s.v.).

Fragouna’s suggestion (1992, cf. 1998) of a connection with the grain shortages of the Lykourgan period seems more plausible. If these were indeed due to weather conditions (drought),⁴ the selling groups might indeed have found it harder to recruit lessees. It may also be relevant that younger men had been leaving Attika to serve as mercenaries in the Persian army or that of Alexander, meaning perhaps a loss of potential lessees and also less market for local products in Attika.

Can prosopography help us to pin down a date? Lambert tentatively suggested on prosopographical grounds a date *c.*343 for stelai 1–2 and *c.*321 for stelai 3–4. This, however, does not seem very likely on general grounds: even if the operation was originally planned to deal only with demes and their subdivisions (why?) it would have had to be widely publicized and one would expect leading men in other corporate groups rapidly to recognize its advantages. In any case, the prosopographical arguments are not strong.

As buyers who would have been too old to purchase after *c.*340, or dead, Lambert cited [Isandros] son of Stratokles of Sypalettos (F 9 B 22) Karkinios [II, son of Xenokles of Thorikos], F 8 A 33, and [Thrasipp]os son of Phrynaios of

³ *SEG* 38. 138 with Lambert 1996*b*.

⁴ Tracy 1995, 30–5. Moreno 2007 prefers to emphasize politico-military factors, but the widespread distress attested by R/O 96 seems to be against him.

Athmonon (F 4. 5) to whom Diophantos son of Th[rasymedes] of Sphettos (F 6 B 30–31, 32, 34) should be added.

My study of the economic activities of sons in their fathers' lifetime (ch. 5) shows that Isandros and Thrasippos can well belong to the Lykourgan period. It is not a problem that Isandros registered and leased a mine *c.*342–338 (*Agora* XIX P 26. 259–60, 266) and Stratokles (his son or father) leased another in (?) 341/0 (P 27. 17–18); and the purchaser Thrasippos may be the young man who was ephebe in 333/2/1, *IG* ii³ 4. 337, whose father was still alive in 325/4 (*APF* 14996, cf. 7297).⁵

Karkinos and Diophantos are more problematic. Karkinos I of Thorikos (*APF* 8254) was well known as a tragic poet in the fifth century and his three little crablets were old enough to dance on stage by 422 (Aristophanes *Wasps* 1501ff.). One of them, Xenokles, also produced tragedies in the fifth century, and his son Karkinos II was producing before 370. Either he purchased as an old man, or the name Karkinos—probably a source of pride, and an advertisement—was also perpetuated in another branch of the family, perhaps given to a younger man.

Diophantos is usually thought to be the proposer of *IG* ii² 106 and 107 in 368/7; while this cannot be certain,⁶ he had sons who were adult and active as traders by the 340s ([Dem.] 35. 6). But one of these, Thrasymedes II, called after his FF, could well have named a son Diophantos.

For Antikrates son of Eu[kol]io[n of Anagyrous] (*APF* p. 196), who might also come into question, the record is problematic. The labourer (*misthôtês*) Eukolion registered in Erechtheis in 401/0 (*IG* ii² 10, R/O 4 col. VII 8) is now thought to have become an *isotelês* rather than a citizen, and the Euko[—] of Anagyrous of *IG* ii² 1928, 35–6 appears in an odd addition to the text (ll. 24–36) which can be neither dated nor explained. The first firm attestation of Eukolion son of Pyrrhakos is as councillor in 367/6 (*Agora* XV 15); he also owned a dikastic pinax of Class VI (Kroll 1972, 23b), and can well have had a son old enough to purchase in the 330s–320s. Lambert notes that the names Eukolion and Pyrrhakos are both rare; but the reasons are different. Eukoline is well attested in classical Attika as a woman's name, but men's names based on the adjective *eukolos* (pliant, accommodating) are less common, probably because such names were given to slaves.⁷ Pyrrhakos, on the other hand, is one of many variant forms of Pyrrhos, 'Carrots'; it may have been commoner in the fifth century than later.⁸ Connections of the name Pyrrhakos with Delos are doubtful

⁵ This would give us a *terminus post quem* of *c.*330. Cf. perhaps Phyleides son of Blepyros of Teithras, Lambert 176–7 no. 105, whose father was alive *c.*330 (*Agora* XV 45).

⁶ We know only the proposer's name, which is attested in 10 other demes before 300; the two better-known bearers, however, *APF* 4424 and 4435, were probably younger men.

⁷ See ch. 8. *IG* ii² 4568, Hedylos and Eukolos, perhaps not Attic, maybe a freedman.

⁸ *IG* i³ 1032 has a Pyrrhakos of Ach— as well as a Pyrrhichos.

(Papazarkadas 2011, Appendix V), and it would be very rash to assume that a metic Pyrrhakos who got isoteleia in 401/0 subsequently acquired citizenship and became the FF of the purchaser.

More can be said prosopographically for dating stelai 1–2 in the Lykourgan period. [–9–10–] son of Onetor of Melite (F 2 A 10–11, 15–16) may be Philonides III, attested in 325/4 (*APF* 11473 p. 423), rather than [Onetorides]. Eukles son of Lakles of Halai Aixonides (F 7 A 21–2) had a brother, Lakrates, who was councillor in 303/2 (*Agora XV* 62. 218) and a cousin (FBS), Euthemon son of Eukles, who was ephebe in 333/2/1 (*IG* ii³ 4. 337; Table 29.21). I date the choregic victory of Atarbos (F 8 A 35, 37) in 323/2 rather than 366/5 (Appendix 3). Molottos son of Eunomos of Aphidnai was not diaitetes *c.*360 but a kleruch in mid-century (Humphreys 2010a), and may thus be the purchaser [–*c.*6–]tos of F 7 B 14. More questionably, [–*c.*9–10–] son of Polykrates of Aphidnai, F 7 B 6, might be a second Polykrates and thus the treasurer of naval funds of 328/7, *IG* ii² 1628. 13–14, etc.

APPENDIX THREE: IG II³ 4. 435

This choregic dedication consists of two stones, re-used in the construction of the Beulé Gate of the Akropolis in the late third century CE, and now reunited in the Akropolis Museum (no. 1338).

The RH stone is dated by the archon Kephisodoros, 366/5 or 323/2; J. L. Shear 2003 makes a strong stylistic argument for the latter date, which in my view is supported by the prosopography.

Shear's article, however, has questionable reconstructions of the monument's history and inscriptions. In her view the RH stone would originally have stood alone and would have supported a pillar carrying 'a relief which is not preserved'.¹ The pillar is deduced from a square cutting in the centre of the upper surface, set in lead² and filled with a marble 'patch' (the bottom of the pillar), into which cuttings were made for the feet of a front-facing statue (Shear, plate 6 B). The parallels she cites for such pillars are, however, dated c.400.³ The LH stone would have been added later (but perhaps in the same year), and when it was added bronze statues would have been set on both stones, one on the left, slightly over life size, and two, smaller, on the right.

Such a commemorative statue group would be unique, as far as our evidence goes; this is a further argument for a sequence of two stones. However, no satisfactory identification for the three figures has yet been produced.⁴ If they had been designed as a group, one would expect them to represent a deity (Athena) crowning (perhaps) a personification of the tribe and its choregos. But the LH statue is not turned towards the others and the central figure on the RH stone is not turned towards it.

Starting from the inscriptions, I had also concluded that we have a sequence of stones, but it would start with the RH stone. Here there is room for c.19 letters, where the stone has been damaged, after *nikê[sas andrôn cho]rôî*.⁵ Lysistratos Thorikios would fit. *Pace* Shear, the patronymic *Ly[sistratos]* also fits the space for c.8–10 letters on the LH stone, for which her restoration *Ly[sion Thorikios]*,

¹ Or a painting? cf. Goette 2007.

² Cement, according to Makres 2009a.

³ On *Agora* I 7515, c.350, which she also cites, the cutting is rectangular and could have held a stele (listing the members of the victorious team?).

⁴ Shear suggests Atarbos and 2 pyrrhichistai, but the size of the LH figure and the discrepancies between the 2 others tell against this. For other suggestions see her nn. 50–1. For statues on choregic monuments see Goette 2007.

⁵ [*Andrôn*] is Shear's plausible restoration.

12 letters, is too long.⁶ Shear rejects the restoration *Ly[sistratos]* partly because this itself rests on the restoration [*Lysi*]*stratos* in SEG 30. 128 = IG II³ 4. 495, where she prefers the reading *Stratos*. This, however, is a rare name in classical Attika, attested otherwise only in *Agora XV* 39. 17 (*LGP*N Stratos 4 is read in *SEMA* 596 as the commoner Stratios).

Shear points out that the inscription [*pyrrich*]*istais nikêsas* on the RH stone is cut in smaller letters than the rest of the text here, and is cramped up against the left end of the stone; this too might suggest that the RH stone was secondary, fitting its description of the team, parallel to that on the LH stone, into a space rather too small for it.

On my reconstruction, the monument commemorates victories by father and son. The father, Lysimachos, would also have won a Panathenaic victory (possibly at the Greater Panathenaia of 326/5?) and would have commemorated it with a bronze statue of Athena on a relief base. When his son won a victory in 323/2 he did not need to repeat the demotic Thorikios, but he had to balance the statue of Athena with other figures. It is a problem that only the RH stone has an archon-date⁷ and that neither text includes the word *anethêke*; but these are problems for any interpretation that does not postulate a further stone, now lost.⁸

Shear accepts Lambert's date (1997*a*) of c.343–340 for stelai 1–2 of the hekatostai records, where Atarbos Lys[—] appears as a purchaser in Thorikos (F 8 A 35, 37); hence she dates his birth c.390, that of his hypothetical father Ly[sias] c.425, and that of his putative son Stratos c.360; Atarbos would be in his late sixties in 323/2. If, as I believe (Appendix 2), the hekatostai sales all took place in the Lykourgan period (perhaps after 330), Atarbos would be younger in 323/2, perhaps born in the 350s, and his father Lysistratos would be born in the 380s.

⁶ On p. 169 she omits the first iota of *Thorikios*. Space for c.9–11 letters (including the *K* of [*K*]*ephiso*[*d*]*ôrp*[*s*]) is cited on pp. 166 and 175.

⁷ Shear suggests that both victories were won, by Atarbos, in 323/2, but since Atarbos would have known that he had undertaken a second choregia (unusual) in the same year, it seems unlikely that he would have rushed to set up his first monument.

⁸ Against this see Shear n. 26. Makres 2009*a* argues for at least one further stone.

APPENDIX FOUR: LYKOURGOS' SONS

We are told by [Plutarch] *Moralia* 843e–f that the Erechtheion, in addition to wooden statues of Lykourgos and his sons made by Timarchos and Kephisodoros sons of Praxiteles, contained a *pinax* by Ismenias of Thebes, dedicated by Habron, which traced the ancestry of the family (*katagógê tou genous*) to Erechtheus son of Hephaistos and Gê, and represented Habron handing a trident (symbol of Poseidon and hence of his priesthood) to his brother Lykophron. Pausanias 1. 26. 6 refers more vaguely to *graphai* of the *genos Boutadôn*. We do not know as much as we should like about fourth-century painting; perhaps the two brothers, in the centre of the picture, were flanked by Hephaistos and by Erechtheus emerging from the earth. We do not have to postulate a genealogical table; epigraphic genealogies seem to take the form of lists, and are rare in the classical period (Chanotis 1988). It is also doubtful whether the plural of Pausanias' *graphai* should be taken as evidence of more than one painting.

The painting evidently laid strong emphasis on Habron's action; transfer of the trident does not mean that Lykophron became priest when Habron died, but that Habron, having been chosen (presumably by lot), voluntarily ceded his position to his elder brother, thus reconciling use of the lot (perhaps only to choose between Lykourgos' three sons) with an alternative point of view that made the eldest son his father's natural successor.

APPENDIX FIVE: *POXY* 2464

This is a fascinating text, but the suggestions of the editor (J. Rea) about the situation are unconvincing, mainly because he did not consider taking *katelipen* in ii 35 as reference to a betrothal by will—which apparently (ii 37, *hekousês*), gave the girl some right to reject it. He also did not see that ‘the epikleros’ is the speaker’s way of referring to his own mother, whose rights (*qua* epikleros, in their view) he is championing.

I suggest that the situation is as follows. While the epikleros was still a child her father Demostratos died leaving a will in which she was betrothed to Demeas, presumably a kinsman (cf. the betrothal by will of Demosthenes’ sister). However, she became the wife of the speaker’s father, and bore the speaker to him. All went smoothly, apparently, during the husband’s lifetime; but after he died, his wife and son came to feel that they had been defrauded of the inheritance due to them from Demostratos and planned to sue Demeas when the boy came of age.

Demeas, however, made the pre-emptive move of claiming the woman by epidikasia as an epikleros to whom he was next-of-kin, although it appears that he already had a wife: iii 25–33, *tên men oun hexei* (he was going to keep his wife), but nevertheless you (the Athenian demos) voted the epikleros to him. Demeas’ story, it seems, was that the epikleros had voluntarily ‘left her husband’ (i.e. Demeas, to whom she had been betrothed by will) and married another man; now that she was a widow, Demeas was entitled to resume his rights (the question whether he would divorce the wife he had was presumably glossed over).

It is likely that the beginning of the affair was a compromise about which neither party wished to be explicit. Demeas for some reason did not wish to marry the girl (a richer prospect in view?), and arranged for her instead to marry the speaker’s father, who was bribed (dowry?) or browbeaten into accepting the situation. We have a rather similar situation in Isaios 3 (ch. 7 Case 4), where Pyrrhos’ daughter is married to Xenokles, while his nephew (ZS) Endios is adopted as heir.

Although the speaker plays on the piteous state of orphans whose guardians defraud them, it is not certain that Demeas was appointed his guardian (his father may have had kin), and the case does not seem to have involved a charge of *kakôsis orphanou*. If, as seems likely, Demeas’ *paragraphê* to the suit originally brought by the speaker was based on the award to him by epidikasia of Demostratos’ daughter, the original suit should have concerned her right to

inherit. Demeas, no doubt, felt that this had been disposed of through the arrangement for her marriage; she cherished other views, and passed her hopes on to her son.

The case, as thus reconstructed, illustrates yet again the weakness of women who did not have friendly kin to defend their claims, and the tendency for dubious compromises to give rise later on to litigation.

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